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HISTORY OF THE POPES

VOL. XIX.

PASTORS HISTORY OF THE POPES

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. Translated from the German of LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Edited, as to Vols. I.–VI. by the late FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, and, as to Vols. VII.–XXIV. by RALPH FRANCIS KERR, of the London Oratory, Vols. XXV.–XXXIV. by DOM ERNEST GRAF, of Buckfast Abbey, and Vols. XXXV.–XXXVIII. by E. F. PEELER.

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THE

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FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

EDITED BY

RALPH FRANCIS KERR

OF THE LONDON ORATORY

VOLUME XIX

GREGORY XIII. (1572-1585)

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DEDICATED TO
HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XI.,
WITH PROFOUND VENERATION
BY
THE AUTHOR.

Catholicus non est, qui a Romanâ Ecclesia
in fidei doctrina discordat.
(Inscription on tomb of Cardinal Hosius in
S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome.)

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COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XIX. AND XX.

AIX (Provence)—Méjanes Library.
ANCONA—Archives.

BERLIN—State Library.
BITONTO—Capitular Archives.
BREMGARTEN (Aargau)—City Archives.
BRUSSELS—State Archives.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO, Graziani Archives.

EXAETEN—Library of the Soc. of Jesus.

FAENZA—Episcopal Archives.
——— Library.
FLORENCE, State Archives.
——— National Library.
——— Riccardiana Library.
FOLIGNO — Faloci - Pulignani Library.
——— Seminary Library.
FRANKFURT A. M.—City Archives.
——— Senckenbergische Library.
——— City Library.
FREIBURG (Switzerland)—University Library.
FULDA—Seminary Library.

GENEVA—Library.
GOTHA—Library.
GRAZ (Eggenberg)—Herberstein Archives.

INNSBRUCK — Provincial Archives.
——— Archives of the Jesuit College.
——— Library of the Servites.

LAINZ (Vienna)—Rossiana Library.[1]
LEYDEN—Library.
LONDON—British Museum.
LUCERNE—State Archives.

MANTUA—Gonzaga Archives.
——— Capilupi Library.
MILAN—Ambrosian Library.
MODENA—State Archives.
MUNICH—State Archives.
——— State Library.
MÜNSTER I. W., Library.

NAPLES—State Archives.
——— National Library.
——— Library of the Certosa di S. Martino.

ORVIETO—Episcopal Archives.
OXFORD—Bodleian Library.

PARIS—National Library.
PRAGUE—Nostitzsche Library.

RAVENNA—Archiepiscopal Archives.

ROME—

Archives :

Barnabites.
Boncompagni.
Briefs.
Capitoline.
Consistorial (Vatican).
Greek College.
Jesuits.
Mary Major, St.
Oratorians.
Orsini.
Papal Secret Archives.
Propaganda.

[1] Made over to the Vatican Library in 1922.

Archives :—cont.

Ricci.
Spanish Embassy.
State.
Theatines.

Libraries :

Alessandrina.
Altieri.
Angelica.
Barbarini.
Casanatense.
Chigi.
Corsini.
Corvisieri.
Ferrajuoli.
St. Peter's.
Piombino, the Princes of (private library).
SS. Quaranta, Convent of
Ricci.
Vallicelliana.
Vatican.
Vittorio Emanuele.

SALZBURG — Consistorial Archives.
SAINT FLORIAN, Convent Library.
STOCKHOLM—State Archives.
STRASBURG—Departmental Archives.

TRENT—City Library.

UPSALA—Library.
URBINO—Archiepiscopal Archives.

VENICE—State Archives.
——— Library of St. Mark's.
VERONA—Episcopal Archives.
VIENNA — Liechtenstein Archives.
——— State Archives.
——— State Library.

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INTRODUCTION

THE outstanding importance of the pontificate of Pius V. was due to the fact that it had been entirely dominated by the Council of Trent, which had recently been brought to a close. When the saintly Pope made the Apostolic See the centre and keystone of Catholic reform, he had given this latter the stability that it required, but in order that it should produce its full effects throughout the whole Church, there was need of a long pontificate such as that of his successor.

Under the influence of Charles Borromeo, and in all important matters following in the footsteps of Pius V., Gregory XIII., a man who was both tenacious and far-seeing, stands out from the first days of his pontificate to his death as unceasingly occupied in the task of renewing the world by means of the strict enforcement of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. He applied himself to this task with system and method, and with the broadest outlook, both by means of his letters to the bishops and Catholic princes, and by the agency of his nuncios. The Papal diplomatists, trained for the most part in the school of Borromeo and Pius V., devoted themselves with extraordinary self-sacrifice to their difficult task. Very admirable was the way in which these Italians were able to accommodate themselves to the characters of the various nations, whose climate was inclement to them and whose ways were strange ; worthy too of all admiration was the way in which they took their part in all that was happening, with the result that very often their reports are of value as sources of national history in the case of the various countries to which they were accredited.

Whereas hitherto the religious revival had been substantially limited to Italy and Spain, it now entered upon its triumphant progress among the other nations of Christendom. Nor was this the only thing which made the pontificate of Gregory

XIII. so rich in results of outstanding importance ; a further reason must be added. There now came the development, in an ever increasing degree, of that other aspect of the great change which had come over the whole spiritual tendency of the times, and which men have sought to describe by the equally ugly and inappropriate name of " counter-reformation " ; side by side with Catholic reform, Catholic restoration was making its way with ever increasing vigour.

The enemies of Catholicism had attained the successes which they had won for no other reason than the irresolution, indifference and disunion of the Catholics. Now, however, a sense of unity, of confidence in their own power, and of foresight, was once again making itself felt among them. A purely Catholic feeling, the work especially of the friends of Charles Borromeo and of the new religious Orders, and most of all of the Jesuits, was spreading from day to day. Not content with the spiritual renewal of its own adherents, it devoted itself methodically and with concerted action to the work of defence against the attacks of the enemy, while often it happened in the course of this life and death struggle that it was even able to advance to the attack and to recover positions that had been lost.

The real importance of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. lay in the fact that, together with the steady progress of Catholic reform, he assisted this work of Catholic restoration, this new offensive against heresy, in its victorious advance. Without the preparatory work done by Pius V., however, this would not have been possible, since it was only by the restoration of the Papacy to its special mission, and the energetic uprooting of wide-spread and deep-seated abuses, that the Church had been rendered capable of facing the religious innovations, not merely as a force that must be held in check, but as something to be destroyed.

There can be no doubt that in this respect it was of great advantage to the Catholic cause that just at that time Lutheranism, from the point of view of dogma, was breaking up into a number of different sects. This, however, was not in itself the decisive factor, since the advantage gained from the

internal dissensions of the Protestant hydra did not apply to the danger from the new enemy, Calvinism. The great revival was rather the natural consequence of the unexpected renewal of religious life by means of Catholic reform. This grew up quite independently, and from its own roots. Springing up first on Roman soil, it overleapt the barriers of nationality with far greater agility than Calvinism, and set itself to the conquest of the whole of Europe.

After the Council of Trent, by fixing Catholic dogma and discipline, had drawn a clear line between the old and the new beliefs, and had laid the foundations of a true reform, from the head to the members, the spiritual power and unitiy of the Church, together with her amazing recuperative forces, once more prepared the way for decisive co-operation on the part of the Popes and the new Orders. To the wonder of the whole world it was seen how a mysterious life had lain dormant in her for half a century, in spite of outrage and injury, when the great revival began, and Catholic reform was completed by Catholic restoration. It was the fact that it promoted this development which raised the pontificate of Gregory XIII. above those of his predecessors; in him the personality best suited to launch the decisive attack of the great battle took the reins of government into his hands.

Gregory XIII. was possessed of all the qualities necessary for such a task; an insatiable love of work, marked aptitude for government, breadth of view, keen insight, firmness, an extraordinary power of organization, and a clear grasp of the real forces of life. In his power of coping with these, as well as by his wise and prudent attitude towards the princes, he surpassed his predecessors, just as Pius IV. had in this respect surpassed the Carafa Pope. This was a matter of all the greater importance as the pressure brought to bear by the world-wide empire of Spain, both upon the Holy See and Italy, made itself more and more sensibly felt. However much Philip II. stood out as the champion of the interests of religion he nevertheless always sought in the first place his own advantage. While with one hand he defended the Church, with the other he placed upon her neck an intolerable yoke.

There was need of great skill to defend on the one hand the inalienable rights of the Holy See against the cesaropapalism of the Catholic King, and yet on the other to secure his co-operation, which was so necessary against the common enemy, the Protestant religious innovators.

With great wisdom Gregory XIII. realised that for the purposes of the Catholic reform and restoration he might make great use of the Jesuit Order, which by reason of its universal and international character, seemed to be pre-eminently suited to this work.

Hardly a generation had passed away since the former captain in the army of Charles V. had placed at the disposal of the head of the Church the first little band of his troops (the Society of Jesus), yet already this Order was developing its activities, not only in Italy, Spain and Portugal, but also in Germany, France, the Low Countries, Brazil, the Indies and Japan, in such a way as to strengthen and extend more and more widely in the days to come its unwearied activities.

With Gregory XIII. the most brilliant period of the Society of Jesus began. The Jesuits were to be seen in his service amid almost all the nations of Europe. At Stockholm Possevino was striving to win back the King of Sweden to the Church ; as the Pope's representative he negotiated the peace between Poland and Russia, and courageously expounded the principles of the Catholic faith before Ivan the Terrible in the Kremlin at Moscow. It was above all the Jesuits who, in every kind of disguise, and at the risk of their lives, sought to bring aid to the persecuted Catholics in the Protestant kingdoms, especially in England, and who endeavoured to bring back divided Germany to religious unity. It was above all the Jesuits who carried the blessing of the Gospel to pagan lands outside Europe. Even Protestant historians have bestowed great praise upon the generous spirit of self-sacrifice of which the disciples of Loyola gave proof. "They gained neophytes," says Macaulay, "in places where none of their compatriots, whether from motives of cupidity or the desire of knowledge, had dared to set foot ; they preached

and spoke in tongues of which no man born in the west understood a single word."[1]

Together with the Jesuits Gregory XIII. valued the Capuchins above all others. He opened out to them a vast field of activity by revoking the decree of Paul III. which forbade them to go beyond the borders of Italy. During his pontificate the Capuchins went to France and Switzerland, whence, later on, they made their way into the German Empire.

Of not less importance than the favour shown to the Jesuits and Capuchins was the labour which Gregory XIII. bestowed upon the development of the diplomatic representation of the Holy See. The increase in the number of the nunciatures opened out to the supreme head of the Church the means of providing himself with accurate information as to the condition of the states of Europe which had been so disturbed by the religious changes, and of intervening more directly and more effectively than in the past in their religious development. The pontificate of this Pope too was of exceptional importance on account of the formation of the cardinalitial congregations, which were systematically organized by his successor. To all this must be added the fact that the pontificate of Gregory XIII. lasted long enough to enable him to consolidate what he had begun.

The full re-establishment of the former religious unity of the Christian nations of Europe, which Gregory XIII. and his fellow-workers aimed at, could not, however, be attained in spite of their most devoted efforts. The zealous attempts of the Pope once more to reunite Sweden and Russia to the Church failed, as did his plans for the overthrow of Elizabeth of England. In France the struggle between the Calvinists and the Catholics remained undecided throughout his pontificate. The French government frustrated all the hopes that had been built upon it for the protection of the Catholics, while in the matter of Catholic reform it took the part of the enemies of the Holy See. Nevertheless, Gregory XIII. and his

[1] See MACAULAY, Essay on the Papacy.

nuncios, by standing firm, and, in spite of the disastrous turn of events, never giving up hope, were preparing the way for the future triumph of the Church in France.

The history of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., however, can also show its immediate results and successes. In the Low Countries, so important on account of their position, he had the happiness of seeing a definite change in favour of the Catholic cause. In the same way he had his share in the important revival which took place in the great kingdom of Poland. It is certain that with the extinction of the Jagellons, the triumph of Protestantism had become far from improbable, and, since Poland was of the same importance in the east as the Low Countries in the west, if the religious innovations had triumphed there a mortal blow would have been struck against the Church beyond the Alps. The contrary, however, of what so many hoped for, and so many others feared, took place. By the time that the pontificate of Gregory XIII. was drawing to its end the failure of Protestantism in Poland and the triumphant restoration of the Catholic Church was an established fact. In this change, which was of importance to the history of the whole world, an essential part was played by the King of Poland, Stephen Báthory. During his reign, and with his help, the Catholic Church in Poland was restored, Protestantism was eradicated, and at the same time the seeds of Catholicism were firmly planted in the Greek Orthodox territories of the kingdom. The co-operation of the Pope and the Jesuits was of decisive importance in all this. In giving his support to that Order, not only in Poland proper and Lithuania, but in opening out to it Livonia to the north and Transylvania to the south, Báthory substantially helped forward Catholic propaganda in the north and west of Europe.

The work of Gregory in Germany, in which country he took a quite special interest, was of exceptional value. The hopes which the strict ecclesiastical party had built upon him in this respect were fully justified. Gregory worked uninterruptedly for the salvation of the Catholic Church in Germany throughout his pontificate, as well as in the task of resisting

the Turks, but whereas his efforts against the hereditary foe of Christendom were shipwrecked by the selfishness and dissensions of the European powers, he attained to unhoped for success in Germany. With great prudence, here as elsewhere, he sought before everything else to safeguard what still remained to the Catholic Church, to reinvigorate it by the introduction of the Tridentine reform decrees, to put a stop to further apostasy from the ancient faith, and then to recover the ground that had been lost. It is beyond dispute that his work was of decisive importance for the future of that nation from which the religious changes had first come.[1]

It must not be forgotten, however, that such a result was only possible because the renewal of ecclesiastical life had already begun in Germany. In this matter too the preparatory work of Pius V. had been as important as the labours of the Jesuits, and of some of the secular and ecclesiastical princes. Among the princes the first place belongs to Albert V. and William V. of Wittelsbach. By their courageous attitude, as the champions and restorers of the ancient Church, they gave to their little principality the importance of a great power. The Dukes of Bavaria gave in their territory the first example of a Catholic restoration, resting upon the two-edged sword of the so-called rights of reform, set up by the religious peace of Augsburg. After these champions there followed first among the German prelates the Abbot of Fulda, Balthasar von Dernbach, and the Bishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn, and later on the Hapsburgs. It was an event of no less importance when William V., rightly called the Pious, intervened effectually in the struggle between the old and new faiths in the Empire, and struck a mortal blow against the advance of Protestantism in the north-west of Germany. But the salvation of the Catholic Church in the Lower Rhine Provinces and Westphalia was not due to the Duke of Bavaria alone; without the energetic support of

[1] See the opinion of HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland I., XXIV. *seq.*, and VON SCHELLHASS in Quellen u. Forsch. des Preuss. Instit. I. 39.

Gregory XIII. he would not have been able to attain his end.

While Gregory XIII. was occupying himself with the renewal and restoration of the Church beyond the Alps, he did not lose sight of the religious conditions of the Latin nations.

The reform of the Carmelites of Spain, at the hands of Teresa of Jesus, and energetically supported by the Pope, proved more effectual for the consolidation of the Church in the kingdom of Philip II. than the Spanish Inquisition, which had been so often misused for political ends. The institution of the Congregation called the Oratory, by Philip Neri, the most lovable and characteristic of the saints of the cinquecento, was also an important act of reform. While the founder of this body of ecclesiastics became the Apostle of Rome, his disciples spread slowly throughout Italy, and later on made their way among the other Catholic nations. The principal work of the Oratorians was the care of souls, while the importance of the new Congregation in the world of learning is shown by the mention of the father of Church history, Baronius.

Gregory was also directly a patron of learning, no less than of the arts, though in both respects the interests of the Church were always paramount with him. It was principally buildings of utility that sprang up in Rome in his time, churches for the people, and numerous colleges for the education of the priests of the various nations. In the world of letters the things nearest to the heart of the Pope were the provision of a new edition of the canon law and the Roman Martyrology, as well as a reform of the calendar which, in spite of the opposition of the Protestants, was destined gradually to make its way throughout the civilized world.

The extraordinary impulse which he gave to the work of teaching by the establishment of ecclesiastical colleges both in and out of Rome, was to the advantage, not only of the progress of Catholic reform and restoration, but also of the foreign missions. In no matter was it so evident as in this with what a breadth of vision the man who occupied the

Apostolic See regarded his mission, and maintained for the Church her note of catholicity. Pius V. had already proved himself open-handed in his support of the missions, but now his generosity was even surpassed. The immense results which were attained by Christianity among the pagan peoples of America, as well as in the far east, afforded a fresh proof of the living and efficacious presence of Christ, Who abides and works in His Church, united by the Faith, until the end of time.

CHAPTER I.

The Election of Gregory XIII.—His Character and Government.

Rarely has any vacancy in the Holy See passed over so quietly as that which followed the death of Pius V.[1] At once on the following day the College of Cardinals swore to the observance of the bulls issued by Julius II., and Pius IV. concerning the election of the Pope, and entrusted the duty of guarding the conclave to Girolamo Bonelli. Donato Stampa, Bishop of Nepi and Sutri, was appointed Governor of the Borgo, while Monte de Valentibus remained Governor of the city itself. Of the other provisions, the most important concerned the carrying on of the war and the league against the Turks.[2]

As soon as the obsequies of the dead Pope were completed, Cardinal Farnese celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost on May 12th, 1572, after which fifty-one Cardinals, one Pole, two Spaniards, four Germans, and the remainder Italians, went into conclave at the Vatican.[3] Antonio Boccapaduli exhorted the electors in his discourse to choose a Pope like Pius V., since he had possessed all the qualities necessary to

[1] See the *note at the beginning of the volume containing the original minutes of the letters written during the vacancy. Papal Secret Archives (without signature).

[2] See Theiner, Annales, I., 443 *seq.*, 457 *seq.* *Cf.* Serrano, Liga, I., 188.

[3] The names in Petramellarius, 182 *seq.*; Ciaconius, IV., 1 *seq.*; Albèri, II., 4, 205 *seq.* Santori was lying ill in Rome; absentees were the Portuguese Infante Henry, the Spaniards Espinosa and Cervantes, the Frenchmen Armagnac, Charles de Guise, Bourbon, Créquy, Pellevé and Louis de Guise, and the Italians Delfino, Commendone and del Monte.

guide the barque of Peter.[1] Before the closing of the conclave, in the evening, Cardinal Granvelle, who had come from Naples, arrived; he had been anxiously awaited by the ambassador of Spain, Zuñiga, for Philip II., as long ago as September, 1571, had named him as the leader of the Spanish Cardinals in the conclave.[2] On the following day, to the surprise of the whole world, the new Pope was elected.[3] This surprise was all the greater, as there were not wanting rival candidates of the greatest eminence, and many had prophesied a fairly long conclave.[4] Among these candidates none had worked so assiduously or so shrewdly as the powerful Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the most brilliant member of the Sacred College. The bitter opposition to his ambitions, which he had met with from the Medici and their adherents,[5] on this

[1] See A. Buccapadulii De summo pontefice creando oratio habita in basilica S. Petri, May 12, 1572, Dillingen, 1572.

[2] See the letter of Philip II. to Zuñiga of September 8, 1571. Corresp. dipl., IV., 431 *seq.*

[3] *" Il conclave fu chiuso alle otto hore di notte il di 12 maggio et usci Pontefice alle 22 hore il giorno seguente." (Notes of A. Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; *cf.* App. 29). See also the report of Gondola in *Archiv für österr. Geschichte* XCVIII., 617. For the election of Gregory XIII. *cf.* (see Ranke, Päpste, III., 84*) the report in " Conclavi dei Pontefici Romani " p.1, (1668), 264 *seq.*, which, though not based upon personal observation, is nevertheless the result of reliable information; the extracts from the reports of the ambassadors in Petrucelli, 225 *seq.*, Wahrmund, 93 *seq.* (with the remarks of Arco, 268 *seq.*) and especially the long account by Herre, 192-241, based upon unpublished letters, especially in the Florentine Archives (*cf.* also Palandri, 166). See also the *reports of A. Zibramonte dated Rome, May 10 and 13, 1572 (in the first the ambassador discusses in detail the intentions of each of the candidates) and the *letter of B. Pia of May 16, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See Masius, Letters, 484. For the candidates for the tiara *cf.* report of Zuñiga in Corresp. dipl., IV., 711 *seq.*

[5] Among these was also the Duke of Savoy, whose two envoys were working against Farnese; see Lettere e monete inedite del sec. XVI. ill. p. G. B. Adriani, Turin, 1851, and also Wüstenfeld in *Götting. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1858, I., 686 *seq.*

occasion stood still more in the way of his doing his utmost to attain the goal which he so ardently desired. As a matter of fact, however, Cosimo I., in spite of all the arts which he had brought to bear, as well as his son, Cardinal Ferdinand, and his secretary, Concini, who had been sent for the special purpose of preventing the election of Farnese, could hardly have been successful unless they had found a powerful ally in the King of Spain.

How great was the influence of Philip II. in the College of Cardinals was shown in a truly astonishing way. The king had ordered Granvelle to set out at once for Rome, and to check Farnese in his ambitions. Immediately after his entry into the conclave Granvelle repaired to Farnese's cell, and clearly told him that His Catholic Majesty asked of him, in the interests of the maintenance of the peace of Italy, to give up any further steps to obtain the tiara. Farnese was entirely taken by surprise by this communication,[1] but fully realizing the uselessness of any resistance, he declared himself ready to fall in with Philip's wishes. He wished, however, to be able to use his influence effectively in the choice of the new Pope. To this end he went to Bonelli, the leader of the Cardinals of Pius V., and proposed four candidates to him: Ricci, Savelli, Correggio and Boncompagni. Bonelli would only accept Boncompagni, who was generally recognized as being worthy, and who was looked upon as being good-natured and a lover of peace;[2] for his part he then proceeded to

[1] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., 728. That Farnese was at first attonito e confuso" but soon recovered his self-command, is stated in the anonymous *report of the conclave of Gregory XIII., dated Rome, May 23, 1572, in Miscell. Arm. 2, t. 15, p. 185 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives, which is based on information given by those who were present at the conclave, both conclavists and Cardinals. The author is of the opinion that if the conclave had been a long one, Correggio would have become Pope.

[2] It weighed against Ricci that he had an illegitimate son. A *report on the conclave of Gregory XIII., in the Ricci Library, Rome, states that after the election Charles Borromeo was asked why he had not also declared himself against Boncompagni,

nominate Rebiba, Sirleto, Albani and Paolo Burali, but these, with the exception of the last named, were rejected by Farnese. At last they both agreed upon Burali and Boncompagni. On the following morning Granvelle had a conversation with Farnese, and agreed with him to support the election of Boncompagni, whose candidature had been from the first proposed by Cosimo I.[1]

In the meantime the Cardinals of Pius IV. had taken counsel together. Among them, Charles Borromeo had from the first strongly declared himself in favour of Burali, but he found very little inclination among his own party, especially Mark Sittich von Hohenems and Orsini, to give their votes to this Cardinal, who had been a Theatine, and was known to be a man of the greatest austerity,[2] and who, like a hermit, lived only for his exercises of asceticism.[3] Borromeo then suggested Sirleto and Boncompagni. Sirleto was a man of like views with Borromeo himself;[4] he was valued as a man of great learning but was considered to be inexperienced in public affairs.[5] Although Borromeo exerted himself a great deal in his favour,[6] his candidature had to be given up like that of Burali, with the result that among this group of the electors as well, Boncompagni remained the only candidate. The

in whose case the same impediment applied. To the reply made by Borromeo that he had not known of it, the Cardinal asking the question retorted that the Holy Ghost had known of it, and yet had not prevented the election.

[1] See Herre, 198 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides the *reports of Arco and Cusano, May 17, 1572 (State Archives, Vienna), the reliability of which is brought out by Herre (233 n.1.), Petrucelli, 228 and the *letter of Zibramonti of May 13, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] A description of him by a well-informed contemporary in the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome), App. n. 9. Herre (222) wrongly describes Burali as a Jesuit.

[4] See the *report of Cusano of May 17, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, which says of Sirleto: "é anco della scuola Chietinesca."

[5] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome).

[6] See the *report of Cusano of May 17, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

difficulty of his repeated disagreements with Pius V., which Bonelli in particular brought forward against the election of Boncompagni, was smoothed over by the efforts of Cardinals Cesi, Mark Sittich, Sermoneta and Galli.[1] Half an hour afterwards, at six o'clock in the evening, the election of Boncompagni had taken place.[2] When the latter gave his vote at the scrutiny to Cardinal Granvelle, he made it clear, with equal tact and understanding, to whom he principally owed his election.[3] In memory of the fact that once upon a time the purple had been conferred upon him on the feast of St. Gregory the Great, Boncompagni took the name of Gregory XIII. For his motto he chose the words: "Confirm, O God, what thou hast wrought in us." (Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis).

The Romans welcomed the elevation of Cardinal Boncompagni, principally because neither a religious nor an austere "Theatine" had been elected, as most people had feared.[4] The good nature of the new Pope confirmed the court in the opinion that he would prove himself, as it was put in an expressive saying of the time, a "buon compagno."[5] The ambassadors built happy auguries on the fact that Gregory XIII. had lived so long in the curia as to have passed through all the ranks of office, and had thus acquired a deep knowledge of jurisprudence.[6]

[1] See HERRE, 235 *seq.* For the share taken by Sermoneta see CARINCI, Lettere di O. Gaetani, Rome, 1870, 149 *seq.*

[2] See the *Memorie del card. di Como, Cod. D. 5, p. 68, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* App. n. 28.

[3] See Corresp. de Granvelle, IV., 224.

[4] "*Questo popolo di Roma sta molto allegro poichè non hanno fatto papa ne frate ne chietino come si dubitava." Report of Cusano, Rome, May 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the *report of B.Pia, Rome, May 16, 1572, which states: "S.S^{tà} fa gratia ad ognuno et non nega cosa alcuna" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the play on the words see App. No. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of Arco of May 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, and the *letter of B. Pia to Camillo Luzzara, Rome, May 14, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the coronation

It was a fact that the whole of the past life of the new Pope had been devoted to the study of law and to the work of administration. He sprang from a Bolognese family, which, according to tradition, had come from Umbria,[1] and which belonged to the "mezzo ceto."[2] His father, Cristoforo, who was born in 1470, and died in 1546, had been a merchant, and by his skill had raised his family to a certain measure of affluence; nevertheless, the beautiful palace which he raised near the Duomo was finer than his means warranted.[3] He

and "possesso" of Gregory XIII., *cf.* GATTICUS, 393 *seq.* Among the "obedientia" envoys there was a celebrated poet: see E. ARMIGERO GAZZARA, Storia di un'ambasciata e di una orazione di Battista Guarini (1572), Modena, 1919.

[1] *Cf.* LITTA, fasc. 53. At Visso, near Norcia, may still be seen the genealogical tree of the family.

[2] The story of the Boncompagni, like that of other Roman and Bolognese families, was irremediably falsified by the Roman physician Alfonso Ceccarelli. When this man had also falsified a deed of trust, a suit was commenced against him which ended in 1583 in his condemnation. See RIEGL in *Mitteilungen des österr. Inst.*, XV., 193 *seq.* *Cf.* idem. XXIII., 275 *seq.*, *Archiv für ältere deutsche Gesch.*, N.F. XX., 253 *seq.*; KEHR in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXIV., 257; FUMI, L'opera di falsificazione di A. Ceccarelli, Perugia, 1902; A. MERCATI, Per la storia lett. di Reggio Emilia, Milano, 1919, 37. The work of Ceccarelli on the origin and history of the Boncompagni, which L. Allatius had not seen, and Riegl (*loc. cit.* 216) could not find, is preserved in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, Cod. 45, *Genealogia et insignia Boncompagni familiae auctore Alphonso Ciccarello. The work of Ceccarelli, *De familiis Italiae in Cod. XI. 13 of the Rossiana Library of the Jesuit College at Lainz, near Vienna. For the coat of arms of Boncompagni see PASINI-FRASSONI, Armorial des Papes, Rome, 1906. 39.

[3] The construction of this grandiose palace, which Ugo Boncompagni enlarged as Cardinal and as Pope, gave occasion for many witty sayings; see, besides P. TIEPOLO, 210 *seq.* especially the *report of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. A. Tiepolo also says that the family possessions were only "modesto" (p. 258).

was distinguished for his piety and his generosity towards the poor.[1] By his marriage with Angela Marescalchi, Cristoforo Boncompagni took his place among the aristocracy of Bologna. Of his four sons, Ugo, who was born on January 1st, 1502,[2] devoted himself with distinction to the study of law in the university of his native place. He took the various academic degrees there, and, amid general applause was lecturer in law at the university between the years 1531-1537, and 1538-1539.[3] Among his pupils he numbered, together with Ippolito Riminaldi, who became celebrated in the study of law, five other students who later on attained to the purple, and rendered great services to the Catholic Church : Otto Truchsess, Reginald Pole, Cristoforo Madruzzo, Francesco Alciati and Alessandro Farnese.

As Boncompagni had not a strong voice,[4] he resigned his chair in 1539, and went to Rome, where he entered the service of his friend, Cardinal Parisio.[5] Paul III. soon realized his great abilities ; Boncompagni owed to him his first promotion as one of the judges whom that Pope had placed at the dis-

[1] During a time of scarcity in Bologna he distributed a great deal of grain ; see *Memorie del Fazolio, D. 5, n. 18, Boncompagni Archives, as well as the detailed *report of Musotti. (*Cf.* App. n. 29). At S. Martino, the church of the Carmelites, Cristoforo founded a chapel.

[2] The baptism of Ugo took place, according to the *Vita Gregorii XIII. by P. Bombinus (see App. n. 24), on January 17, 1502, Vatican Library.

[3] Exact details as to this are given by C. Malagola, Documenti inediti sulla laurea e sull'insegnamento di Gregorio XIII. (U. Boncompagni) nell'antico studio di Bologna, Roma, 1878. The Boncompagni Archives has in Cod. D. 2 part of the lectures of Boncompagni : *In titulum de donatione praelectiones expositae anno 1532. The description of the coronation of Charles V. at Bologna, which Boncompagni sent to Ingolstadt to his friend Fabio Arca on March 18, 1530, was published by G. Giordani (Lettera inedita del Bolognese U. Boncompagni, Bologna, 1841).

[4] See A. Tiepolo, 258.

[5] See the *Note of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 163.

posal of the senator (collaterale di Campidoglio) as well as his appointment as "abbreviatore di Parco Maggiore," and finally as "referendarius utriusque signaturae."[1] Ugo, who had acquired a fine residence in the Rione di Parione,[2] made many acquaintances in the Palazzo Parisio, who were very useful to him in his career; in 1545 he lost this patron, whose last will he drew up.[3] In 1546 Boncompagni obtained a far more important office by his appointment as "Abbreviatore" of the Council of Trent.[4] In February, 1548, he was one of the deputies whom the legates sent to Rome to inform the Pope of the transference of the Council to Bologna.[5]

It seemed as though Boncompagni could count upon further promotion when Cardinal del Monte, whom he had faithfully served at the Council, was elected Pope. The contrary, however, was the case. Julius III. removed him from the roll of the referendaries,[6] and moreover showed his disfavour so clearly that Boncompagni wished to leave Rome, from which

[1] *Cf.* in App. n. 1 the *bull of Pius IV. of March 12, 1565 (Papal Secret Archives) and Corresp. dipl., I., xxxix. There also belong to this time the notes in Cod. D. 2 of the Boncompagni Archives, *Forensia et praesertim notabilia in materia expedit. liter. apost.; ibid. D. 3, *Mss. dogmatico-canonica of Gregory XIII. Other *manuscripts of the same kind which certainly belong to the time of the cardinalate and pontificate of Boncompagni, are mentioned by Fantuzzi, IV., 287, as being in the Archives of the Castle of St. Angelo.

[2] Via del Governo Vecchio n. 118, where recently over the entrance door was found the inscription: "Boncompagni"; see Tomassetti, La casa di U. Boncompagni, per le nozze Boncompagni-Ludovisi-Malvezzi-Campeggi, Rome, 1897.

[3] See the Vita Gregorii XIII. by P. Bombinus (*cf.* App. n. 24), Vatican Library.

[4] See Ehses, Concilii Trident. Actorum pars prima, Freiburg, 1904, 544.

[5] See Merkle, Concil. Trident. Diariorum pars prima, Freiburg, 1901, XLIII.

[6] This fact, of which the biographies by Ciappi (2) and Maffei (I. 6) say nothing, is attested by the Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino, D. 5, n. 17, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

step, however, he was dissuaded by Cardinal Crescenzi.[1] The reasons for this disfavour are not known: Boncompagni then retired altogether from the curia and devoted himself entirely to his studies.[2] At the end of the pontificate of Julius III., Cardinal Giambattista Cicada, legate of the Campagna, appointed him his vice-legate, in recognition of his administrative talents, and he held this office for eight months.[3]

During the pontificate of Paul IV. Boncompagni once more came into favour, although the character of the new Pope was very different from his own. In January, 1556, when the Commission of Reform was established, the Pope would not forego the services of this experienced jurist.[4] After this Ugo Boncompagni entered the diplomatic service; he twice accompanied Cardinal Carlo Carafa on important legations. The first time was in May, 1556, when the Cardinal's nephew went to France, and the other in the autumn of the following year, on his journey to Brussels, to the court of Philip II.[5] In May, 1558, Boncompagni, who had in the meantime been appointed by Paul IV. a member of the Segnatura di Grazia, was placed upon the commission which had to pronounce sentence in the dispute with Ferdinand I. In July the Pope proposed to send him to that monarch,[6] and at once conferred upon him the bishopric of Viesti in lower Italy.[7] By permission of Paul IV. Boncompagni still remained in Rome, where, at the end of 1558, he was given the office of vice-regent to Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, who had recently been appointed regent of the Camera. This office he held gratuitously and to the satisfaction of

[1] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 163.

[2] *"Si retirè poiche non volse più lassarsi vedere ne dal papa ne da veruno cardinale" says Venanzio da Camerino, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *ibid.*

[4] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 191.

[5] See *ibid.* pp. 124, 211. *Cf.* ANCEL, La question de Sienne, Bruges, 1905, 16, and Nonciat., II., 471 n.

[6] See Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 353, 355.

[7] See MERKLE, II., 324 n.

everybody.[1] In January, 1559, he was called to take part in the new Council of State, which had just been instituted.[2] When the obligation of residence was enforced in 1559, Boncompagni was one of the few prelates who were allowed to remain in Rome, because they had need there of his services.[3] The purple seemed assured to him when Paul IV. died.[4]

The tragedy of the Carafa, with whom Boncompagni had been closely associated,[5] might have proved fatal to him. He nevertheless remained untouched, although he had himself, from his modest resources, helped Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, who had been condemned to pay a fine of 100,000 scudi.[6] In what a high degree he possessed the confidence of Pius IV., as well as that of Cardinal Borromeo, is shown by his appointment to the Consulta. His close contact with the Cardinal nephew, who lived like a saint, had a decisive effect upon both the interior and exterior life of Boncompagni. Since his education had been to all intents and purposes of a worldly character, he had not, though he was in himself of a religious turn of mind,[7] altogether escaped the profane influence of the dying Renaissance. It was therefore of decisive importance for him that he should have completed his period of development and maturity in close contact with Charles Borromeo,

[1] See *Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino and the *Notes of Musotti in Boncompagni Archives, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* ANCEL, Nonciat., II., 471 n.

[2] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 229.

[3] See ANCEL, Nonciat., II., 471 n.

[4] See the *Avviso di Roma in Urb. 1039, p. 62, Vatican Library.

[5] It is significant that these were not mentioned in the account of his career contained in the bull of his nomination as cardinal; see the *document in App. n.1., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See the *Vita di Gregorio XIII. in Cod. Barb. 4749 (Vatican Library), which must be compared with App. n. 24.

[7] Already when "collaterale di Campidoglio" he visited every day the church of Aracoeli. This is stated by Guido Ferrari upon oral evidence in his *Vita Gregorii XIII. Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* App. n. 24.

at the time when full experience of life and the serious purposes of middle age had come upon him.[1]

Borromeo, like Pius IV., learned to appreciate still more the learned prelate by reason of his unflagging labours during the third period of the Council. Boncompagni, who had gone to Trent on December 9th, 1561, as the companion of the Cardinal legate, Simonetta,[2] lived there at first at his own expense, as his bishopric, which had been devastated by the Turks, brought in no revenues whatever.[3] As the close associate of the legate, he placed all his knowledge of canon law and his exceptional powers at the service of the great cause. His advice, and his share in the drafting of the decrees, won for him the special praises of Seripando, Borromeo and Pius IV. The activity which he displayed during the discussion of the difficult question of the obligation of residence won him special praise.[4]

During his stay at Trent Boncompagni lived in a villa at Civezzano, from whence he generally travelled on foot along the precipitous road leading to Trent. Venanzio da Camerino, who had been for many years in his service, has described Boncompagni's manner of life at that time. He got up at sunrise to recite his breviary in the open air, and to hear the first mass. He then set out for his work; for the most part during his long walks he meditated upon the business of the Council, only to discuss it anew in the evening with certain bishops who lodged at the same villa.[5]

[1] This is very rightly pointed out by Reinhardt-Steffens, p. xxiii. How seriously Boncompagni took his position as prelate as early as 1547, *cf.* Tacchi-Venturi, I., 169 *seq.*

[2] See Šusta, I., 114 *seq.*

[3] See *Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Later on he received a subsidy from the Pope; see Šusta, IV., 30.

[4] *Cf.* Merkle, II., 826; Šusta, II., 45, 47, 86, 126, 146, 170, 193, 218; III., 19, 168, 178, 180 *seq.*, 185, 254, 272, 274; IV., 51, 105, 367. See also the *Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives, and Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 73.

[5] See as to this the valuable information in the *Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives.

His temperance at that time is worthy of notice; even though the sittings of the Council had been very protracted, he never took any time for refreshment.

It is also reported of him that when the news came of the illness of Pius IV., he was one of the few who remained prefectly calm.[1] When, at the conclusion of the Council, Boncompagni passed through Bologna on his way back to Rome, it was obvious from his pallor how great had been the strain which he had undergone during his two years' stay in Trent.[2] He had indeed earned the purple which was bestowed upon him in 1565, on March 12th, the feast day of Gregory the Great.[3] On the occasion of his nomination Pius IV. remarked, in obvious allusion to his relations with the Carafa: "this man has always been without guile."[4]

It was said later on in Rome that Boncompagni's habit of silence had won for him in the curia the reputation of being a prudent and capable man, and that this had weighed heavily in the balance in favour of his elevation to the cardinalate.[5] Other reasons, however, contributed to his promotion. Even though Boncompagni, in the opinion of Prospero Santa Croce, who was made a Cardinal at the same time, was poor and a man of few words, so as to appear to be of an austere turn of mind, he had also won golden opinions by his manner of life and his great prudence.[6] It is certain that the high opinion which Borromeo had of him told especially in his favour.[7] He saw with approval how Boncompagni kept all aloof from Court intrigues, and devoted himself to his juridical studies and public

[1] See *ibid.* [2] See *ibid.*

[3] See the *bull of Pius IV. in App. n.1., Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 393.

[4] See MAFFEI, I., 10.

[5] See the *Avvertimenti politici et utilissimi per un signore che praticò la corte di Roma. Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. F. 1.

[6] See *Prosper card. S. Crucis de Cardinalibus sui temporis, in Cod. Ottob. 7248, p. 151, Vatican Library.

[7] See the *Considerationi sopra la vita di Gregorio XIII. dal vescovo di Cremona (Ces. Speciani) D. 5, n. 6, Boncompagni Archives.

duties. The ambassadors, especially the Spanish ambassador, appreciated his peace-loving character, and his naturally conciliatory disposition, while his great disinterestedness was generally recognized.[1] Thus it was looked upon as an inspired choice when Pius IV., in the autumn of 1565, in connexion with the trial by the Inquisition of Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, sent to Spain the Cardinal of S. Sisto, as Boncompagno was called from his titular church. But the death of Pius IV. determined the legate to return to Rome as early as December 29th.[2] His companion on his journey relates how Philip II., at his farewell audience, wished to alter the faculties of the legate and said to him: "If the Pope were to command it you would certainly listen to him." Boncompagni frankly replied: "If the Pope were to order me to do anything against my conscience, or to the injury of the Holy See, I should certainly not listen to him."[3] Pius V. gave to Boncompagni, after the death of Cardinal Reumano, the Segnatura of Briefs.[4] The Cardinal, on this occasion as well, devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office. He was never to be seen at public festivals, and the only recreation which he allowed himself was an occasional visit to the villa of Cardinal Mark Sittich at Frascati.[5] He never wished for riches, and thus still remained in a state of voluntary poverty. He would not accept a pension of 1,000 scudi offered to him by Philip II., without the permission of the Pope. Without any thought of self-interest he always defended his opinions quite openly,[6]

[1] See *ibid.*

[2] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 372. *The Acta concerning this legation are in Cod. 4, Boncompagni Archives.

[3] See the *notes of Venanzio da Camerino in the Boncompagni Archives. *Cf.* also the *Vita di Gregorio XIII. in Cod. Barb. 4749, Vatican Library.

[4] *"Carico di tanta importanza che si dà a Cardinali confidentissimi," says Musotti, in his *notes, Boncompagni Archives.

[5] See the *Considerationi of Speciani, *ibid.*

[6] See *ibid.* (*cf.* also Corresp. dipl., III., 101, the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, and the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome) in App. n. 9.

and as a conscientious jurist sometimes resisted the acts of harshness into which Pius V. was led by his ardent zeal.[1]

The good name which the Cardinal of S. Sisto enjoyed in Rome was beyond dispute. A man of such weight, and so experienced in every kind of office seemed to have been almost created for the supreme dignity. He had already been numbered among the "papabili" at the conclave of 1565.[2] When, in the summer of 1566, Boncompagni fell sick with a fever, it was said in Rome that he would not die except as Pope.[3] The Spanish ambassador, in a report of October 12th, 1568, to Philip II. recommended him as the best fitted of all the Cardinals to govern the Church.[4] In like manner the ambassador of Venice in 1569 sketched an extremely laudatory portrait of him: Boncompagni has a very deep knowledge of canon law; although he is a man of few words, he is nevertheless extremely affable; all men are of opinion that in the event of a vacancy in the Papal throne he would have every hope of the tiara, since he has no enemies. The Spanish ambassador, however, does not attempt to conceal the shadow that lay upon Boncompagni in that, before he was a priest, he had a son; the whole subsequent life of Boncompagni, however, was always exemplary. "I believe," the ambassador concludes, "that he would be a very good Pope, and that your

[1] See the report of Cusano in HERRE, 235; *cf.* also the *letter of Arco, of February 4, 1570, State Archives, Vienna, the *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1569, and the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library) in App. n. 9.

[2] See the *Florentine reports, of December 18 and 19, 1565, State Archives, Florence, Med. 3285. At his departure for Spain *"tutti dicevano se ne va a farsi Papa." Notes of Venanzio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives.

[3] *"Non può morire se non Papa" (Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the *letter of Caligari to Commendone of July 27, 1566, Lett. di Princ., 23, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Corresp. dipl., II., 486 *seq.* *Cf.* also the cypher *report of Cusano on Boncompagni as "papabile," December 26, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

Majesty might support him."[1] A few years later, on March 21st, 1572, Zuñiga sent the King of Spain a highly favourable account of the good qualities of Boncompagni; he was one of the best members of the Sacred College, and had always borne himself well in the affairs of Philip II.[2]

On account of the special characteristics of Boncompagni there was a danger lest, as the result of his disposition,[3] which was essentially kind and benevolent, he might as Pope lean towards a relaxation of the strict severity of his predecessors. Although it was known that he, who had grown up in a period of somewhat worldly tendencies, had only recently been won over to the austere ecclesiastical ideas of the circle of Borromeo, it was thought that he could not altogether forget his own youth. It was soon said in the curia that Gregory XIII. would increase his court and spend more than Pius V.,[4] and that Bernardino Carniglia, who was the soul of the reform commission, would be dismissed.[5] Views of this kind filled men of worldly sentiments with sweet anticipations of a weak government.[6] In such circles men deluded themselves with

[1] See Corresp. dipl., III., 149 *seq.*; *cf.* Colecc. de docum. inéd., XXIX., 473; P. Tiepolo in Albéri, II., 4, 185.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 713.

[3] *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 212. See also the *report of B. Pia of May 17, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *" La famiglia del Papa sarà più numerosa che non era quella de l'altro et le spese ancora in tutte le altre cose saranno più larghe." Arco, May 24, 1572. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also the letter of Zuñiga of May 17, 1572, in Herre, 243.

[5] See the characteristic *letter of B. Pia of May 16, 1572, on the "riformatori" as being "turba hippocritissima et malvaggia," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *report of Cusano of May 17, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. For Carniglia see Giussano-Oltrocchi, l.2, c.40, n.; Santori, Diario Consist., XXIV., 112, and Autobiografia, XII., 362 (on the death of Carniglia, 1576). *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of September 22, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 150, Vatican Library.

[6] See the Florentine report in Törne, 109, n. 2; *cf.* also the letter of Zuñiga of May 30, 1572, in Serrano, Liga, I., 191.

the hope that the new pontificate would be more like that of Paul III. than that of the saintly Pius.[1]

But it was very soon made clear that Gregory XIII. was resolved in all essentials to continue the severe methods of Pius V. From the very first this was shown by the appointment to the Dataria of Matteo Contarelli, whose adherence to the reform party was acknowledged by everyone. This was immediately followed on May 14th by the appointment of Ludovico Bianchetti as maestro di camera.[2] The dreaded Bernardino Carniglia too was not sent off to Milan as many had expected,[3] but was confirmed in his office.[4] On May 30th, at his first consistory, the Pope made public his resolute determination to carry on the reform work of his predecessor. In proof of the seriousness of his purpose he had read and then confirmed the bull of Pius V. concerning the alienation of ecclesiastical property, which was directed against nepotism, and he expressly declared that he did not intend to show favour to any of his family to the injury of the Holy See.[5]

[1] See the *report of Cusano of June 10, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See Mucantius, Diarium, in THEINER, Annales, I., 14. Of Contarelli Musotti says in his *notes : " Persona di molta integrità e di molta pratica nella professione delle espedizioni et del datariato, massimamente nelle materie gratiose; fu suo [Boncompagni] sustituto, mentre era abbreviatore pure de' maiori e di poi lui stesso fu per molti anni abbreviatore pure de maiori, essercitò questo officio tutto il pontificato con molta diligenza et assiduità et meritò di esser promosso al cardinalato dal detto Pontefice nell' ultima promotione." Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See also in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. The epitaph of Bianchetti (died 1587) in FORCELLA, V., 69.

[3] See the *letter of B. Pia of May 17, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. Carniglia died in 1576; see FORCELLA, XIII., 355. For Carniglia see : BORATYNSKI, Caligarii Epist., 41.

[5] See the *report of Babbi to Cosimo I. of May 30, 1572, State Archives, Florence. Med. 3598, and that of Alessandro de' Medici of the same date in TÖRNE, 136, n.1. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 19 *seq.*

At the same time Gregory XIII. announced that he had revoked certain existing concessions, that he had made the enclosure of the convents of nuns more strict, and that he had entrusted the reorganization of the Penitentiaria to four Cardinals who were known to be the most austere: Borromeo, Burali, Aldobrandini and Paleotto. Cusano, the agent of Maximilian II., reported to Vienna in this connexion that the new Pope had taken Pius V. as his model.[1] Paolo Tiepolo, the ambassador of Venice, in his report made in 1576, was uncertain whether the strong tendency of Gregory XIII. towards the policy of his predecessor was the result of his own wishes or the result of the pressure brought to bear by the reform party, among whom he makes special mention of the name of the Jesuit and court preacher, Francisco de Toledo.[2] An anonymous report written two years earlier also mentions Toledo, whose outspoken language was supported by Monsignori

[1] *Report of May 31, 1572. The appointment of the four Cardinals, writes Cusano, *"fa star tutta Roma in spavento perchè li sopra nominati cardinali sono li più rigorosi et sofistici nelle riforme che siano nel collegio." State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* the letter of Masius 485.

[2] P. TIEPOLO, 213. For Toledo see HURTER, I., 90 *seq.* The sermons of Toledo, which are also praised in his epitaph (FORCELLA, XI., 55) attained a high repute (see MONTAIGNE, II., 31) and are widely circulated in manuscript: *Prediche di Toledo nel Palazzo Apostolico (beginning with Advent Sunday 1573, down to 1584). Varia polit., 32, p. 105 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. Toledo used to preach in the Hall of Constantine; see *Tesor. Secret. of January 31, 1580, *ibid.* Urb. 559-562; *Fr. Toleti Contiones (Latin and Italian), 1573-1574; Vat. 7420: *Fr. Toledo, Prediche recitate nella sala di Costatino 1573-1580, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.* Barb. L. 109, LVIII., 7 and 56. Members of other Orders also preached before the Pope. According to the *information of Odescalchi of December 10, 1580, the procurator of the Franciscan friars at that time preached a sermon that was not acceptable, on which account he lost his office. The Master of the Sacred Palace thenceforward had to revise the sermons that were to be delivered in the Vatican. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Carniglia and Frumento, and the Datary, Contarelli.[1] The influence of these men, who rightly clung to the traditions of Pius V., was beyond doubt, but the man whose influence at the commencement of the pontificate rendered impossible any change of method was Charles Borromeo; to him must be given the credit for the fact that Gregory XIII. made up his mind to follow in the way traced out by Pius V.[2]

The relations between Boncompagni and Charles Borromeo were very intimate; it was principally to the Archbishop of Milan that the other owed his conversion. As Secretary of State of Pius IV. Borromeo had in every way supported the learned and disinterested Bolognese prelate, and had finally secured his elevation to the cardinalate.[3] It is no wonder then that his words weighed heavily in the balance[4]; even though he sometimes made himself troublesome to the Pope by his incessant importunities, which were always concerned with problems of the greatest complexity, yet the pontiff always retained the most sincere gratitude and veneration for this man who surpassed all others in his sanctity. Cesare Speciani expressly states that he did many things at the suggestion of Borromeo, for whom he felt an almost incredible esteem, not to say reverence, and whom he allowed to say what he liked, with regard to both public and private matters.[5] It can be shown that the frequent consultations

[1] See this *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome) in App. n. 9 RANKE (Päpste, I.[8], 278 *seq.*), who wrongly writes Cornilia, follows this exactly; TÖRNE (p. 122 *seq.*) rightly expresses himself more cautiously.

[2] *Cf.* P. TIEPOLO, 213.

[3] See the *Considerationi of C. Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See, as well as the letter of Capilupi in INTRA, 34 *seq.*, the *report of Cusano of October 4, 1572, according to which Borromeo reproved the Pope for his expeditions into the country (State Archives, Vienna), which the saint had the more right to do, as he had himself given up all such innocent recreations; see Vol. XV. of this work, p. 121.

[5] See the *passage in App. n. 30 Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

on the subject of the reform of the court, which were held at the house of Cardinal Santori,[1] as well as the confirmation of Carniglia in his office,[2] and the appointment of Tolomeo Galli as Secretary of State, were done by the advice of Borromeo.[3]

Tolomeo Galli, who was a man of lowly origin, had been born at Cernobbio near Como in 1526.[4] He had faithfully served Cardinal Gian Angelo de' Medici as his secretary, and after the latter's elevation to the Papal throne, had been rapidly promoted. His labours at the secretariate of state were rewarded with the purple in March 1565. When, in the autumn of that year, Borromeo returned to his archdiocese of Milan, the business of the secretariate was left for the most part in the hands of Galli.[5] After his involuntary retirement during the reign of Pius V. he now came back to the direction of the secretariate of state which was entrusted to him by the new Pope. "The times of Pius IV. have come back," he wrote to Cosimo I., "but this time with the hope of their lasting longer, since Gregory XIII., notwithstanding his seventy years, is in very good health."[6]

Cardinal Galli had all the more reason to rejoice at his new appointment, in that now he no longer had, as had been the case in the days of Pius IV., a Cardinal nephew over him, and

[1] Of this reform of the court it was said in an *Avviso di Roma of August 30, 1572: "S'aspetta habbia d'essere strettissima tutto per opera dell' ill. Borromeo il quale si va dicendo non sia per ritornare a Milano per esser molto grato et accetto a S.B^ne et in conseguenza poco amato dal popolo di quella città." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *Avviso di Roma of May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, and the notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives.

[3] Besides Borromeo, according to *Musotti (*loc. cit.*) Mark Sittich also worked that Galli might receive "il carico delli negotii di stato con li principi."

[4] *Cf.* Litta, fasc. 3; Törne, Gallio, 55 *seq.*, and Reinhardt-Steffens, p. cccxlvi. *seq.*, where further literature is given. The last will of Galli in 1596 in the *Periodico d. soc. di sort. patr. di Como*, XVII. (1906), 41 *seq.*

[5] See Vols. XV. 110, and XVI. 395, of this work.

[6] Törne, 116.

also because his lucrative financial position,[1] as far as anyone could foretell, was not likely to be disputed by anyone.

Although the ambassadors, during the first weeks of the new pontificate, hoped that the gratitude of Gregory XIII. would mean great influence for Cardinal Mark Sittich, on account of the important services which he had rendered in the conclave, the latter, by his own fault, at once forfeited all hopes of obtaining a position of authority.[2]

How, it may be asked, was it faring with the Pope's nephews? On June 2nd, 1572, Gregory XIII., in accordance with the urgent request of many Cardinals, conferred the purple on his brother's son, Filippo Boncompagni, who was thirty-three years of age, and then entrusted to him the administration of the States of the Church, with the exception of military and financial matters.[3]

But Galli had nothing to tear from the Cardinal of S. Sisto, as Filippo Boncompagni was called from his titular church. The good-natured Cardinal nephew, who was both insignificant and inexperienced, was all the more bound to remain a mere

[1] *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 218. The Cardinal made the most generous use of his wealth, particularly in the case of his native city, which in 1861 erected a monument to him in the cathedral. Galli had two magnificent palaces on the lake of Como, a palace with four towers near Gravedona, and in 1568 he built the Villa d'Este near Cernobbio. He also built a large villa at Frascati; see Törne, 229.

[2] See the Florentine reports in Törne, 117; *cf.* in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[3] See the *report of Zibramonti of June 2, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Ciaconius, IV., 45; Maffei, I., 23; Törne, 113 *seq.* Musotti relates in his *recollections that the pressure of the Cardinals had become so great that Gregory XIII. remarked: "Cogitis nos, cogitis nos et loro tutti: libenter cogimur, libenter cogimur." Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Fabio Albergati's *Discorso al card. S. Sisto del modo col quale si possa governare lodevole e con honore come cardinale e nipote del Papa" was copied many times; copies in the Barberiniana, LI., 78, and LVI., 11, as well as in the Urbinate, 1230, Vatican Library.

shadow because the Pope had associated with him in the management of the affairs of the Papal States a prelate as colleague (Consulta), who was to report directly to the Holy Father. Instructions were given to this man, not by the Cardinal nephew, but by the Pope himself; Galli directed the correspondence with the authorities in the Papal States.[1]

For his maintenance Cardinal Filippo Boncompagni at first received only what was absolutely necessary;[2] in 1574 he was still looked upon as the poorest Cardinal in the Sacred College.[3] It was only later on that he found himself in better circumstances.[4] His brother Cristoforo, who was at first entirely ignored, was only appointed Archbishop of Ravenna in October, 1578, and in March, 1579, had to go thither to comply with his duty of residence.[5] The concession of the Penitentiaria to Filippo Boncompagni, which was asked for from Gregory XIII., was refused by the Pope, because he had chosen for that important office an older man, namely Aldobrandini.[6]

The principal duty of the Cardinal nephew was concerned with the ceremonial representation of the Holy See, which, in the views then prevailing, could only be entrusted to a near relative of the Pope.[7] How much tradition demanded repre-

[1] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini, Library, Rome. Zuñiga in *N. Colecc. de docum. ined.*, III., 303, and Törne, 122. According to *Musotti (*loc. cit.*) Guastavillani also belonged to the Consulta (*cf.* P. Tiepolo, 216). Facchinetti too was a member. The conduct of F. Boncompagni was not irreproachable; see *Avviso di Roma of June 11, 1586. Urb. 1054, p. 213, Vatican Library.

[2] See in App. n. 7 the *letter of Delfino of December 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See Tiepolo, 219; Ciaconius, IV., 45.

[5] See the *report of Odescalchi of March 7, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See the *Vita di Gregorio XIII. in Cod. Barb. 4749, Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* Törne, 120.

sentation of this kind was seen in 1574, on the occasion of the journey of King Henry III. from Poland to France. On the same day, July 5th, on which the Cardinal of S. Sisto was sent to Venice as legate to show honour to that monarch, Gregory XIII. quite unexpectedly conferred the purple on his sister's son, Filippo Guastavillani, who was thirty-four years old, so that he might not be, as he said, without a Cardinal nephew.[1] The Pope had not informed anyone of his intention,[2] not even Galli; the influence of the Cardinal Secretary of State, however, was in no way affected by this appointment of Guastavillani. This is clear from the fact that the correspondence with the Cardinal legate, Filippo Boncompagni, was left in the hands of Cardinal Galli.[3] Guastavillani was much loved in the curia on account of his pleasant and distinguished manner, but his abilities seemed to Paolo Tiepolo to be very limited.[4]

[1] Acta consist. in TÖRNE, 121, n.1. *Diarium of Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 243. CIACONIUS (IV., 46), wrongly puts June 5. See also the *report of Cusano of July 10, 1575, who adds: "Il detto card. Guastavillano è in aspettatione di esser di maggior valor del card. Boncompagni et se bene per adesso farà le faccende che l'altro faceva che sono per la sopraintendenza delle cose di governi del stato eccles^co." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See in App. n. 10 the *report of Odescalchi of July 9, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] TÖRNE, 121.

[4] See P. TIEPOLO, 219; who reports that in 1578 Guastavillani had only 5,000 scudi as revenue; when Cardinal Cornaro died (1584), Guastavillani was given the office of Camerlengo, and administered it well; see CIACONIUS, IV., 46. A letter of Gabriele Salvago of July 10, 1574 (*Atti d. soc. Lig.*, XIII., 879) and also the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, App. n. 9) pass a very favourable judgment upon Guastavillani; the latter, however, had not at that time had any opportunity of showing his talents. The eulogy of Guastavillani in the "Oratio in funere Phil. Guastavillani card^lio Cam. habita in templo S. Apost. vii. Cal. Sept. 1587" (Cod. D. 8, Boncompagni Archives, Rome) is certainly exaggerated.

The Venetian ambassador had a much higher opinion of Giacomo Boncompagni. Gregory XIII. could not conceal[1] his love for this son of his, who had been born in 1548, ten years before he had entered the priesthood,[2] but he never forgot in his regard the exigencies of his own great position.[3] In May 1572 Giacomo Boncompagni was castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo,[4] and in April 1573 commandant of the Papal troops, in the place of Marcantonio Colonna.[5] The ambition of Giacomo was in no way satisfied with this. He aimed at obtaining a principality or the purple, as had been the case with Farnese.[6] The difficulty was that Gregory XIII. was not a Paul III. Even though he allowed the city of Rome to make Giacomo an honorary citizen,[7] and the Republic of Venice in 1574 to enrol him among its nobility,[8] he definitely

[1] See besides the Florentine reports in Törne, 118, n.1., the *Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1573 (" Castellano suo occhio drito "), State Archives, Vienna, and the Relazione di N. Da Ponte, 13.

[2] According to Ciappi (3) Ugo Boncompagni became a priest in 1558; *cf.* Fantuzzi, IV., 282. The year of Giacomo's birth was 1548; see P. Tiepolo, 219.

[3] See in App. 14 n. the *report of Scozia of January 17, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the opinion of Zuñiga in the *Colecc. de docum. inéd.*, CII., 348, and Montaigne, I., 226.

[4] See Rodocanachi, St. Ange, 175.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] As early as August 16, 1572, Cusano states: *" Il castellano tiene molto solicitato il Papa che li compra un stato per il dubbio ch'ha non viva molto " and on September 27, 1572: *" Ho inteso ch'el castellano s'è messo al forte col Papa et che vuol essere per ogni modo cardinale." To obtain this he wished to prove by means of a legal process that he was not the son, but the lawful nephew of Gregory XIII. State Archives, Vienna.

[7] *Cf.* besides Rodocanachi, Capitole, 115, the *Avviso di Roma of September 26, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 309, Vatican Library, and that of November 3, 1573, State Archives, Vienna. The diploma, which was lavishly drawn up with a gold seal, is in the private library of the Prince of Piombino in Rome.

[8] See the report of Tiepolo of March 3, 1574, in Ranke, Päpste, I.[8], 274, n. 2.

refused to lend himself to his two great ambitions. On the contrary, it seemed to him that he had gone too far in the favours that he had already bestowed upon this natural son of his ; to this view were added the remonstrances of the strict reform party. Giacomo had to leave Rome, and it was only during the year of jubilee that, under the pretext of superintending the fortifications of Ancona, he was sent thither. He vainly hoped to have permanent provision made for his future. In order to touch the heart of his father, he withdrew entirely from the world for a time, and spread the news in Rome that he was afflicted by a dangerous disease.[1] In spite of this Gregory let the year of jubilee pass by before he decided to make any permanent provision for Giacomo. In February 1576, he gave him for a wife the wealthy Costanza Sforza di Santa Fiora, at the suggestion of Cardinal Medici ; the marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and many favours were bestowed upon the young husband.[2] When in August of the same year Giacomo liberated a servant of his from prison on his own authority, Gregory rebuked him very severely ; he wished to deprive him of all his offices, and only

[1] See P. Tiepolo, 219 *seq.*

[2] For the marriage of and the gifts made to Giacomo, who was first legitimatized (*" l'altra mattina il Papa legittimò il s. Giacomo Boncompagni e le fece donatione di tutto il patrimonio che ha S.S^tà in Bologna." Pompeo Strozzi, Rome, February 17, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) ; see the *Avvisi di Roma of February 1, 4 and 25, and March 10, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 32, 33, 40, 58, 69, Vatican Library ; P. Tiepolo, 220 *seq.* ; Mutinelli, I., 112 *seq.* ; *reports of Hortensi Tyriacensis to Duke William V., dated Rome, February 4 and 11, 1576, State Archives, Munich, and in App. n. 12 the *reports of Strozzi of March 3 and 4, 1576. The bridal couple held further splendid festivities at Bologna. We are informed of the scandal given by this in a document by Hans Jacob Schwartz, a servant in the Swiss Guard at Bologna, which states : " A Pope ought not to have sons, and this man is therefore a bastard." *Diary of Werner Schodoler the younger, who became communal secretary at Bremgarten (died 1587), State Archives, Bremgarten (Aargau).

the intercession of Cardinals Sforza, Medici, Granvelle and Orsini, as well as the Spanish ambassador, were able to deter him from his intention. Instead, Giacomo was banished to the fortress of Perugia.[1] If later on he was able to return to Rome, the Pope kept him within strict bounds, even in the matter of the payment of his revenues.

The ambassador of Venice in 1578 could not sufficiently express his wonder that Giacomo Boncompagni should receive so little in comparison with the relatives of other Popes. He gives as the reason that Gregory XIII. wished at all costs to avoid giving the impression that he thought more of his own family than of the splendour of the Church. Giovanni Corraro, too, estimated the revenues of Giacomo in 1581 as being so small that he often complained that the Pope had taken no steps to see that after his death he could maintain himself in accordance with his rank. According to the same ambassador, Giacomo received from his offices as "homme d'armes" to Philip II., general of the Church, castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo, and commandant of the Papal troops, 14,000 scudi annually, of which he would lose 8000 at the death of the Pope.

Apart from this, in 1578 he had only a revenue of 7000 scudi, and 9000 in 1581.[2] This came to him from the marquisate of Vignola which Gregory XIII. had bought for him in 1577 for 70,000 scudi.[3] When Giacomo fell seriously ill in the spring of 1578, his paternal love for him was shown very

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of August 11, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 139, Vatican Library, the letter of Tiepolo mentioned by RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 274, and especially the *reports of Pompeo Strozzi, dated Rome, August 9, 1576, ("il Papa duro nel perdonar al s. Giacomo"), August 25 (his banishment to the citadel of Perugia), and September 10 (lawsuit against Giacomo), Gonzaga Archives Mantua. *Cf.* also the *report of Hortensi Tyriacensis to Duke William V., dated Rome, August 11 and 18, 1576, State Archives, Munich; MAFFEI, I., 223.

[2] See A. TIEPOLO, 266, and CORRARO, 280.

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of June 3, 12 and 19, 1577, Urb. 1045, pp. 504, 509b, 526, Vatican Library.

strongly ;[1] the Pope allowed him to acquire larger possessions, though these, like Vignola, were not within the Papal States ; they were the duchy of Sora and the countship of Arpino.[2] When Giacomo at length found himself in an assured position, Palestrina became his musical director.[3] Later on he took great interest in scientific and literary matters. Not only did the historian Sigonio have relations with him, but also Torquato Tasso, who was presented by him to the Pope. Gregory XIII. gave his approval to expenditure of this kind, but in spite of his generosity,[4] he never allowed Giacomo to interfere in any way in affairs of state.[5] Thus the dangerous seeds of nepotism, when once again it sought to raise its head, were crushed. The same thing was also shown by the attitude of Gregory XIII. when his brother, who was two years younger than himself, and lived at Bologna, tried in 1577, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Loreto, and through the intercession of his son, Cardinal Filippo, to obtain permission to come to Rome. With the assurance that his request would be acceded to, he had got as far as Civitacastellana, when a messenger from the Pope appeared, who ordered him to go back home. Filled with a strong desire to see his brother once

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of April 16, 19, 26 and 30, and May 10' 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 115-116b, 120, 130, 134, 148, Vatican Library'

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of March 19 and April 4, 1580' March 2, 1582, and February 4, 1584. Urb. 1048, p. 60, 73 ; 1050, p. 73; 1052, p. 42b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf. Civilta Cattolica*, 1918, II., 516.

[4] See the Relazione di N. Da Ponte, 14. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of September 8, 1584. The Pope paid Giacomo's debts, besides the 30,000 scudi which he had lent him for the acquisition of Sora, Urb. 1052, p. 60, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* A. Tiepolo, 259 *seq.* Corraro, 279 *seq.* ; Zuñiga in the *N. Colecc. de docum. inéd.*, II., 186, 238 ; Venetian reports in Ranke, Päpste, I.[8], 274, n. 3 ; *report of Serguidi for 1581, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3605. Giacomo was also involved in the lawsuits by which the two Cardinal nephews successively prejudiced their reputation ; see App. n. 9, the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome, and Grottanelli, Fra Geremia da Udine, Florence, 1893, p. 66 *seq.*

more before he died, the old man renewed his request through Giacomo Boncompagni, but without success.[1] The payment of 100 scudi a month which he received from his brother was so small, and the gift so miserably scanty, that he complained that the pontificate of Gregory had done him more harm than good, since it obliged him to a greater expenditure than was covered by the money which he received from the Pope.[2] On the occasion of the unexpected death of the only son of Giacomo, which took place in September 1582, and by which the continued existence of the family was endangered, Gregory displayed a complete calm and self-possession. This was all the more remarkable as his grandson was specially dear to him.[3]

Besides his keeping his nephews from any undue influence,[4] the simple manner of life of Gregory XIII., his strict moderation and severity, his faithful fulfilment of his duties, his insatiable love of work, his sincere piety, his very active charity for his neighbour, show that it was not only in words, but also in acts, that he set himself seriously to the imitation of his predecessor. Minute details of the manner of life of the Pope are to be had from the pens of his majordomo, Alessandro Musotti, and of Cardinal Galli, his Secretary of

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of October 2, 19, and 23, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 618, 634, 635, Vatican Library, and the *notes of Musotti (Boncompagni Archives, Rome), who criticizes this "troppa austerità," and adds: "Il medesimo avenne al Sig. Girolamo suo figliuolo fratello dell'ill. Card. S. Sisto." The reserve shown by Gregory towards his brother is so surprising that attempts have been made to explain it by supposing earlier quarrels between them (P. TIEPOLO, 221); to refute this idea Musotti says that Gregory wished in 1582 to visit his brother at Bologna, and only gave up the idea on account of the expense of such a journey. But there was also a political side to this decision; *cf.* Chapter VII., *infra*. See also MAFFEI, I., 314 *seq.*

[2] P. TIEPOLO, 221.

[3] See the *Considerationi of Ces. Speciani and the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* the judgment of MONTAIGNE, I., 226.

State,[1] which are further confirmed and amplified by other reports.[2]

Gregory XIII. was one of those men whose chief happiness was to be found in ceaseless work. He appreciated very fully the value of time ; man, he was wont to say, possesses nothing more valuable, and every one ought to act the more conscientiously in its use the higher his position.[3]

It was in accordance with this principle that the Pope regulated his life. His time for rest was limited to seven hours. As had been his previous custom, he rose before dawn both in summer and winter. His first act was the recitation of the canonical hours. He then heard a mass or else he said mass, which was the case several times in the week,[4] as for example on all Sundays and feast days, and during seasons of fasting. He never said mass without first going to confession.

The rest of the morning was given up entirely to audiences, which Gregory XIII. granted so freely that as early as 1573 they had to be limited.[5] Even then, however, they were given very readily.[6] If sometimes they were very numerous the hour of dinner was put off. Before this the Pope said none

[1] See in App. n. 28, 29 the context of this source of information hitherto entirely unknown, found by me in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 212 *seq.* ; Ciappi, 68 *seq.* ; Montaigne, I., 226 *seq.*, and the *notes of Venantius da Camerino, Taverna and Speciani in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See in App. n. 29 the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] According to the " Epistola ex Romana Urbe in Germaniam missa " (Ingolstadt, 1577) at least four times a week.

[5] How generous Gregory XIII. was in giving audience is repeatedly brought out by the ambassadors ; see the *letter of Aless. de' Medici of May 24, 1572, and of Francesco Gerini of May 30 and June 18, 1572, State Archives, Florence. *A. Zibramonti informs us on January 3, 1573, of the limitation of private audiences, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua ; this limitation, however, continued to be interpreted very generously ; see the " Epistola " of 1577 cited in previous note.

[6] *Cf.* Montaigne, I., 226.

and vespers ; dinner lasted at the utmost for half an hour ;[1] it was begun in silence, while one of the chaplains read a spiritual book. In fine weather the Pope, who took great pleasure in fresh air, took his meal in an open loggia.

The strict temperance observed by Gregory XIII. at table, even before he was Pope, was remarked by his contemporaries ; even in the hottest weather he only drank three small glasses of wine and water at dinner and two in the evening. He was also contented with a very ordinary quality.[2] No one could ever see that he had any preference for any particular dish ; he ate anything that was put before him, and apparently attached no importance to any ; anything satisfied him, but he insisted that not more than two scudi should be spent each day for the two meals.[3]

It was no wonder that the Pope, after so frugal a meal, was able to return at once to business, and that even in the greatest heat, he was able to do without a short period of rest.[4] After dinner Gregory first had read to him the petitions that had been presented. Every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon he received the secretary of briefs, while the secretary of the Dataria had to present himself every day. Then the Cardinal nephew appeared, who detailed the arrangements made by the " Consulta " for the Papal States. After him

[1] *Cf.* in App. 28 n. the *Memorie of card. Galli and Ciappi, 71. Musotti and Speciani allow only a quarter of an hour.

[2] For the temperance of Gregory XIII., as well as the evidence in App. nn. 28, 29, *cf.* especially the *notes of his intimate friend Venanzio da Camerino, who tells us of the moderation in drinking of the Pope even in the hottest seasons, and says : " et inacquava li raspati piccolissimi et diceva a noi che bevessimo il greco di Somma et gli lassassimo stare il suo raspato, di che era benessimo obedito da noi." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *" Fu sempre parco et sobrio nel vivere im maniera che cardinale et pontefice visse sempre come prima, contentandosi d'una vivanda o due, nè si spendeva mai per la sua tavola più di due scudi d'oro al giorno." Notes of Taverna in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See the bills of fare in Ciappi, 70 seq.

[4] See besides *Musotti in App. n. 30 the notes of Speciani p. 38. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Cardinal Galli, the Secretary of State for more important matters, would be announced. The governor and the treasurer were also received almost every day. After these ordinary audiences those of the Cardinals followed, and those of the ambassadors and other members of the court. Then the Pope would withdraw in order to recite compline, matins and the rosary in his chapel, after which at the hour of supper he examined other important papers.

Such was the custom of Gregory XIII. during the winter. During the summer he employed the hours before supper in walking in the loggia or in the garden. Supper was even more simple than dinner. It consisted of a salad, roast bird and a baked pear. After this there might be an audience, but only in exceptional cases, as the Pope employed the later part of the evening in going over papers, especially petitions, on which he at once noted the replies. If these contained any complaints of his officials, they were at once referred for the necessary information. At first Alessandro Musotti was charged with dealing with the petitions, and afterwards the maestro di camera, Ludovico Bianchetti.[1] Both of these were Bolognese.[2] Gregory limited his personal servants to what was strictly necessary, as he was the sworn enemy of all pomp.[3] Naturally he had no use for court buffoons, such as even Julius III. had employed.[4]

[1] For Musotti see App. n. 29; for Bianchetti, *ibid.* n. 9, the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 222.

[2] Gregory called many other Bolognese to Rome; see a later *note on the Roman court in the Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Even in 1621 the Romans were complaining of the pride and ambition of the Bolognese summoned thither by Gregory XIII.; see *Discorso dei cardinali papali nella sedevacante di Paolo V. in Cod. C. 20 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Gregory XIII. was very pleased to speak in the Bolognese dialect; see the *report of B. Pia of May 17, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* also Montaigne, I., 224.

[3] See the *Memorie of Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome) in App. n. 28; *cf. ibid.* n. 16 the praises of Mucantius in 1580, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *Notes of Speciani (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

Gregory adhered strictly to his daily routine; a change was only made on the days when the Pope went out, or had to fulfil some special duty of his office, as when he had to be present at the functions prescribed by the ceremonial, at consistories, at the sessions of the Segnatura di Grazia, the Inquisition, or other congregations. He also applied himself with unfailing zeal to the fulfilment of this part of his office, and with the greatest conscientiousness. Galli bears witness that the Pope, during the thirteen years of his pontificate, was only once absent from the religious functions.[1] He also attended with great regularity at the sermons of the Jesuit Francisco di Toledo, whom he had appointed court preacher.[2] Public business was not given up even if the Pope was not well, a thing, however, which he always tried to conceal as much as possible.[3]

Such heavy work could not long have been possible even to a man of stronger constitution. For this reason Gregory always tried to renew his strength by keeping on the move. During his hours of work he preferred to stand rather than sit.[4] Above all he took care to move about in the fresh air either in Rome itself, or in its glorious surroundings.[5]

[1] See the *Memorie of Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome) in App. n. 28; *cf. ibid. n.* 16, the information given in Mucantius, *Diarium, 1580-1581, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] So we are informed by Guido Ferreri in his *Vita di Gregorio XIII., Papal Secret Archives. App. n. 25.

[3] Gregory XIII. did not rely much upon doctors, but trusted a great deal in his strong constitution and his regular manner of life; *cf.* *Musotti in App. n. 29, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* besides *Musotti, *loc. cit.* the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli Boncompagni Archives, Rome; CORRARO, 274 *seq.*; the *Avvis, di Roma (Vatican Library), and in many instances the reports of the Florentine ambassador (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3291); also the *Diarium of Alaleone (Papal Secret Archives) passim. *"Non haveva altra ricreatione ch'el studiare et vedere l'aria aperta, della quale si compiaceva assai perciò passeggiava spesso in Belvedere et andava diverse volte all' anno alla villa Tusculana." says Tavera. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

As soon as the spring was at hand, and the amusements of the carnival were beginning in Rome,[1] and again in the autumn, Gregory XIII., generally accompanied by his Secretary of State, Galli, by Cardinal Boncompagni and Giacomo Boncompagni, set out for the villa of Cardinal Mark Sittich in the neighbourhood of Frascati, near which during the years 1573-1575 he caused to be built by Martino Lunghi the celebrated villa of Mondragone.[2] Even on the occasion of the visit he paid there in September 1572, the Pope fell in love with this place; the charming view over Rome and the Campagna as far as the sea, and the splendid air, filled him with enthusiasm. From 1576 to the end of his pontificate Gregory XIII. at first in the autumn and then also in the spring and summer, as often as public affairs permitted it, went to stay in this

[1] Gregory XIII. would have liked to suppress these amusements (see the *report of Mendoza of January 20, 1574, State Archives, Vienna), a statement borne out by his strict views. The Popes of the Renaissance had had their share in the carnival amusements. See Vols. IV., V., and VIII. of this work.

[2] See the *report of Odescalchi dated Rome, May 2, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Sometimes Sforza and Guastavillani also accompanied the Pope; other Cardinals, like Farnese and Savelli, were also summoned to Mondragone; see *Avviso di Roma of May 21, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 443, Vatican Library. In 1578 Morone was in the company of the Pope (*Avviso di Roma of May 31, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 176, Vatican Library). An *Avviso di Roma of October 24, 1573 ("S.B^ne ha dato principio a far fare una bella villa là a Frascati non molto lontano dalla villa del Card. d'Altemps, la quale chiama Mondragone et si dice che sarà bellissima et sontuosissima." State Archives, Vienna), attributes the building to Gregory XIII., which, however, according to the well documented researches of Grossi-Gondi (Le ville Tusculane: la villa dei Quintili e la villa di Mondragone, Rome, 1901, 17 *seq.*, 45 *seq.*) is wrong. An *Avviso di Roma of November 27, 1574, states that on Monday the Pope rode to Frascati with Cardinal Galli, where he owns the superb building of Cardinal Mark Sittich, "che scoprirà tutta Roma, si chiamerà Mondragone." He came back on Tuesday. Urb. 1044, p. 300. Vatican Library.

charming villa surrounded by oaks, cypresses and olives, generally for eight or ten days, and sometimes for a fortnight.[1] Every morning, either on foot, or in a litter, and often on horseback, for he was a good horseman, he visited the churches in the neighbourhood, and there heard a mass. The rest of the day was given up entirely, as in Rome, to audiences and other business.[2] Many went thither to seek audience, even in holiday time, since the Pope was then more easily accessible. On two occasions Gregory XIII. transacted important business with Charles Borromeo at Mondragone. It was there that Possevino made his report to the head of the Church on his mission to Moscow.[3] It was also at Mondragone that on March 18th, 1581, the Swiss, Sebastian Werro, conferred with Gregory XIII. concerning the expulsion of the Bishop of Lausanne and the reform of the calendar. Werro met the Pope very early in the morning as he was going to the church of the Capuchins. "The Pope was dressed," he relates, "in a long white cloth mantle, with the rochet or cotta, and above this a red pontifical mantellina down to his waist; he had white shoes, a large hat, and in his hand, so that he might walk into the church, a stick with a small head carved in bone on the top."[4] The bull on the reform of the calendar is dated from Mondragone. It was in this much loved villa that the Pope, in April 1584, received the joyful tidings of the victory of Bavaria over Gebhard Truchsess.[5]

As Frascati could not provide accommodation in its inns for such numerous visitors, the Pope arranged for lodging and board to be provided for all in his own house, according to their rank.[6] His stays at the villa, which was called

[1] See GROSSI-GONDI, *loc. cit.* 54.

[2] See the *Memorie of Card. Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See GROSSI-GONDI, 58 *seq.*

[4] See the German *itinerary of S. Werro in Cod. E. 139, of the Oekonomischen Gesellschaft zu Freiburg (Switzerland). *Cf.* WYMANN in *Zeitschrift für Schweizer Kirchengeschichte*, 1916, p. 122.

[5] See GROSSI-GONDI, *loc. cit.* 57 *seq.*, 63 *seq.*

[6] See in App. n. 29, the *Notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Mondragone from the Pope's armorial bearings (Mons Draconis), as well as his frequent walks in the invigorating air of the plateau, and in the beautiful neighbourhood (for very often the Pope went for three or four miles on foot), had such a beneficial effect upon his health, that Gregory, even after quite a short stay, always returned to Rome quite rejuvenated.[1]

The hot months from July to October were passed by the Pope, during the first three years of his pontificate, in the palace of S. Marco. It was not for the sake of his own convenience, he told the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, but for the sake of the members of his court, who could not bear the unhealthy air of the Vatican, that he availed himself of the hospitality of the Republic of Venice. When the Pope was in residence in the large palace of Paul II., he rode every morning to some church, and he received the ambassadors and held consistories as in the Vatican.[2] In the autumn of 1578 he stayed for sixteen days at Caprarola, Bagnaia and Capodimonte, near the lake of Bolsena, where Cardinal Farnese entertained him in regal splendour.[3] Cardinal Luigi d'Este, the nephew and heir of Cardinal Ippolito, had

[1] See CORRARO, 274, and the *Notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Arco of June 7, 1572, State Archives, Vienna; *Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 259, Vatican Library; the *Diarium of Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives; Diario Concist. di G. Santori, XXIV., 138 *seq.*; DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 107; in 1574 Gregory XIII. stayed for a whole month in the palace of Paul II. near the Aracoeli; see *Avviso di Roma of August 14, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 226, Vatican Library.

[3] See besides the reports in MUTINELLI, I., 121 *seq.* and T. FRANGIPANE, Memorie del card. A. Farnese, Rome, 1876, 119 *seq.*, the *Avvisi di Roma of September 20 and 27, 1578, and FAB. ARDITO, Viaggio di P. Gregorio XIII. alla Madonna della Quercia, in ORBAAN, Documenti, 365 *seqq.* In the summer of 1579 the Pope went again to Bagnaia, which belonged to Cardinal Gambara; see the *report of Odescalchi of June 27, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

prepared no less splendid a welcome for the Pope five years before at the Villa d'Este near Tivoli. On that occasion two tricks of acoustics which were very much admired had been put into operation; while the "fontana della girandola" at regular intervals produced loud reports like those of a gun, sweet melodies were to be heard from the water organ of Apollo and Orpheus, which was driven by hydraulic power.[1] In August 1579 Gregory XIII. stayed for three days at the Villa Medici on the Pincio.[2] In the latter years of his pontificate, during the summer, he stayed more and more often at the villa of Cardinal d'Este on the Quirinal;[3] consistories were held there as well. He finally decided to build a palace for himself there, but as its completion was long delayed he once more went to S. Marco for the summer months between 1582 and 1584.[4]

During the winter Gregory but rarely went about.[5] He generally visited Civitavecchia once, in order to assure himself personally of the condition of the prisoners. Following[6]

[1] See SENNI, La villa d'Este in Tivoli, Rome, 1902, 70 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of August 29, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 297, Vatican Library.

[3] He had passed a few days there for the first time at the end of 1573. *Avviso di Roma of December 12, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 344, Vatican Library.

[4] See DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 108. An *Avviso di Roma of May 31, 1578, states that to Giacomo Boncompagni, who "per salute sua et comodità dei negotiati lo aveva pregato di portarsi a S. Marco," the Pope replied that it was still too soon for that; he wished to pass June at Mondragone, July and August at the Vatican, September and October at the Quirinal. Urb. 1046, p. 178, Vatican Library.

[5] In December, 1576, he visited the Magliana, which at that time belonged to Cardinal Medici, and there saw "pesci e salir falconi." (See the *report of P. Strozzi of December 1, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); he had prohibited any sort of public welcome. See *Avviso di Roma of December 14, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 179, Vatican Library.

[6] See in App. n. 28 the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

the example of Pius V. every three months he undertook the pilgrimage to the seven churches of Rome, displaying the greatest piety.[1] As he also often visited the churches of the city on horseback, strangers could easily have a sight of him. Michel de Montaigne, who was in Rome at the end of 1580, often saw the Pope in the streets of the city. He describes him as a fine old man of middle height, upright in his bearing and with a sad countenance, and with a long white beard, and he marvelled that this old man of seventy-eight should be able to mount a white charger, caparisoned with a large red cloth, without any help from a groom.[2]

[1] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, *loc. cit.*; Mucantius, *Diarium, passim (the piety shown by Gregory XIII. is specially mentioned on October 19, 1576), Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *letter of Odescalchi of April 6, 1574: "il Papa hiera andò alle 7 chiese con molta devotione (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Avvisi di Roma (Vatican Library) passim. See also MONTAIGNE, II., 26 *seq.* For the strict fasts of Gregory XIII. *cf.* the *Notes of Venanzio da Camerino and Cardinal Medici, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See MONTAIGNE, I., 224-230. Cardinal Galli describes his appearance thus: "Fu di complessione temperantissima non peccante in alcun humore, grande honestamente et di buona quadratura di corpo, di faccia venerabile et piena di maestà, naso grande, occhi cerulei et sanissimo per ordinario." (Memorie, Boncompagni Archives, Rome). *Cf.* the Relazione di N. da Ponte, 13 and [Paolo Emilio Santori], *Annales ("statura sublimis, albens facies, mediocres oculi, non exiguus nasus, barba promissa, corpus musculosum atque robustum, augustus venerandusque aspectus") Cod. K. 6 of the Vallicella Library, Rome. Baglione mentions (pp. 31, 50, 53) portraits of Gregory XIII. by Francesco Trabaldese, Scipione Gaetano and Antonio de' Monti. The Prince of Piombino has in his palace in Rome, besides other interesting relics of Gregory XIII., several perfect portraits in oil, of the time of the Pope (one with a facsimile of the signature of Gregory is reproduced in FR. BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, Le prime due ambasciate dei Giapponesi in Roma, Rome, 1904); there is also a portrait of the Pope's brother in a white fur coat, and another of Giacomo Boncompagni and the

In Rome as well as during his times of holiday Gregory was unwearied in his care of the poor and the sick; he had a

wives of both. The original portrait of the mother of Gregory XIII. is in the possession of the Prince of Fiano. There is also a good early portrait of Gregory XIII. in the College of St. Michael at Freiburg in Switzerland. In the Palazzo Pubblico at Bologna there is a large bronze statue of Gregory by Alessandro Menganti (born in 1531; see CORRADO RICCI in *Bollet. d'Arte*, 1919, 107 *seq.*) cast in 1579 and placed there in 1580. The inscription belonging to this, printed in FANTUZZI, IV., 286, was unfortunately at the time of the annexation of Bologna removed from its former position, and placed in the interior of the palace, where it certainly does not belong. The bronze statue erected to him by the city of Ascoli in 1576, the work of the brothers Girolamo and Lodovico Lombardi, was destroyed in 1798; see G. C. CANTALAMESSA, Notizie storiche sopra di una statua in bronzo erettasi dalla città di Ascoli al S. P. Gregorio XIII., Rome, 1845, and P. CAPPONI, Memorie storiche d. Chiesa Ascolana, Ascoli-Piceno, 1898, 147. A bronze bust of Gregory XIII., also by A. Menganti, is in the Museo Civico at Bologna; this is certainly a study for the bronze statue (see SOBOTKA in *Jahrbuch der press. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 258 *seq.*). For the very beautiful bronze bust of Gregory XIII. acquired from the Corsi collection in Florence for the Berlin Museum, and the work of Bastiano Torrigiani, named "il Bologna" (who worked in Rome in the years 1573-1596), see BODE, Ital. Plastik, Berlin, 1902, 181; the same, Kgl. Museum zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christl. Epochen II; Die italienischen Bronzen, by F. GOLDSCHMIDT, I., Berlin, 1914, p. 2 and plate 5; SOBOTKA, *loc. cit.* where there is a special notice of the unsuccessful statue of Gregory XIII., by Pietro Paolo Olivieri, now in S. Maria in Aracoeli. The bronze bust of Gregory XIII., preserved at the Propaganda in Rome, is reproduced in BAUMGARTEN, Kathol. Kirche, III., 65. A large marble statue of Gregory is in the principal hall of the Cancelleria in Rome; it bears the following inscription: "Gregorius XIII. P.M. novam sacros fastos inveniendi rationem induxit 1582." A reproduction of the medal by the Milanese G. A. Rossi, with a characteristic portrait of Gregory XIII. in MUNTZ, III., 342. Among the numerous wood engravings of the Pope, special mention may be made of one bearing the signature "Vitus fec. 1576"; a copy is in the collection of prints in the old picture gallery at Munich,

hospital built for the latter at Frascati.[1] Very sparing in his own case,[2] he gave open-handedly to others.[3] He often gave alms in secret, and always very readily.[4] This generosity he had inherited from his father. While he was still a bishop, during his stay at Trent, he had displayed great charitable activity.[5] After his elevation to the chair of St. Peter his generosity knew no bounds. The beautiful words on one of his coins, "God is love,"[6] were always before his eyes. Cesare Speciani was of opinion that since Gregory the Great no Pope had done so much for the poor and needy of every kind.[7] Great and small, widows and orphans, and above all marriageable girls, as well as ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, scholars, converted Jews, pious institutions, especially educational establishments and monti di pietà, were lavishly

n. 126,757; idem n. 43,776 a wood engraving of Gregory XIII. by an unknown Italian with the inscription "Boncompagnio Greg. XIII. P.O.M." A facsimile of the engraving by Pieter de Jode (*cf.* HOOGEWERFF, Nederl. schilders 218) in DROYSEN, Gegenreformation, 253. The best portrait, engraved on copper, of Gregory XIII., was made by Cherubino Alberti, see THIEME, I., 192; the best copy is in the "Ritratti a stampa" in the Corsini Palace, Rome. Of the engravings in the Imperial Fideicommissbibliothek. at Vienna, depicting Gregory XIII., mention may be made of n. 61 among the busts, by F. Hulsius (van Hülsen) and the n. 66 by Marius Kartarus.

[1] See the *Notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and in App. n. 16 the *Avviso di Roma of September 21, 1580, Vatican Library.

[2] See the report in BELTRAMI, Roma, 28.

[3] See besides Cocquelines in MAFFEI, II., 438 *seq.*, the *notes of Musotti (cf. App. n. 29) and *that of Cardinal Medici, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, as well as (in App. n. 14) the *report of Scozia, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also CIAPPI, 73.

[4] See the *Vita Gregori XIII. by Guido Ferreri, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* App. n. 24.

[5] See the *notes of Venanzio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[6] See SERAFINI, Monete, II. (1912), 30.

[7] See his *notes in Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also CIAPPI, 32 *seq.*, 36 *seq.*, and MONTAIGNE, I., 224-5.

helped by him.[1] He personally satisfied himself as to the condition of the sick poor in the first year of his reign by visiting the principal hospitals of Rome, and afterwards caused them to be regularly visited by others.[2] When in 1580 the plague broke out at Avignon, the Pope sent every kind of help there.[3] To new bishops, when they went to pay him homage, he recommended nothing so insistently as the exercise of works of fraternal charity, which God rewards in this world as well as in the life to come.[4] Like his predecessor he devoted large sums to the relief of Christians who had been taken prisoners.[5] He took a quite special interest in the orientals, especially the persecuted Cypriots, and in the Catholics who had been exiled for their faith from England,

[1] In the *account books of the private treasury, formerly in the State Archives, Rome, and now in the Papal Secret Archives, there is frequent mention of expenses for charitable purposes; especially frequent is the mention of "neofiti, poveri vergognose," and of poor marriageable girls in need of dowries. *Cf.* the *notes of Speciani and of P. Giovan. Bruno: *"Alcune cose degne d'essere notate della f.m. di Gregorio XIII.," Boncompagni Archives, Rome. TAMILIA (Il S. Monte di Pietà in Roma, 1900, 75) speaks of Gregory XIII. as the greatest benefactor of the Monte di Pietà. For the hospice for the poor see Vol. XX. of this work.

[2] See the *notes of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* FORNERY, Hist. du comté Venaissin et d'Avignon, II., 228.

[4] See the *notes of C. Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] This happened especially in 1575; see *notes of Cardinal Galli, *loc. cit.* In the *account books (formerly in the State Archives, Rome, now in the Papal Secret Archives) 100 scudi may often be seen for a prisoner. According to the *Avviso di Roma of January 23, 1585, the Pope gave to the archconfraternity "del Gonfalone" 3,000 scudi for the liberation of Christian slaves, and promised for the same purpose to allow 6,000 scudi from the annual revenues (Urb. 1053, p. 41, Vatican Library). How much Gregory XIII. interested himself at Venice for the liberation of Christians who had fallen into the hands of the Turks, *cf.* *Nunziatura di Venezia, XIII., XIV., *passim*, Papal Secret Archives. See also BOTERO, Relazione, III., 156.

Scotland and Ireland.[1] "The precept of love which our Saviour has so strongly urged upon us," thus begins a letter from Gregory XIII. to the Doge, recommending an unhappy man who had been rescued from captivity among the Turks and had returned to Venice, "implies that we must share in the fortunes of every Catholic, whom we know to be weighed down by misfortune."[2] The treasurer of the Apostolic Camera states that Gregory, up to 1581, had expended more than a million and a half scudi on charity.[3] It was no ex-

[1] See the *notes of Taverna, and *those of the Bishop of Bergamo, Cornaro, and *those of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 473. On October 22, 1573, Gregory XIII. sent Morone *" 500 scudi d'oro per sustentimento d'alcuni catholici Inglesi." Vatic. 6697; *ibid.* March 18, 1574, an account for *" 100 scudi d'oro al arcivescovo Armachano," Vatican Library.

[2] *" Lex caritatis quam nobis Dominus tantopere commendavit, facit ut catholicorum omnium vicem doleamus, quos in aliqua calamitate versari intelligimus." Brief to the Doge for the year 1578. Original in State Archives, Venice.

[3] *" Et diede tanto che disse Bernardo Olgiato, depositore della Camera Apost. tre anni prima che il Papa morisse che sin'a quell'hora haveva S.S^{tà} speso per elemosine in collegi [*cf. infra* Chapter V.], et maritar zitelle et sovenir poveri massimamente forastieri cacciati dalle case loro da Turchi overo da heretici più d'un millione et 500,000 scudi [in this matter A. Tiepolo must be corrected (265), although he refers to Olgiati; a further proof that the Venetians are not always to be relied upon in the matter of figures] altre alle pene delli tribunali che solito applicava a diversi usi pii de' quali il depositario non teneva conto alcuno" (*Notes of C. Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome). Cardinal Galli says in his *notes that often 100,000 scudi were given "per elemosine" in a single year (PRIULI, p. 306, therefore exaggerates when he puts more than 200,000 scudi. RANKE, Päpste, I., 278, must also be corrected). The same information is given by an *Avviso di Roma of April 1, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 150; *ibid.* 365, an *Avviso of September 30, 1581; from the beginning of his illness Gregory XIII. gave 40,000 scudi for "luoghi pii," and 2,000 for S. Sisto, Vatican Library.

aggeration when Orazio Scozia at the beginning of 1579 expressed the opinion that Gregory possessed all the qualities of a good Pope, and that all his attention was devoted to the duties of his high office ; with unwearied labour, sustained by the natural calm and moderation of his character, by his knowledge of canon law, and his intimate acquaintance with the business of the curia, he was able to decide and regulate all questions easily, well and quickly. Scozia brings out how the Pope's character, which was essentially kindly enabled him to sum up both persons and events very easily, and that this was all the more easy for him as he was personally acquainted with all the members of the curia.[1] Even his rebukes were couched in guarded terms.[2] If, nevertheless, he was generally looked upon as a severe man, this was the result both of his naturally serious disposition, which was far removed from anything in the nature of levity, his great habit of silence,[3] his strict impartiality even towards his friends, when the latter did anything to deserve reproof,[4] and his

[1] See in App. n. 14 the *report of 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For his knowledge of Canon Law, with which Gregroy XIII. often surprised the Cardinals, see the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cardinal Medici remarks in his *recollections upon the calm of Gregory XIII. : " Non si vedeva in lui mai alteratione alcuna, tanto nelle cose prospere come nelle avverse " ; he never got angry with his servants : " li teneva in tenore senza male parole." *Speciani too says that he was never angry, and even his annoyance lasted a very short time (*loc. cit.*). The same may be seen from the Relazione di N. da Ponte, 13.

[2] See the *notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] This trait, which he displayed even as Cardinal, was described as specially characteristic of him. *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 214 ; A. Tiepolo, 259 ; Priuli, 303 ; Serrano, Liga, II., 364 ; *report of Aless. de' Medici of July 4, 1572, State Archives, Florence, and the instructive *notes of Speciani in App. n. 30, where are also given certain characteristic expressions made use of by Gregory XIII. on the subject of silence. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See the *notes of Speciani, *loc. cit.*

reluctance to grant favours when he was not altogether persuaded of the justice of any request.[1] To this must be added his dry manner, which betrayed the lawyer. At his audiences he always adhered strictly to the facts, because he thought that a Pope ought before everything else to learn to hold his peace; he brushed aside impossible requests very abruptly, and granted favours, when they seemed to be called for, with a similar abruptness.[2] The Pope's replies, says Michel de Montaigne, are short and decisive, it is quite useless to argue with him.[3] It would, however, be quite wrong to describe Gregory XIII. as a stubborn man or one who was attached to his own opinions. That was very far from being the case; on the contrary, as is the case with all men of a versatile disposition, just as he was easily influenced by first impressions, he was equally easily appeased, and once he had thought a matter over carefully, gave his definite decision.[4]

Corraro, the Venetian ambassador, in his report of 1581, remarks very aptly that Gregory often seemed to be more severe than he really was, because he did not allow himself to be influenced by anyone, whether the Cardinals or his nephews; the only exception was Galli, whose knowledge and eloquence was all-powerful with the Pope.[5] Paolo Tiepolo had passed a similar judgment in 1576.[6]

On the other hand, Antonio Tiepolo in 1578 was of the opinion that neither Galli nor Morone, who was almost equally influential, dared to oppose the Pope or to urge a change of policy upon a man who adhered with iron inflexibility to what he considered to be right.[7] There can be no doubt that

[1] See CORRARO, 279.

[2] *Cf.* A. TIEPOLO, 260, 268, and the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives Rome. See SERRANO, Liga II., 171.

[3] See MONTAIGNE, I., 226.

[4] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 171.

[5] See CORRARO, 280.

[6] See P. TIEPOLO, 216-7.

[7] See A. TIEPOLO, 268. TÖRNE (p. 131) has missed the contradiction, which is very properly brought out by FREIDENSBURG *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CII., 129).

Antonio Tiepolo understood better than his colleagues, who judged rather by external appearances, the relations between the Pope and his Secretary of State.

At first sight the Cardinal of Como, as Galli was generally called, might have seemed to be all-powerful. He was in charge of all important affairs relating to foreign policy, and at the same time discharged the duties of confidential secretary to His Holiness;[1] he therefore enjoyed a quite exceptional position, so that he may be described as the first Cardinal Secretary of State in the modern sense of the word.[2] He devoted himself to business with great assiduity and much tenacity and prudence.[3] In order to strengthen his own position he removed the secretaries who had served Gregory XIII. during his cardinalate, and replaced them by his own adherents.[4] So as to become the principal adviser of the

[1] In defence of the union of these two offices, held to be "incompatible," Giov. Carga (1574) wrote his "Informatione del segretario et segretaria di N.S., in LAEMMER, Monum. Vatic., Freiburgi Brisg, 1861, 457-468.

[2] See RICHARD, La secrétairerie d'Etat apostolique: *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 257.

[3] See P. TIEPOLO, 216. To the description of Hübner (SIXTE V., vol. I., 135 *seq.*), who passes a judgment both partial and false upon both Galli and Gregory XIII., HANSEN has rightly taken exception in *Nuntiaturberichten*, I., xxix *seq.* *Cf.* REINHARDT–STEFFENS, p. cccxliv *seq.* Possevino, in his *Sommario (see App. n. 27), makes it a matter of special praise of Gregory XIII. that he made use of the services of Galli during the whole of his 13 years "non dando a carne et sangue questo offitio," and he continues: "Et qui potranno dirsi altre cose del valore et pratica et giuditio del card. di Como già provato nel pontificato di Pio IV. in cose importantissime e nel concilio di Trento, di guerre"; Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome, in App. n. 9).

[4] As the "ruoli" of Gregory XIII. are missing, the organization of the secretarate of State can only be partially reconstructed. The names of the first six secretaries, from Barb. 5714, in TÖRNE, 125. Cesare Glorierio (segret. d. brevi apost.) mentioned here, lost his office in 1584. For this severe act on the part of Gregory

Pope, he had associated himself closely at the commencement of the pontificate with those persons to whom at that time Gregory had specially given his confidence. These were not, as has already been said, the Pope's nephews, but, in addition to Carniglia, the court preacher, Francisco di Toledo, the celebrated Spanish canonist, Martino Azpilcueta, the trusted maestro di camera, Bianchetti, and the favourite disciple of Philip Neri, Francesco Maria Tarugi, certain powerful Cardinals like Farnese, Pacheco, Sirleto, Sforza, and above all the taciturn Morone, who was looked upon as the most brilliant and distinguished diplomatist in the curia.[1]

see in App. n. 24, the *Avviso di Roma of November 14, 1584, Vatican Library, and BELTRAMI, Roma, 48. *Cf.* BONAMICUS, De claris pontif. epist. script., Rome, 1753, 255, 313. For Ant. Boccapaduli (segret. dei Brevi famigliari) see RENAZZI, II., 232 *seq.* Boccapaduli was the last prefect of the Papal Capella who was not a musician ; see HABERL, Musikkatalog der papst. Kapellenarchivs, Leipzig, 1888, 8, 12, 25. G. B. Canobio and Aurelio Savignano came from Bologna. See Barb. 5741, Vatican Library ; *ibid.* *Barb. 5742, for the division of the work among the secretaries. For Galli's secretary, Petrus Angelus Joanninus, see FORCELLA, VIII., 223 ; *ibid.* 359, the epitaph of Canobio. The secretary of cyphers under Gregory XIII. was Cristoforo Toretino ; see MEISTER, Geheimschrift, 51. For the briefs of Gregory XIII. *cf.* WIRZ in *Quellen zur Schweiz. Gesch.*, vol. XXI., xxvi ; for his Registers see *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden*, I., 200.

[1] See A. TIEPOLO, 268 *seq.* ; see the report of Zuñiga in the N. Colecc. de docum. inéd., II., 119, 238 ; TÖRNE, 123, n. 1, 126, 250, the *report of 1574 (Corsini-Library) in App. n. 24. With regard to Azpilcueta see I. Nicii Erytraei Pinacotheca, I., 1 *seq.* The influence of Tarugi is brought out by Aless. de' Medici in his report of October 16, 1573, State Archives, Florence. For the opinion of Morone *cf.* also the *report of C. Capilupi of January 30, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Zuñiga in the Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 124. For the opinion of Sirleto see the *letter of Odescalchi of April 24, 1574. For that of Sforza the *letter of P. Strozzi of April 7, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. N. Da Ponte' (Relazione, 16) also names as having great influence with Gregory XIII. Cardinals M. A. Colonna and Lorraine.

Gregory XIII., who at first had not had sufficient experience of affairs of state, was wise to take the advice of experienced men; even so, however, it was not very easy for them to influence him, as Gregory set much store upon his own independence,[1] and was extraordinarily suspicious.[2] Before he was Pope he had never formed any particular ties of friendship with anyone, and now that he had been raised to the throne of St. Peter, his attitude of reserve towards others was increased. A man who has to govern, he loved to say, must be careful not to be close friends with anyone, so that it may not be thought that he is ruled by anyone.[3] He informed nobody of his plans, and adhered firmly to the decisions which he had arrived at after mature reflection. His curt and decided manner made it very difficult to contradict him. Galli took all this into account and accommodated himself to the wishes of his master, who, as time went on, took part in all diplomatic business as much as possible.[4] In spite of the intrigues of those who were jealous of him,[5] Galli managed to retain the favour of his master during the whole thirteen years of his pontificate. In this he was especially helped by two qualities of the Pope: Gregory was of a very grateful disposition, and did not forget for a moment the services which Galli had rendered him; on the other hand he shrank from

[1] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome). On account of the absolutism of Gregory XIII. not a few of the Cardinals were in disagreement with him, as appears from the *report of Serguidi in 1581 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3605, p. 108).

[2] *Cf.* in App. n. 30 the *notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also GROTTANELLI, A. Piccolomini, 59.

[3] See the *notes of Speciani, *loc. cit.*

[4] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* also TÖRNE, 128 *seq.* The testimony of Galli contradicts the assertion of P. TIEPOLO (p. 215) that the Pope occupied himself as little as possible with affairs of state. Fr. Gerini *reports on June 27, 1572, that the Pope was principally occupied with affairs of state. State Archives, Florence.

[5] *Cf.* P. TIEPOLO, 218; see also Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 124.

any change in the personnel of his government, for fear of being thought to be vacillating.[1] Thus he remained firmly attached till his death to his two principal assistants, whom he had appointed immediately after his election, the Secretary of State, Galli, and the Datary, Contarelli. They were held in high esteem by him, and were rewarded by him in a corresponding degree;[2] but those who, like Paolo Tiepolo and Corraro, attributed to them an absolute authority, were very much mistaken.

The great independence with which Gregory XIII. loved to rule was shown above all in his choice of Cardinals. He was accustomed to prepare his list without consulting anyone.[3] He acted upon this principle throughout his reign. In the case of his last nomination, which he brought forward in December 1583, it is said that it was made entirely unexpectedly; nobody had had any previous information, neither Galli, nor Farnese, nor the nephews; contrary to custom, the opinions of the Cardinals who were sick was never asked for.[4] That Galli was by no means all-powerful is shown in other ways as well. When, in the spring of 1580, the Pope proposed to send a peace legate to Portugal, Galli tried to arrange that this should not be done absolutely, out of consideration for Spain. Gregory XIII. replied that it would be shameful to do nothing, and thus give rise to the suspicion that he did not concern himself in the question of the Portuguese succession. The Pope paid so little attention to the

[1] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] See the *Memorie of Galli, p. 70; *cf.* also in App. n. 30 the *notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi, dated Rome, May 16, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* more fully, *infra*, Chapter V.

[4] *" La promotione è stata talmente repentina che si dice per cosa ferma che ne il S. Giacomo ne il card. di Como ne gli altri doi nipoti l'hanno saputa et non si è mandato a casa dei cardinali infermi che erano Savello, Altemps et Este a pigliare prout erat de more antiquamente et modernamente et Farnese non ha anco saputo prima cosa alcuna." Letter of Odescalchi of December 12, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

views of Galli as to hurry forward the mission of the legate with all his power.[1]

In spite of the great confidence which Gregory XIII. had in his Secretary of State and his Datary in dealing with ordinary business, he nevertheless went into every detail himself. He himself read all the reports of the nuncios, and on their return they were personally interviewed by him and made to give an account of what they had done. Cardinal Galli himself bears witness to this.[2] If the Pope kept the supreme control in his own hands this was partly due to the fact that the Secretary of State, for all his diligence, did not always prove himself equal to his task. Galli's grasp of a situation was not always as complete, nor his insight as keen, as those of his master,[3] who familiarized himself so quickly with the details of public business that the ambassador of Venice, as early as 1573, spoke in terms of the highest admiration of him in this respect.[4] At times Galli also showed himself to be lacking in the necessary foresight.

Gregory XIII. was distinguished for his remarkable practical common sense, and for his exceptional genius for organization in ecclesiastical affairs no less than for his breadth of view. This was especially apparent in his establishment of the congregations and nunciatures.

[1] See PHILPPSON, Granvella, 165.

[2] See the *memorie of Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] This was clearly shown in the negotiations over the affairs of Switzerland (see REINHARDT-STEFFENS, p. cccxlvii), and even more clearly in his memorial on Germany. In his *notes Speciani rightly brings out the clear insight of Gregory XIII. (Boncompagni Archives, Rome). That Galli's letter to Philip II., given by TÖRNE (p. 134) with its expressions of veneration, does not prove " que le cardinal s'est livré à Espagne " is rightly insisted upon by FRIEDENBURG in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CII., 129. An *Avviso di Roma of July 23, 1575, informs us that Galli, weighed down by the pressure of business, wished to retire ; and that Guastavillani will be appointed his successor. Urb. 1044, p. 497, Vatican Library.

[4] See the Relazione di N. da Ponte, 13.

From very early times the consistory, or meeting of the Cardinals who were in Rome, under the presidency of the Pope, had served, not only for the carrying out of particular and solemn acts, but also for the full discussion of and carrying into effect of the various important matters of every kind with which the head of the Church was called upon to deal.[1] The consistorial records bear witness to the zeal with which Gregory XIII. devoted himself to this task, and it is clear from these records that during his pontificate consistories were held much more frequently than under Pius V.[2] At the same time, in view of the new and difficult questions which the period of reform and Catholic restoration brought with it, the consistory was shown to be too large and too unwieldly a machinery for the ordinary administration of the Church.

The world had become larger by reason of the Portuguese and Spanish voyages of discovery, while the general development of a postal system had reduced distances and brought the nations closer together. Communication between the dioceses and their centre in Rome became easier and more frequent. The questions addressed to the curia became more and more numerous, and the pressure of business grew more and more heavy. The struggle for existence against the attacks of the religious innovators to which the Church was exposed in the various countries called for the greatest vigilance on the part of the Holy See. All this necessitated a development of the machinery of government. An attempt was made to cope with the multiplicity and complexity of the work by the formation of special congregations of Cardinals, evolved out of the consistory, at which difficult and special questions could be discussed by Cardinals and prelates who were experienced in such matters, and then decided with the co-operation and final judgment of the Pope. At first these

[1] *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 262, and the literature there cited.

[2] With the exception of the summer months there was a consistory every week. *Cf.* in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. See also Karttunen, Grégoire XIII., p. 68, and the Diario of Santori in *Studi e doc.*, XXIII.-XXIV.

congregations, which were formed as the various question arose, lacked stability and definite form. With Paul III., however, whose reign inaugurated a new epoch, there came the beginning of cardinalitial congregations on a permanent and well-organized basis. The first was the Congregation of the Inquisition, established by him in 1542.[1] This was followed by the formation of the Congregation of the Council under Pius IV., and of the Congregation of the Index, as well as that which was to deal with the business of the bishops under Pius V. In addition to these special provisional congregations were established by Pius V. as often as any important question called for special consideration, such as the reconciliation of heretics, the conversion of the infidels, the case of the Archbishop of Toledo, and the war against the Turks.[2]

The greater number of these congregations were continued under Gregory XIII., and were considerably increased, as had already been intended in the time of Pius V.[3] A report of January, 1573, tells of the many congregations in which the Cardinals were busily employed,[4] and a report of February, 1574, enumerates fifteen such congregations in all. Besides the permanent Congregations of the Inquisition, the Council and the Index, mention is made of special congregations, provisionally established, for the case of the Archbishop of Toledo, the league against the Turks, the management of German affairs, reform in general, the reform of Canon Law, the reform of ceremonial, political business, the jubilee, the new edition of the Holy Scriptures, finance, the streets, and the water supply of Rome, and finally, one for the affairs of the States of the Church.[5]

This report makes no mention of the Congregation of Bishops, nor of the so-called "Greek" congregation, established by

[1] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 504.

[2] See Vols. XVI., p. 11; XVII., cap. v. and vii.; XVIII., cap. ix., of this work.

[3] See in App. n. 37 the *memorial addressed to Gregory XIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Report of Gerini of January 9, 1573, State Archives, Florence.

[5] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. For the Congregation of Ceremonial see MAFFEI, I., 44 *seq.*

Gregory XIII. in 1573, which was first engaged upon the reform of the Basilian monasteries in Italy, and afterwards with the propagation of the faith in the East.[1]

A Venetian report of 1578 also makes mention of a special congregation for France.[2] We also hear of other congregations, showing how Gregory XIII. relied upon this manner of dealing with new problems as they arose. We hear of congregations for the settlement of disputes about jurisdiction, for the politico-religious controversies with Philip II., for the disorders of Malta, the reform of Church music, and for the affairs of Portugal and Poland.[3] There is also mention of a congregation to deal with the inundations of the Tiber.[4]

The greater number of these congregations met once a week, and if necessary in the presence of the Pope. Their duty was to examine, as minutely as possible, the question submitted to them, and to prepare the whole matter for decision. This latter duty was in every case reserved to the Pope, in such a way that the supreme right of inquiry and decision was completely in his hands. In this way the discharge of business was greatly facilitated and simplified. Moreover, this way of dealing with business guaranteed a more careful examination of every aspect of a question than would have been possible in the consistory. The due attendance of the Cardinals, too,

[1] This congregation owed its beginnings to the initiative of Cardinal Santori, who speaks of it in his *Autobiografia*, XII., 135, and in his *Diario concist.*, XXIV., 135. According to the former document, besides Santori, Savelli, Sirleto, A. Carafa, and Cardinal Filippo Boncompagni belonged to it. Coquelines mentions other names in MAFFEI, I., v., who sees in it the beginnings of the Congreg. de propaganda fide.

[2] See A. TIEPOLO, 248.

[3] See infra Chapter VI. The congregation for Poland is mentioned in MAFFEI, I., 230. A *judgment of this congregation in the year 1581 in BORGHESE, III., 67, Papal Secret Archives, For the congregation on jurisdiction *cf.* Lettres de Paul de Foix. 551 *seq.* For Malta see MAFFEI, II., 263. *Cf. Mél. d'archéol*, XXXI., 92. For the reform of church music see MOLITOR, I., 56.

[4] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 260 (April 27, 1575).

was better assured, and at the same time the members of the supreme senate of the Church, while they were still inexperienced, had a splendid opportunity of being initiated into the management of public affairs.[1] In conjunction with this new system a plan was also formed for the regulation of audiences, definite days being assigned for the reception of the court officials, the ambassadors, the prelates and the Cardinals.[2] It would appear that this setting aside of a fixed day in the week was first done in the case of the ambassadors and envoys.

The organizing power of Gregory XIII. was shown in a specially brilliant way by his development of the diplomatic representation of the Holy See, a matter in which an improvement had long been needed and expected.[3] Gregory dealt with this question with marvellous skill. He had always realized the great importance of the nunciatures for obtaining detailed information of the conditions existing among the various nations, as well as for opening the way to prompt intervention in the development of the course of affairs.

At the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory there were nine permanent nunciatures : four in Italy : (Venice, Turin, Florence and Naples), and one each at the Imperial court, and the courts of the Kings of Spain, Portugal, France and Poland. During the first years of the pontificate this arrangement remained practically unchanged, even with regard to its personnel. The first important change was made in 1573, although the appointments made by Pius V. were not greatly affected by this. Vincenzo Laureo went from Turin to Poland

[1] See in App. n. 37 the *memorial addressed to Gregory XIII.. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report of the nuncio in Venice, the Archbishop of Rossano, of July 11, 1575 : " Nel tempo della f.m. di Pio V. si usava che tutte le cose rognose et dispiacevoli alli principi si rapportassero dalli ministri di N.S., tutte le cose dolci et piacevoli erano concesse alli ambasciatori in Roma et li ministri di S.S^{tà} erano li ultimi a saperli." A change is very desirable. Nunziat, di Venezia, XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

and Giovanni Battista Castagna from Madrid to Venice.[1] A great change in the diplomatic personnel, however, was made for the first time in the years, 1577-1578, and again in 1580-1581, and finally in 1583, in which year the system borrowed from Venice became usual, namely, that of limiting the appointment of the nuncios at the various courts to a fixed number of years, and even so, not for long.[2]

It was of exceptional importance that the character of the nunciatures should have been thus modified at the moment of the spread of the movement towards reform and Catholic restoration. The nuncios hitherto had been for the most part envoys charged with business of an international character, but now their principal activities were directed to spiritual matters. The defence of Christendom against the Turks, the Papal revenue and the position of the States of the Church were no longer the first consideration, but rather the interests of religion, the reform of the clergy, the carrying out of the decrees of the Council, and the defence of the Church against the attacks of the Protestants. This change comes out clearly in the case of Germany.

Now, as before, the representatives of the Holy See in the Empire were called upon to act as intermediaries between the Pope, the Emperor and the other Catholic princes, but now their duty of seeing to the carrying out of the decrees of the Council obliged them to take a personal part in ecclesiastical life, much more than had been the case before, by visiting the dioceses, by consecrations, absolutions, matrimonial dispensations, and the exercise of judicial powers.[3] To enable them to do this their faculties were greatly extended,[4] and at the same time their number was increased, since the nuncio at the Imperial court, who had never had a fixed residence at the centre of the Empire, could no longer by himself superintend that vast territory.

[1] See BIAUDET, Nontiatures, 27 *seq.*, 58.

[2] See *ibid.*, 60 ; *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 194.

[3] *Hist. Polit. Blatter*, CXIX., 526 *seq.*

[4] See the detailed description by MERGENTHEIM, I., 250 *seq.* See also Chapters on Germany in Vol. XX. of this work.

As early as 1573 the mission of three representatives of the Holy See to Germany took place, for the Pope had begun to devote special attention to the religious condition of that country. While Feliciano Ninguarda was sent as Papal commissary to support the reforming activity of the Archbishop of Salzburg, Gaspar Gropper, who had gone in July to Cologne on private business, received diplomatic powers, which were afterwards added to, so that at length he found himself accredited to the dioceses of Trêves, Cologne, Mayence, Augsburg, Bamberg, Würzburg, Spires, Worms, Münster, Minden, the whole of Westphalia, and the territories of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves.[1] His district in some places touched the new nunciature of South Germany, established in 1573 in the interests of Catholic reform, and which was destined to become permanent. The first to hold this nunciature was Count Bartolomeo Portia, who had been sent as ordinary nuncio for the territories of the Archduke Ferdinand in the Tyrol, Charles of Styria, Duke Albert of Bavaria and the Archbishop of Salzburg. From March 1577 to March 1578 he was nuncio extraordinary at Cologne, and later on received the nunciature at the Imperial court. His successor in the nunciature of South Germany was Feliciano Ninguarda, who had in the meantime been appointed Bishop of Scala, and who did excellent work, especially in Bavaria. His office, however, when he returned to Italy in 1583, was not again filled.[2] In the meantime a special permanent nunciature for the territories of the Archduke Charles of Styria had been formed in 1580; this was the first held by Germanico Malaspina, and afterwards by Giovanni Caligari.[3]

The mission of Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini as apostolic visitor in Switzerland led in 1579 to the establishment of a permanent nunciature there as well.[4] The Low Countries

[1] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 724.

[2] See ibid., 723 *seq.*, 728 *seq.*; SCHELLHASS, III., xxxvii *seq.*

[3] See HANSEN, I., 730.

[4] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, p. cccxciv, *seq.*

temporarily had a special nuncio when, in 1577, Sega was sent to the viceroy, Don John of Austria.[1]

This increase of the nunciatures was of the greatest importance for the progress of the Catholic restoration, since the Holy See was enabled by their means not only to bring direct influence to bear upon the various governments, but also upon the bishops and lower clergy.[2] On the other hand the Pope provided himself, in the nuncios, with trustworthy informants concerning the various nations, a matter in which Gregory XIII. was quite indefatigable; he often asked religious to give him information as to the needs of the Church.[3]

It was also the interests of the Catholic restoration which led him in 1584 to establish a permanent nunciature at Cologne. In all this the nuncio at the Imperial court remained as before the special representative of the Pope for the whole German Empire; the new nuncios, however, were not his subordinates, but only his colleagues.[4]

The pontificate of Gregory XIII. was no less important for the external development of the nunciatures than for their internal organization. During this pontificate the titles which had hitherto been used in an arbitrary way began to have a special character of their own. The title of legate had hitherto been given to an envoy extraordinary of the Holy See who was a Cardinal; the nuncios were the other envoys who were not members of the Sacred College; these formed the true diplomatic body. In the time of Gregory it was ordered that the nuncios should be bishops or archbishops, and that they should receive a regular and fixed salary.[5] Another happy innovation of the Boncompagni Pope was the alteration of the hitherto existing system whereby the diplomatists repre-

[1] See HANSEN, II., xxxvii *seq.*; MAERE in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 570 *seq.*; *cf.* ibid. XII., 558-9.

[2] See HANSEN, I., xxix.

[3] See the *notes of Speciani in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See HANSEN, I., 721 *seq.*

[5] See BIAUDET, 33 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*: KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 76-77.

senting the Holy See lived in hired lodgings. The nuncio at Cologne, Portico, was the first to build a proper residence for himself and his suite.[1]

In the time of Gregory XIII., who in his choice of nuncios had frequently shown a preference for jurists, we get the beginnings of a regular diplomatic service, which, as far as its general features was concerned, continued for centuries. The lowest or preparatory grade was to be found in the office of abbreviator or secretary, either at the Curia or with one of the nuncios themselves. The next grade was found in appointment as referendary, first secretary or auditor, and the third as protonotary apostolic, referendary of the two "segnature," or as member of the Rota. Those who held this rank might be given the smaller nunciatures of Florence, Naples, Turin, Graz or Lucerne, which formed stepping stones to the greater ones, and the good administration of which gave a right to high office at the Curia, and sometimes to the purple itself.[2] Two of the nuncios of Gregory XIII., Castagna and Facchinetti, attained to the Papal throne as Urban VII. and Innocent IX.

There was indeed need of cultured and capable representatives, as well as of many congregations, if the important programme of government which the Pope announced at his first consistory, on May 30th, 1572, was to be properly carried into effect. This programme dealt with five principal points; the strengthening and consolidation of the league against the Turks, the fight against heresy by means of the Inquisition, the enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Trent and the continuation of the internal reform of the Church begun by Pius V., the opening of friendly relations with the Catholic princes, and finally a strict supervision of the States of the Church, involving the appointment of capable and disinterested officials, the cutting down of useless expenditure with its consequent increased taxation, the improvement in the administration of justice, and the promotion of peace and economic prosperity.[3]

[1] See BIAUDET, 89. [2] Ibid. 49 *seq.* [3] MAFFEI, I., 20 *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

Reforming Activity in the Church.—Charles Borromeo.

The first measures which Gregory XIII. had taken by the advice of Borromeo, his rejection of any exaggerated nepotism, his simple manner of life and his sincere piety, had already shown that it was his fixed intention to continue in the path of reform traced out by his great predecessor, whom he had sincerely admired.[1] Before everything else he saw to it that the prescriptions of Pius V. with regard to the observance of the decrees of the Council were strictly carried out.[2] For this purpose there was a special commission, composed of the strictest representatives of the reform, Cardinals Charles Borromeo, Gabriele Paleotto, Giovanni Aldobrandini and Paolo Burali.[3] It was only in exceptional cases and by silence

[1] See the *Considerationi of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Musotti also *reports (*ibid.*) the great veneration for Pius V. on the part of Gregory XIII.

[2] *" V. Sig^ria sa quanto preme a la S^tà di N.S^re l'osservanza del concilio di Trento," wrote Galli on November 1, 1572, to the Bishop of Nicastro, the nuncio at Venice, in ordering him to take proceedings in the city and diocese of Padua against those who held " benefici incompatibili." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII. Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* a *letter from Galli to the Patriarch of Venice, May 26, 1572, on the carrying out of the Tridentine decrees with regard to chapels in private houses.

[3] See Maffei, I., 21. For those who subsequently took part in this see in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. Later on the commission met at the house of Cardinal Savelli: *" Il luogo di mons. Carniglia, dico di riformatore, sarà soppresso volendo il papa che il tutto si passi nella congregatione ordinaria che si fa in casa di Savello " (Avviso di Roma of October 8, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 675b, Vatican Library). It was for this reform commission that were drawn up the reform

that the Pope tolerated any departure from the reform decrees of Trent, but he never did so expressly.[1] The Dataria was specially ordered to observe the decrees strictly,[2] while their observance was repeatedly enjoined upon the nuncios.[3] A special ordinance of November 5th, 1574, was directed against all those who promised or accepted any gift in order to obtain concessions from the Holy See.[4]

Among the first cares of the Pope at the beginning of his pontificate[5] was the enforcement of the duty of residence, especially in the case of the bishops. Not even the Cardinals who possessed sees, so Gregory ordered at the consistory of September 19th, 1572, were to be excepted from this;[6] the decree giving effect to this order was read at the consistory of October 17th; on that occasion the Pope remarked that the College of Cardinals might take an example from its dean, Morone, who had already gone to his see of Velletri.[7] Although

proposals which DÖLLINGER (Beit., III., 237 *seq.*) published from the Ambrosian Library, Milan (cod. G.22). They are not dated but they do not belong as DRUSSEL thinks (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1884, II., 604 s.), to the year 1574, but to a later date, since at the earliest the treatise of Navarro cited by DÖLLINGER, p. 242, was published according to N. ANTONIUS in 1576 (Bibl. Hisp. nova, II., 97) and moreover Cardinal Borromeo is mentioned on p. 239 as being still alive; hence the treatise was written between 1576 and 1584.

[1] L. Taverna brings this out in his *notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See *ibid.* the *Considerationi of Speciani.

[2] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Odescalchi often complains in his *reports how difficult the Dataria showed itself; see especially his *letter of November 28, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 470.

[4] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 105.

[5] *Cf.* the *report of Gerini of June 18, 1572, and *that of Aless. de' Medici of July 4, 1572, State Archives, Florence.

[6] See Acta consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[7] See SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 115; *cf.* Mucantius, *Diarium Papal Secret Archives. See also the *audiences of Santori for October 15, 1572, *ibid.* arm. 52, t.17.

this new order caused regret and dismay among some of the Cardinals, Gregory nevertheless firmly insisted upon its being carried out. Anyone who could not or would not personally fulfil his duty of residence must resign his see; exceptions would only be allowed in important cases.[1]

The man who most rejoiced in this new order was Charles Borromeo, who resigned his offices of Grand Penitentiary and Archpriest of St. Mary Major's in order once again to devote himself entirely to his archbishopric of Milan, but the Pope still kept him for another three months in Rome, in order to profit by his advice in his measures of reform.[2]

When Borromeo returned to Milan, and on November 12th, 1572, again offered his resignation, Gregory XIII. gave his consent.[3] Borromeo's successor as Grand Penitentiary was the celebrated Cardinal Hosius.[4] Borromeo, however, by means of Bernardino Carniglia and Cesare Speciani, with whom he remained in constant correspondence, was still able from Milan to give expression in Rome to his wishes and counsels for the welfare of the whole Church.[5]

If Gregory XIII. gradually deprived of their sees those Cardinals who did not go into residence, this was quite in keeping with his determination that the many bishops in the

[1] See SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 119, 125. MAFFEI, I., 22, 142. Cardinal Truchsess *wrote on January 3, 1573, to the Imperial chancellor Wöber: "in the meantime the Holy Father is very glad to see me hasten to go into residence, make my visitation, and carry out the work of reform and the synods." State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp, 7.

[2] See the *report of Cusano of September 20, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* the brief in SALA, I., 258; BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 1, p. 57; SYLVAIN, II., 61 *seq.* For the generosity of Borromeo see Cusano, *report from Rome of October 6, 1572, *loc. cit.*

[3] See SYLVAIN, II., 63 *seq.*

[4] See EICHHORN, II., 466 *seq.* After the death of Hosius Cardinal F. Boncompagni received the office of Grand Penitentiary "che per dignità è, si puo dire, il supremo della corte et rende 5,000 scudi l'anno," says the *Avviso di Roma of August 8, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 263, Vatican Library.

[5] See BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 1, p. 57.

Curia should be obliged to return to their own dioceses.[1] Gregory also viewed with dislike the endless delay of those bishops who wished to be consecrated in Rome.[2] In the year of jubilee, 1575, measures were taken to facilitate the speedy return of the bishops to their own dioceses.[3] All the nuncios received orders to insist upon the obligation of residence.[4] How strictly this duty was enforced may be seen from the fact that the Bishop of Castellammare, although that city is quite close to Naples, was given the choice between residing there, or resigning his office of grand chaplain at Naples.[5] In the same way Gregory was by no means satisfied that the Patriarch of Aquileia and his co-adjutor, Giustiniani, should have their residence in Venice.[6] The Pope, wrote Cardinal Galli on January 4th, 1578, wishes that all bishops, canons and parish priests should observe their duty of residence.[7] Just a year earlier Gregory XIII. had ordered all Spanish priests living in Rome who had the cure of souls in their own country, to go

[1] *" Questi prelati partono verso le loro chiese et hieri parti Mons. di Pavia et Mons. di Martorano, benchè questi non ha vescovato," says Capilupi on February 28, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The Pope desires, *reports Odescalchi on December 12, 1573, " che tutti vescovi facciano la residenza " ; idem. *cf.* SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 213, 228 *seq.*, see also Mucantius *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives) for the consistory of February 26, 1574.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of December 12, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 345, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *report of Cusano of January 1, 1575, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] In the *Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., there is a letter from Ragazzoni to the Bishop of Famagosta, dated October 17, 1577 ; in this he exhorts him to the observance of residence, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.* the *letter to the nuncio at Venice for 1575-1576.

[5] See MAFFEI, I., 87. *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 112.

[6] See MAFFEI, I., 254. *Cf.* Nunziat di Venezia, XIII. (for the year 1576), Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *" Card. di Como a Mons. di Capua, nuntio di S.S,tà" January 4, 1578, State Archives, Venice.

home at once.[1] When, in the second half of Gregory's pontificate, many bishops were still to be found in Rome, the Pope did not fail warmly to urge the duty of residence. This occurred at the beginning of 1579,[2] in the autumn of 1580,[3] at the beginning and end of 1581,[4] and once again in August, 1582.[5] In like manner the nuncios were warned to give close attention to this matter, which was so important for the life of the Church.[6]

Following the example of Pius V., Gregory XIII. set great store on the choice of good bishops. At the very beginning of his pontificate he reminded the Emperor and the King of France to use their right of nomination only to present suitable candidates, to urge those who had not yet been recognized by the Holy See to seek for the Papal approbation, or else to remove them, and to require all of them to make the Tridentine profession of faith.[7] In order to obtain exact information before making appointments to ecclesiastical offices the Pope caused the bishops of Spain and Germany to send him a list of the most deserving and distinguished priests, so that he

[1] See *Avviso di Roma, June 12, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 508, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma, April 4, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 122, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *report of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, dated Rome, September 16, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck.

[4] See *Acta consist. January 24, and December 4, 1581, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma, August 4, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 278, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *instructions for the Archbishop of Cosenza, the envoy to Naples, dated January 6, 1580, *to the Bishop of Mondovi, nuncio in Savoy, dated September 24, 1580, *to the Archbishop of Rossano, who went to Naples on February 27, 1582, and to Mgr. de la Corbara, the nuncio in Tuscany, dated February 2, 1582, Barb. 5744, p. 73 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*, 225 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Concerning the nuncio in Venice see *Nunziat di Venezia, XIII. (1575), and XXII., 425, 446 (November 25 and December 16, 1581), Papal Secret Archives.

[7] See Maffei, I., 23.

might be able to reward the worthy and remove the unworthy. The Datary, Contarelli, marvelled, when any suggestion was made, at the knowledge which the Pope displayed of everyone's merits. If it were a case of appointment, in virtue of a royal prerogative of nomination, to a bishopric or abbacy, Gregory at once took steps with all prudence to obtain full particulars through his nuncios. In the case of benefices, appointment to which belonged to the Holy See, he first took into consideration those who had rendered loyal service to the Church.[1] One of his maxims was that benefices should as far as possible be conferred on the needy.[2]

What care was exercised in conferring benefices is clear from the many entries in the consistorial records.[3] In the discussion of such matters the Pope wished and ordered that the Cardinals should openly express their views without respect of persons.[4] Scrupulous care was shown to reward none but men beyond reproach. A theologian who was in other respects one of the most distinguished, but who had fallen under suspicion because he had written something erroneous concerning the veneration of the saints, was made to renew his profession of faith according to the Council of Trent, before he was allowed to take possession of his abbey.[5]

In the case of bishops he insisted in the most searching way upon the proper discharge of their duties. For this purpose a list of fifty-two questions was drawn up, by answering which they had to give an account of the way in which they had complied with the reform decrees of the Council of Trent.[6]

[1] See in MAFFEI, II., 453 *seq.*, the assertion of Coquelines, based upon contemporary notes.

[2] *Cf.* HIRN, II., 389.

[3] See the opinion of Tacchi Venturi, editor of the Diario consist. of Santori, which runs from 1573 to 1576, I., 175. *Cf.* also *Mél. d'archéol.*, 1913, 249 and *Acta consist., July 11, 1580, Barb. 2883, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 237.

[5] See *Acta consist., July 11, 1580, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *" Capita rerum quarum rationem S. D. N. Gregorius Papa XIII. nunc ab episcopis petit." At the end is added ;

Especially did Gregory XIII. insist upon the proper discharge of their pastoral duties by means of capable vicars, confessors and preachers. The bishops must have with them a visitor general, who was both conscientious and zealous for reform. The bishops were strongly urged to pay attention to the proper education of the clergy, and to set up a Tridentine seminary, where one did not already exist. They were also ordered to devote much care to the giving of religious instruction in every parish, and if possible to erect a confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in each. No less care was to be exercised in seeing that lay masters as well as physicians conformed to the decrees of the Church. The bishops must everywhere keep on good terms with the civil authorities. As for visitations a mixture of prudence, love and patience was suggested.[1] Gregory rightly attached great importance to canonical visitations; one of the principal causes of the decadence of the Church during the Renaissance period had been the fact that the regular visitation of the dioceses by their pastors had fallen into disuse. The Council of Trent had, therefore, in the strongest terms, urged the bishops every year to make a visitation of the whole of their dioceses, or the greater part of them, either in person, or if they were prevented from doing that, by means of their representatives. Such visitations, which were of the greatest importance for the maintenance of the purity of the faith, as well as for the growth of moral and religious life, and which, following the example of Giberti, had been carried out ever since the time of Clement VII. by a number of excellent bishops,[2] had not become altogether

"Pro episcopis Germaniae addenda erunt aliqua praecipue de ratione custodiendi gregem suum ab infectione morbidi gregi et de ratione curandi morbidum." Arm. 18, n. 3050, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] To supplement the very short account of MAFFEI, I., 23, use may be made of the "Avvertimenti per li rev. Vescovi" in Inf. polit., XXIV., 347 *seq.*, Library, Berlin. The renewal of the constitution of Pius V. concerning physicians (see Vol. XX. of this work, Cap. II. *seq.*) in Bull. Rom., VIII., 371.

[2] *Cf.* previous volumes of the present work.

general even after the Council of Trent. Pius V. had himself made a visitation in Rome, and by sending apostolic visitors had made a beginning in the States of the Church as well.[1] In this matter also Gregory XIII. followed in the footsteps of his saintly predecessor. In Rome the monasteries and churches were repeatedly visited,[2] and a congregation of Cardinals was also set up to decide upon difficult questions arising out of canonical visitations.[3]

At the beginning of 1573 seven distinguished bishops were appointed as apostolic visitors for the dioceses in the States of the Church.[4] They were given minute instructions to guide them in bringing about an organized renewal of religious life.[5] They were expressly ordered to bring it home to the peoples visited that they had the best intentions in their regard, and that they would be treated with charity and gentleness. The visitors were placed under the special obligation of first obtaining full information; without paying too much attention to trifles, they were to devote themselves above all

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 179 *seqq.*

[2] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For the visitation of the Anima, see SCHMIDLIN, 308.

[3] See the report of Zuñiga in the N. Colecc. de docum. inéd., I., 147. MAFFEI, I., 61, *cf.* II., 471. Speciani remarks in his *Considerationi concerning the "Congregazione di Visita apostolica": *"Il Papa vi so mostrò tanto zelante che poche volte volse permettere che si alterasse quello che li visitatori havevano prudentemente fatto," Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *"Questi visitatori [*cf.* MAFFEI, I., 88] che vanno visitare le chiese dello satato eccles^co partono tuttavia et il Marchesini viene verso Bologna" reports C. Capilupi from Rome on April 18, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The acta of the visitation, for the most part still unpublished (*cf.* App.-n. 35) often contain interesting artistic and historical descriptions, *e.g.*, concerning S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi; see SACCONI. Relaz. d. Ufficio regionale d. Marche e Umbria, Perugia, 1903, 199.

[5] See the *Avvertimenti in Inf. polit., XII., 376-390, Library, Berlin. *Cf.* EHSES in Nuntiaturberichte, I., xliii.; *"Praecipua capita ex formula visitandi pro visitatoribus apost." Barb. LXII., 4, p. 261 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

to important and essential matters, and above all to enhance the authority of the bishop and the good repute of the clergy, to employ fines in money for none but religious objects, and prudently to defend ecclesiastical liberties against the secular power. Minute and detailed prescriptions were drawn up for the visitation of bishops, cathedral chapters, parishes, convents of women, and confraternities. The visitors were also ordered to address severe admonitions to the laity. It was insisted that in the whole process the apostolic visitor was to obtain a clear idea whether the reform decrees of the Council of Trent were being carried out, and where this was not the case, prudently but vigorously to make whatever changes were necessary.

How carefully the visitors carried out their task is clear from the fact that Ascanio Marchesini, who was appointed to visit the diocese of Bologna,[1] limited himself to the city itself, while for the rest he appointed two delegates, one for the plains, and one for the mountainous part of the territory.[2]

Subsequently these apostolic visitations were extended to the rest of Italy.[3] The Papal Secret Archives contain a long series of volumes which, in a remarkable way attest the unwearied zeal of Gregory XIII. in promoting the reforms of Trent by means of apostolic visitations. The reports of these visitors are of the greatest interest, because they deal in great detail with the economic and moral state of the dioceses, and give us a vivid picture of religious conditions, and of the zeal and methods by which it was sought to carry out the work of reform in accordance with the spirit of the Council. For 1573, in addition to the diocese of Bologna, we have records of Faenza, Ravenna, Ragusa, Farfa, Camerino, Jesi, Orvieto, Bagnorea, Assisi, Bertinoro, Ronciglione, Capranica and

[1] The *brief for Marchesini appointing him as "Apost. Sedis delegatus" to carry on the "visitatio status ecclesiastici" interrupted by the death of Pius V., is dated April 2, 1573, Episcopal Archives, Faenza.

[2] *Cf.* App. n. 34.

[3] See the report of Zuñiga in N. Colecc. de docum. inéd., I., 147 *seq.*

Sutri. For 1574 we have records of the work of the apostolic visitors in Bracciano, Toscanella, Gubbio, Todi, Imola, Pesaro, Montefeltro, Castro and Canino, Bondeno and Carpi, Tivoli and Cagli.[1]

Borromeo, who at the end of 1574 had been called to Rome to give advice concerning the festivities of the year of jubilee, had, in the course of his interviews with the Pope, warmly recommended the sending of apostolic visitors.[2] A strange bishop, he insisted, would more easily detect errors in the administration of a diocese; in his character of Papal representative he could interfere in matters which would not come under the ordinary authority of the bishop, or which could not be carried through without involving odium of the pastors who lived there permanently.[3] A beginning of such visitations, so Borromeo desired, could be made at Milan; for the dioceses dependent on Milan he offered his own services. Gregory XIII. accepted this offer. In a brief of April, 1575, besides Borromeo, the following bishops were appointed as visitors: Nicolò Sfrondato of Cremona, Gian-Battista Castelli of Rimini, Francesco Bossi of Perugia, Alfonso Binarini of Camerino, Girolamo Ragazzoni of Famagosta and Cyprus, and Antimo Marchesani of Città di Castello.[4]

Briefs were at once sent to the viceroy of Milan, the Doge of Venice, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Republic of Lucca, with the request to give all possible support to the visitors.[5]

Having been presented by Borromeo, Ragazzoni began his work in Milan in May, 1575.[6] In the meantime Borromeo

[1] *Cf.* App. n. 34. For the visitation of Faenza see the excellent monograph by Lanzoni in *Bollett. Dioces. di Faenza*, V., 1918, n. 1. *Cf.* also Lanzoni, S. Pier Damiano a Faenza, Faenza, 1898.

[2] See Bascapè, l. 3, c. 4, p. 70a.

[3] *Ibid.*, c. 5, p. 75 *seq.*

[4] Archives of Briefs, Rome; *ibid.* special *authority for the visitation of religious given to Borromeo in June, and to Ragazzoni in July, 1575.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See Bascapè, l. 3, c. 4, p. 70b. *Cf.* the *acta of the visitation in the Papal Secret Archives, App. n. 34.

devoted himself to the dioceses of Cremona and Brescia, where a minute inquiry into every kind of question occupied him until the beginning of December.[1] During the year of the plague, 1576, there was naturally no question of going on with the visitation, but it was recommenced later on. During 1580 and 1581 Borromeo went everywhere making inquiries and correcting faults, through the whole great district of Brescia, where, owing to the penetration of Protestantism, very difficult conditions prevailed; his unwearied zeal, however, had its effect.[2] During this visitation, at Castiglione delle Stiviere, he gave his first communion to the youthful Luigi Gonzaga.

At the same time as Borromeo a number of other apostolic visitors were doing their work. For 1575 we have detailed records for Pescia, Modena and Reggio, Mantua and the monasteries in the city of Florence and the island of Malta. For 1576 we have them for Grosseto, Siena, Massa, Pienza, Montalcino, Milan, Tortona, Volterra and Pavia; for 1578 for Ferentino, Crema, Piacenza, Dalmatia and Istria; for 1580 for Benevento, Borgo S. Donnino and Chioggia; for 1581 for Bagnara, Alatri, Anagni, and the monastery of St. Francesco della Vigna at Venice; for 1582 for Mondovì and Brugnato; for 1583 for Viterbo, Montepulciano, Borgo S. Sepolcro and Cortona; for 1584 for Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Todi, Casale and Sarzana; for 1585 for Noli, in the territory of Genoa.[3]

[1] See BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 4, p. 70 *seq.* SALA, Docum, II., 195, n. 92 *seqq.* Borromeo to Castelli, June 30, 1575, *ibid.* 408, n. 13, *cf.* 405, n.1. For the plan of publishing the acta of the visitation of Bergamo, *cf. Riv. stor.*, 1909, 232.

[2] P. GUERRINI in *S. Carlo Borromeo*, 348 *seqq.* In the periodical *Brixia Sacra*, I. (1910), 1-3, A. Besutti treats of the visitation at Asola, *ibid.* 4-6, Guerrini of the visitation at Brescia. Further, *ibid.* 4-5, special accounts of the visitations at Chiari (L. Rivetti) Salò (L. Bettoni), Orzinuovi (P. Perini), Val Camonica (A. Sina), Valle Trompia (O. Piotti). See also BASCAPÈ l. 6, c. 1, p. 142, *cf.* 130; SYLVAIN, II., 312; GRADONICUS, 374.

[3] As well as the very general remarks in MAFFEI, II., 141, 349 *seq.* 391, 470 *seq.*, see the *acta of the visitation in the Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* App. n. 34) and the detailed *evidence

The visitation met with great difficulties in the city of the lagoons. Borromeo had for a long time past warned the Pope of the necessity of introducing reforms there.[1] Gregory XIII., who realized the jealousy of the Venetians towards any foreigner,[2] decided to associate with the nuncio Bolognetti two Venetian bishops, Agostino Valiero of Verona and Federico Cornaro of Padua, who were in other respects acceptable to the Signoria. At once, however, there arose in Venice a violent agitation against the claims of the Pope, which were declared

in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. Further appointments were made in *April, 1578 : Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini of Vercelli for the dioceses of Como and Novara ; *October, 1578, Castelli of Rimini for Parma, Piacenza and Borgo S. Donnino ; *February, 1580, Pietro de Lunel of Gaeta for Benevento ; *May, 1581, Francesco Bossi of Novara for Bobbio (a *brief giving him authority as early as February and June, 1580) ; *September, 1582, Leandro Rotelli of Sarsina for Pistoia, Arezzo, Cortona, Montepulciano and S. Sepolcro ; *April, 1583, Vincenzo de Cultellis of Catania for Viterbo and Toscanella ; *August, 1583, Bossi of Novara for Lodi ; *April, 1584, Rotelli of Sarsina for Saluzzo ; *July, 1584, Cesare de Nores of Parenzo for Montefeltro (Belluno, Concordia and Treviso ; *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 391). For the visitation by Bossi at Genoa, 1582, *cf.* M. ROSI, La riforma in *Atti della Soc. Ligure di Storia patr.*, XXIV. (1894), 19 *seqq.*, 21 ; for the same Bossi, MAZUCHELLI, II. (1851), 3. For the visitation at Arezzo, 1583, see MAZZATINTI, VI., 187. The districts on the border of Savoy were visited by Bishop de Croce of Martorano, nuncio in Savoy, in 1575 ; see MAFFEI, I., 182. The "Acta Visitationis ecclesiarum Pedemontii auctoritate Gregorii XIII. factae 1584" in Ms. Colbert, 2470, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. At the visitation of Vercelli in 1585, on the testimony of the vicar-general of that place, the Barnabites rendered great service. See his letter to the General of the Barnabites, in the Barnabite Archives, Rome, M. b. 66.

[1] See SYLVAIN, II., 253 *seq.*

[2] The ambassador of Venice, had worked as early as 1575, but naturally to no purpose, against the visitation of Borromeo in north Italy. See the report of Luigi Rogna, Rome, May 7, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

to be something quite new and unheard of. None but the Patriarch of Venice, who was quite capable of carrying out whatever the Pope had the right to demand, must set foot in the monasteries of the Republic. The real reason for the opposition of the Venetians was that same cesaro-papistical spirit which had also made the visitation so difficult in Tuscany.[1] The civil authorities insisted upon their right of superintendence over the property of the monasteries, the hospitals and other pious institutions, and they absolutely refused to give the visitors any information as to the revenues of these establishments.

Although the Doge made use of very violent expressions, and even openly threatened to pass over to the Greek rite,[2] the Pope remained inflexible. The nuncio Bolognetti, who had made several weak concessions over the question of the visitation of the monasteries,[3] was replaced in the spring of 1581 by Lorenzo Campeggio. The question of the visitations, it was insisted in his instructions, was nearer to the heart of the Pope than any other interest. Campeggio at once sought to get upon friendly terms with the Bishop of Verona, Agostino Valiero, and determined at first only to submit to the visitation the priests and religious, leaving on one side for the moment the convents of enclosed nuns, and as far as possible to proceed at first with great circumspection.[4] As the result of the

[1] See Maffei, II., 349; Theiner, Annales, II., 148 *seq.*; Reumont, Toskana, I., 305. How tenaciously the Pope held to the visitations from the first is described by Aless. de' Medici in his *report of October 19, 1573, State Archives, Florence. The *instructions for Mons. Capranica, destined as nuncio to Florence, November 5, 1579, insist upon the fact that the churches must be safeguarded against all interference on the part of the government. Barb. 5744, p. 64 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Bolognetti of February 20, 1580, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXII. (and in XXI. several scattered references to the same), Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Avvisi Caetani, 113.

[4] See the *instructions for Campeggio, April 17, 1581, Barb. 5744, p 144 *seq.* Vatican Library.

efforts of Campeggio, it was at last found possible to hit upon a middle course which satisfied both the Pope and the Republic; Agostino Valiero was appointed visitor; he was not to interfere, either with lay confraternities or with the internal affairs of convents of women. After this the visitation proceeded without further hindrance, and produced such good results that in the end the very men who had at first opposed it, could not but give it their approval.[1]

Outside Italy the Pope sought to bring the advantage of a visitation first of all to the Catholics of Germany.[2] His attempt to have this done in the dioceses of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which were in the occupation of France, were frustrated by political considerations.[3] On the other hand, the distinguished Bishop of Vercelli, Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, the disciple and intimate friend of Borromeo, who in 1578 had been appointed to visit the diocese of Como, was, on the occasion of his appointment as nuncio in Switzerland, also given the office of visitor for that district.[4] Very important too was the work done by the Papal nuncios in the visitation of Poland and Spain.[5] The distinguished Filiciano

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 174 *seq.*; *"Tractatus visitationum sive declarationes R. D. Annibalis Rochi I. U. D. Veron. ad breve Gregorii XIII. (dated April 25, 1583) ad ill. et rev. August. Valerium episc. Veron. super visitandis civitatibus et dioeces. Patavina et Vicentina, Verona, 1590, LE BRET, Venedig, III., 1, 435 *seq.*; ROMANIN, VI., 360 *seq.*; for the visitation of the patriarchate of Aquileia by the Bishop of Parenzo, we have the *information given by Sporeno, July 14, 1584, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. Battistella treats fully of the visitation of Aquileia in *Mem. stor. Forogiuliesi*, III. and IV. (1907-1908).

[2] See Vol. XX. of this work.

[3] See the notes of the Bishop of Bergamo, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 392. The *briefs of February 1582, for the nuncio Castelli with reference to Verdun, and of March, 1582, for Nicolò Mascadi, with reference to Metz, Toul and Verdun, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[4] See Vol. XX. of this work.

[5] See MAFFEI, I., 181 *seq.*, II., 350, 471 *seq.* For Spain see CARINI, Ormaneto, 10; for Poland, see Vol. XX. of this work.

Ninguarda, on the strength of the experience which he had acquired during his long years of work in Germany, wrote a manual on the manner of obtaining exact information as to the state of the various dioceses.[1]

The apostolic visitations ordered by Gregory XIII. bore plentiful fruits, while once again there gradually pervaded the clergy a sincerely ecclesiastical spirit which manifested itself in their piety, their devotion to their duties, and their self-sacrifice in the care of souls.[2] It is to the credit of the Pope that so many of the bishops threw themselves ardently into his plans. Thus it is related of Gian Battista Sighicelli, Bishop of Faenza, that he died in 1575, because he had worn himself out in his visitations.[3] At Taranto the archbishop himself, Lelio Brancacci, carried out the visitation in 1576, and the co-adjutor bishop Pietro Orsini at Spoleto in 1580.[4] At Bologna too Cardinal Paleotto gave a shining example of pastoral zeal, and himself visited the mountainous and most remote parts of his diocese.[5]

In like manner Mario Carafa[6] and Cardinal Paolo Burali devoted themselves to reform in Naples;[7] Cornelio Mussi at

[1] "Manuale visitatorum omnibus qui in eo munere funguntur commodum," Rome, 1589. See ECHARD, 314. To the same subject belongs the anonymous *"Tractatus de visitatione" in Barb. 864, p. 421 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *notes of G. Raggazoni, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; see also *ibid.* the *Considerationi of Speciani.

[3] See also the *letter from the chapter of Faenza to Gregory XIII., dated "Faventiae, 1575, III., Id. Iul.", Cod. L–III.–66, Chigi Library, Rome.

[4] See the information taken from the Papal Secret Archives in App. n. 34.

[5] See the *letter from Paleotto to Morone, Bologna 178, p. 95, Papal Secret Archives. For the reforming activity of Paleotto at Bologna see also the statements of his biographers, A. Bruni and A. Ledesma (*cf.* MERKLE in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XI., 336), and the *Atti di Romagna*, 3 ser. III., 531, and BATISTELLA, S. Officio, 13, 165.

[6] *Cf.* UGHELLI, I., 158.

[7] *Cf.* his biographers G. A. Cagiani (Rome, 1649), G. B. Bagatta (Venice, 1698), and G. Bonaglia (Rome, 1742).

Bitonto ;[1] Gian Battista Soriano at Bisceglia ;[2] the Theatines Marcello Majorano and Salvatore Caracciolo at Cotrone, Acerra and Conza ;[3] Alessandro Sauli at Aleria in Corsica; [4] Gaspare Silingardi at Ripatransone ;[5] Pietro Camaiani at Ascoli ;[6] Antonio Altoviti at Florence ;[7] Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini at Como and Vercelli ;[8] Eustochio Locatelli at Reggio ;[9] Romolo Archinti at Novara ;[10] Domenico Bolani at Brescia ;[11] Mariano Savelli at Gubbio ;[12] Agostino Valiero

[1] *Cf.* UGHELLI, VII., 689 *seq.* : *" Cornelii Mussi ecclesiastica disciplina cleri et populi Botuntini," in Cod. Gentilotti, n. 95, of the Communal Library, Trent. *Acta of the visitation of 1572 in the capitular archives at Bitonto.

[2] *Cf.* UGHELLI, VII., 948.

[3] The biography of these two Theatines in the Theatine Archives, Rome. " Storia di dieci vescovi Teatini " Mss. by Luigi Parini.

[4] *Cf.* the biographies by Gabutius (Milan, 1748), Bianchi (Bologna, 1878), Dubois (Paris, 1904), Molledo (Naples, 1904), as well as the articles by Ciceri, Maiocchi and Premoli in the *Riv. di scienze storiche*, I.-II., 1905. *Cf.* also S. Alessandro Sauli, Note e documente, Milan, 1905.

[5] RICCI, Le ambasciate Estensi di G. Silingardi, I., Pavia, 1907, 6 *seq.*, 8 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* UGHELLI, I., 472 ; P. CAPPONI, Mem. stor. d. chiesa Ascolana, Ascoli-Piceno, 1898, 144 *seq.*, 147.

[7] *Cf.* UGHELLI, III., 188.

[8] *Cf.* COLOMBO, 23 *seq.*, 42 *seq.* " F. Bonhomini Decreta generalia in vistatione Comensi " printed in 1579 at Vercelli. Bonhomini desired in this visitation that the statue of Pliny should be removed from the cathedral at Como as being a pagan adornment not suitable for a church ; this suggestion, however, met with vigorous opposition in Rome, and was criticized as being unjustified ; this opposition was successful ; see MEYER, Oberital. Frührenaissance, II., Berlin, 1900, 194. For the way in which P. Giovio defended the statue *cf. Period. per la Soc. stor. d. dioc. di Como*, VIII., 194, IX., 64.

[9] *Cf.* G. SACCANI, I vescovi di Reggio Emilia, R.-E., 1902, 124 *seq.*

[10] *Cf.* UGHELLI, IV., 724 *seq.*

[11] *Ibid.*, 562.

[12] U. PESCI, I vescovi di Gubbio, Perugia, 1919, p. 119.

at Verona.[1] The Bishop of Verona and many other bishops also distinguished themselves as fathers of the poor. At Bergamo Girolamo Ragazzoni stripped himself of all his property, even of the furniture of his palace, when he had nothing else to give.[2] Carlo Antonio Pocci, Archbishop of Pisa, founded a special institution which was particularly devoted to bashful poor persons who were sick, for whose benefit he left a sum in order that they might gratuitously have physicians, surgeons and medicine.[3] The many provincial and diocesan synods which were held at that time served to consolidate and deepen the effect of what had been attained by the visitations.[4] The Archbishops of Ravenna, Giulio della Rovere and Cristoforo Boncompagni,[5] and the glorious chief pastor of Milan, Charles Borromeo, displayed special zeal in this matter.

The activities of this truly great man increased during the last ten years of his life in such a way as to include more and more the whole of the Catholic Church. His labours, so to speak, developed into an essential supplement and expansion of the Council of Trent, which was always to Borromeo the centre of all his efforts; thanks to him it became doubly fruitful. This applies above all to his legislative activity.

In the very nature of things, in the matter of ecclesiastical discipline the Council had only been able to lay down the

[1] *Cf.* Hurter, Nomencl., I., 239 *seq.* The *Acta of the "Visitatio dicc. sub. Aug. Valerio episc. 1565-73" in the Episcopal Archives, Verona, Visit., III. How much Valiero favoured the priests "della scola" of Giberti is shown by his *letter to Sirleto, dated Verona, 1571, March 18, Ry 387, p. 305, Vatican Library.

[2] See Ughelli, IV., 507. [3] *Ibid.* 490.

[4] A table of the diocesan synods held under Gregory XIII., in Marcello, Memorial. cronol., Nalpes, 1713. *Cf.* also Scaduto, 250 *seq.*, and Mazzatinti, XVI., 55. The "Constitutiones Synodales A[i] 1579" published by Marcantonio Colonna as Archbishop of Salerno, in Cod. A, 8 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. An *"Oratio ed Laudibus et utilitate conciliorum" by Franc. Ubaldi in Barb. XXIX., 254, Vatican Library.

[5] For his reforming activity see App. n. 35.

principles and the fundamental lines for the complete renewal of the Church. Borromeo set himself to give effect to this by means of his provincial and diocesan synods. No bishop of modern times has held so many synods as he. The ordinance of the Council of Trent that every three years the archbishop should call together his suffragan bishops to a provincial synod naturally could not be literally observed even by him; the first assembly of the Milanese bishops in 1565 was followed by a second in 1569, and a third in 1573. Thenceforward, however, for the last three synods the prescribed interval of three years was observed. The annual diocesan synods demanded by the Council of Trent conformed to this rule for the years 1578-1584, during which years seven such assemblies were actually held, the remaining four diocesan synods occurring in the years 1564, 1568, 1572 and 1574.[1]

As a result of the legislative work of these synods the Cardinal of Milan became, to use the expression of Bishop Valiero of Verona, "the teacher of bishops."[2] What had been indicated on broad lines in the Tridentine laws was developed down to the smallest detail in the ordinances of Borromeo, but with so great a grasp of what was necessary and practicable as to arouse general admiration. Copies of the first of these provincial synods were asked for by bishops from all parts; in a short time it had been spread throughout Christendom.[3]

[1] SALA, Biografia, 28 *seq.*, FRANZ SPROTTE, di synodale Tatigkeit des heil. Karl. Borromäus (Programm), Oppeln, 1885.

[2] LOSSEN in *Hist. Taschenbuch* 5, Folge IV. (1874), 256.

[3] Harum volumina undique postulata et toto pene christiano orbe brevi tempore disseminata magno ubique usui fuerunt ad concilia per ecclesias celebranda, optimasque leges, clericis populisque eorum imitatione scribendas, quibas christiani mores religiosaque vita restitueretur. Omnes enim, quicunque ecclesiasticae disciplinae studiosi erant, eas cupide legebant, et ex eo quasi fonte Episcopi suarum constitutionum scriptionem gubernationisque rationem deducebant (BASCAPÈ, l. 2, c. 1, p. 25 *seq.*, l. 7, c. 42, p. 227). Concerning the decrees of the IVth provincial council BASCAPÈ (l. 3, c. 5, p. 75b) is of the opinion that the "bonorum episcoporum studia in perpetuum iuvabunt." *Cf.* Acta eccl. Mediol., 1599, dedication.

Borromeo himself sent copies to his friends ;[1] the Bishop of Alba at once asked for twenty-five copies for himself ;[2] and when in 1582 Borromeo published a collection of his enactments under the title " Acts of the Church of Milan " a hundred copies were immediately ordered in Lyons, and the Cardinal of Toledo obtained ten, one of which found a place in the library of the King of Spain.[3] Amplified by further enactments and by the successive pastoral letters of Borromeo, these " Acts of the church of Milan " went through many editions ;[4] they contain ordinances for the sanctification of festivals and the

[1] Borromeo to Cardinal Santori on September 10, 1566, in SALA, Docum., II., 221 *seq.* Borromeo wrote on September 20, 1580, to Bascapè, who was going to Spain as his representative : " Delle Concilii provinciali ed istruzioni, ve ne manderò colla prima occasione quindeci o venti di tutti, perchè potiate distribuirli in cotesti parti." (SALA, Biografia, Dissert., VIII., c. 2, par. 3, p. 261). A " lettera bellissima " of the Archbishop of Urbino to Borromeo (1580), containing the praises of the provincial synod, which had been sent to him, and which he compared to a strong fortress, is mentioned in SALA, Docum., II., 203, n. 235.

[2] Borromeo to the Bishop of Alba on May 29, 1567, *ibid.* 258, n. 116.

[3] Letter of Galesini to Borromeo on December 2, 1582, *ibid.* 211, n. 339, *cf.* 525.

[4] Editions : 1, Milan, 1582, by Charles Borromeo himself, edited by Pietro Galesini (SALA, Docum., II., 525), after the giving up of the idea of a Roman edition which was to have been edited by C. Bascapè (*Scuola Catt.*, 1910, I., 850) ; 2. Milan, 1599, at the instance of Federico Borromeo, and edited by the Oblate, Giampaolo Clerici (*ibid.* 851) ; 3. Brescia, 1603 (together with this were published certain kindred matters) ; 4. Paris, 1643 (incomplete, and edited by Olier, the founder of the Sulpicians ; *cf.* A. DEGERT in *Bulletin de littérature ecclés.* 4th ser. IV., Toulouse, 1912, 193 *seq.*) ; 5. Lyons, 1683 (at the hands of the Oratorian, Poisson, *ibid.* 207) ; 6. Bergamo, 1738 ; 7. Padua, 1754 ; 8. Milan, 1843 *seqq.* ; 9. " Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis ab eius initiis usque ad nostram aetatem opera et studio A. RATTI [now Pope Pius XI.], vol. II. *seq.*, Milan, 1890 *seqq.* *Cf.* SALA, Biografia Dissert. not. XII., p. 449 *seq.* ; HURTER, Nomencl. III., 3rd ed., 358.

observance of fasts, on indulgences and pious foundations, on the manner of preaching and administering the sacraments; on the revenues and endowment of churches; on the ecclesiastical tribunals, the episcopal chancery and ecclesiastical statistics, in a word, on everything that appertains to the regulation of ecclesiastical life.[1] Francis of Sales wrote in 1603 that these Acts of the Church of Milan are indispensable to a bishop.[2] Pope Paul V. said in the bull of canonization of Borromeo that they are in constant use among pastors of souls, and that they afford full and copious instruction for the government of the Church.[3] At the preparation of the Council of the Vatican in 1870 a consultor was charged with nothing but the study of the decrees of Borromeo.[4] The enactments of provincial and diocesan synods of later times are very often a repetition of the Milan decrees.[5] With the exception of the time immediately following the Council of Trent, on the whole very few diocesan synods were held; a substitute for them and an excuse for their not being held may be found in the fact that in every case the ordinances of Borromeo already contained the fullest instructions for all matters pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline. A successor of the great archbishop of Milan, Federico Visconti, in 1689,

[1] *Cf.* a general review of the contents in SALA, *loc. cit.* 450 *seq.* For the reforms of Charles Borromeo in pulpit oratory see BARBIERI in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, ann. 38, vol. 15 (1911), 231 *seq.* On this occasion attention was also drawn by GRAUS (Kirchenschmuck, 1897, 141 *seqq.*) to the injunctions of the Archbishop of Milan for the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament.

[2] "Le *Decreta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* vous est necessaire," to de Revol, Bishop of Dol, Oeuvres de St. François de Sales, XII., Annecy, 1902, 191.

[3] "quae sacerdotum manibus teruntur et regendi ecclesias doctrinam abunde suppeditant"; see Bull. Rom., XII., 643 *seqq.*

[4] EUG. CECCONI, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Kirchenversammlung im Vatikan, edited by MOLITOR, I., 1, Ratisbon, 1873, 298.

[5] This use began in France even during the lifetime of Borromeo in 1579. DEGERT, *loc. cit.* 148; *ibid.* 149 *seqq.* a demonstration of the use of the Milanese constitutions by successive councils.

expressed himself to that effect.[1] In the case of his own archbishopric of Milan the outcome of a synod always meant, in the mind of Borromeo, spiritual renewal for both clergy and people. There the priest must kindle within himself the fire of the love of God and carry it forth to kindle the same fire among his subjects both in the cities and the countryside. For three weeks before the provincial synod, prayer and the approach to the sacraments was urged upon the people; as long as it lasted public prayer was made in the dioceses, sermons and instructions were given to the people, and spiritual exercises to the clergy.[2]

It was not, however, only by his decrees that Borromeo exercised an incalculable influence upon the future, but he was also that wonderful model of a bishop, side by side with whom, as though to complete the picture, must be placed the gentle figure of Francis of Sales.[3] The Council of Trent had laid upon the bishop and placed in his hands the whole work of restoring the Church. It was therefore of an importance that can never be over-rated that in the Cardinal of Milan a man was given to the Church who showed by his own example how the decrees of the Council ought to be carried out in practice, and how much could be accomplished by their full application. That which at first sight appears to be a dead letter in its prescriptions, becomes a living reality in the work of Borromeo He is the model of a Tridentine bishop, in whom the Council becomes a thing of flesh and blood.

The attempt to bring about a radical moral reform was destined to meet with serious difficulties in Borromeo's own

[1] "Porro septem iis in Conventibus (the seventh provincial synod was held by Federico Borromeo in 1609) ad moderandos mores, corrigendos excessus et controversias componendas Deique cultum amplificandum ita affluenter decreta sancita fuere non solum pro eorum temporum conditione, sed provisu in futurum, ut *operae pretium non censuerim*, provinciae coepiscopos ex suis sedibus convocare, maxime vigentibus bellorum suspicionibus." Sala, Docum., I., 563.

[2] Sprotte, *loc. cit.* 15, 17.

[3] *Cf.* Celier, St. Charles Borromée, Paris, 1912.

diocese. The archdiocese of Milan was one of the largest in Italy; besides the Duchy of Milan it included part of the territory of Venice, of Monferrato and of the Swiss Alps. It contained 2220 churches, 800 of which had parochial rights, 3200 clergy, 100 monasteries of men and 90 of women, of which latter Borromeo suppressed 20. The population of the whole diocese was estimated at from 800,000 to 900,000 souls. In addition to the archdiocese of Milan Borromeo also had charge of the ecclesiastical province of Milan, which was formed of fifteen large dioceses, and extended over the whole of Monferrato as far as the republic of Venice, and from Piedmont to the republic of Genoa.[1] Ignorance and immorality were prevalent throughout the whole of this vast territory; some priests did not know the formula of absolution, while some of the laity did not even know the Pater Noster; in the churches men talked aloud, danced and stored grain, and dances were held in the convents of nuns; the judicial powers of the Church were almost forgotten, especially in the Swiss part of the archdiocese.[2]

In spite of all this Borromeo did not lose heart for a moment. He held it as an indisputable *a priori* fact that the Catholic Church, as being the work of Christ, must contain in herself the supernatural forces for a complete renewal; therefore unshaken confidence in the efficacy of prayer, of labour and sacrifice for the love of God, formed the foundation of all his efforts for the reformation of his vast archdiocese. Hence too came his constant efforts for his own sanctification; hence the austerity of his life, and his scrupulous care in the choice of the persons who surrounded him.[3] Moreover from the first it was one of his maxims, in strict observance of his

[1] GIUSSANO, l. 2, c. 1, p. 48 *seq.* PIETRO VERRI, Storia di Milano, IV., Milan, 1841, 18. The difficulties which Borromeo met with have recently been well described by ORSENIGO in his Vita di S. Carlo, Milan, 1911.

[2] GIUSSANO, l. 2, c. 1, p. 49 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.* c. 2 and 3, pp. 51 *seqq.*, 54 *seqq.* For Giov. Botero, Borromeo's secretary after 1576, *cf.* the monograph by CARLO GIODA. La vita e le opere di Giovanni Botero, 3 vols., Milan, 1895.

obligation of residence, to devote all his powers to his own diocese alone, and, in so far as his duties as archbishop required, to the dioceses dependent on Milan; all other offices he resigned. Thus he resigned, as soon as Gregory XIII. would allow it, the dignities of Grand Penitentiary, of Archpriest of St. Mary Major's, of Protector of the Franciscans, of the Carmelites, of the Roman monastery of S. Marta, of Flanders and of Portugal.[1] When it was intended to appoint him visitor for Savoy, he declined.[2] If he showed so great a zeal for Switzerland, this was owing to his concern for his own diocese, as he feared lest Protestantism should make its way from Switzerland into Milan.

His unwearied labours were blessed with splendid results. To hundreds of priests, in whose case ignorance and the want of a sacerdotal training was the cause of all their defects, a knowledge of their vocation was for the first time brought home by the words and example of their pastor. The bishop took care that their good will should not again fail, and that the incentive and call to a good life should be constantly renewed. He divided his own city as well as the rest of the diocese into six districts, in each of which the parish priests were gathered together into small groups. He appointed the best priests as his representatives at the head of these sections and groups; these he had already found in the archdiocese, or had summoned from elsewhere, with the result that the movements which originated with the bishop were transmitted to the least village parish priest.[3] At periodical meetings the heads of the six districts of the city were made to exchange their experiences in the presence of the archbishop, and suggest plans for a further improvement of the state of affairs. The same thing was done in the case of the Cardinal's representatives in the six divisions of the rest of the diocese. Parish priests were ordered to meet periodically in order to discuss difficult cases of conscience, and thus acquire knowledge.[4]

[1] Bascapè, l. 3, c. 1, p. 58 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* l. 7, c. 23, p. 203b.

[3] Sala, Biografia, 22 *seq.* Giussano, l. 2, c. 4, p. 64.

[4] Acta Eccl. Mediolan., 22 *seq.*, 643 *seqq.*

Borromeo took special pains to secure for his diocese a new generation of trained young priests. Even in the time of Pius IV., although he was kept far from his church by his office of Secretary of State, he had provided by means of Ormaneto for the establishment of a seminary at Milan, according to the intentions of the Council of Trent. When he had founded and endowed this,[1] he was not yet satisfied, and proceeded to establish a whole series of similar institutions;[2] thus there was a seminary to provide him with parish priests for the country population,[3] and another in which persons already advanced in years could by means of a shortened course of studies of two or three years obtain the necessary education, or complete it, if it had been insufficient.[4] There were also two others in which nothing was taught but an elementary course of grammar,[5] and another for boys from the surrounding mountains,[6] who, having been reared in hard circumstances, and forced to pass their lives amid the hardships of their native place, could not be educated amid the refinements of the seminary. A seminary was established at Arona to meet the requirements of the environs of Lake Maggiore and the Swiss borders. After many labours Borromeo succeeded in bringing into existence at Milan a Swiss college, in which youths from both Italian and German Switzerland were trained as good priests.[7] The attempt to

[1] For the revenues of the seminary *cf.* the briefs in SALA, Docum., I., 182 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*, 284 *seq.*, 340 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*

[2] An extract in SALA, Biografia, 25, and in the report of the Archbishop of Milan, Federico Visconti, 1689, in SALA, Docum., I., 551 *seqq.*

[3] "Alla canonica" in Milan; *cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 428.

[4] At S. Giovanni alle Case Rotte.

[5] S. Maria di Celana at Brivio (*cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 412, 443, 473), and S. Maria della Noce.

[6] At Somasca in the Bergamasco; *cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 188, 559, 560.

[7] *Ibid.* 393, 410, *cf.* 175, 180, 219. See also SYLVAIN, III., 14 *seq* Schweiz. Geschichtsfreund, LIV., 118, *Kathol. Schweizerblätter*, 1896. "The love which Charles had for this undertaking

establish a college at Locarno for the Grisons came to nothing ; on the other hand one was set up at Ascona, which Gregory XIII. put under the care of the Archbishop of Milan, although it was situated in the diocese of Como.[1]

Just as Borromeo, in his efforts to reform his clergy did not attach the principal importance to disciplinary acts but to instruction and education, so also did he act with regard to the great masses of the population. When he first took possession of his see he found there an undertaking that was of great importance in this respect ; in 1536 a zealous priest, Castellino da Castello, had founded there the "schools of Christian doctrine" in which on Sundays and other feast days children and unlettered persons were instructed in the most elementary doctrines of Christianity.[2] Side by side with their religious instruction the pupils in these schools were initiated into the elements of secular knowledge,[3] since the catechisms of that time generally contained on their first pages the letters of the alphabet, so that with their catechism

may be described as enthusiastic, and the time and labour which he devoted to this foundation fills us with wonder. While the Swiss themselves remained inert, and contented themselves with repeating at their meetings what a fine thing it would be if they could set up a Swiss college somewhere, without expense, Charles was working zealously and indefatigably for the foundation and consolidation of the *Helveticum*, just as though he had nothing else to do, and as if he were working for the establishment of a seminary in his own diocese. Except for a donation from the Bishop of Constance, the Swiss did not contribute a farthing towards this work, while St. Charles, on the contrary, begged on all sides for its support." E. WYMANN, Der hl. Karl Borromeo, Stans, 1903, 34.

[1] *Cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 248, 453.

[2] *San Carlo Borromeo*, 148 *seq.*

[3] Castellino is commemorated in this connexion by a marble tablet placed at the corner of the Via Alessandro Manzoni and the Vicolo San Giacomo : "Il sacerdote Castellino da Castello di Menaggio qui fondava nel 1536 la prima scuola elementare festiva pei fanciulli poveri." *Ibid.*

children learned to read.[1] Borromeo supported and encouraged these schools in every way ; in the city of Milan in 1595 they contained no less than 20,504 regular pupils,[2] and in 1571 he wrote that the institute was so useful that in his opinion nothing had brought so many blessings to his diocese as this.[3]

In enumerating all these seminaries and schools we have by no means spoken of all the services of Borromeo to the education and training of youth ; we have already spoken of his unwearied labours in works of charity. For the benefit of studious youths he founded in the university of Pavia the Collegio Borromeo, at Milan the Collegio de' Nobili, after the model of the German college in Rome at that time,[4] the college of the Jesuits of the Brera with lectures on humanistic subjects, philosophy and theology, and a college of Theatines. He built a professed house for the Jesuits at Milan, a noviciate in his native place, Arona, a splendid residence for his cathedral chapter, and a convent for the Capuchins in Milan. There was also a hosiptal for mendicants, a house of refuge for penitent women, and another for girls in danger.[5] He provided a house at Milan for the society of secular priests, the Oblates of St. Ambrose, which Borromeo had founded as an association on the lines of a religious order. He also took a decisive part in the reorganization of the internal affairs of the Barnabites

[1] *Ibid.* 196.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] " Et è di tanta utilità quest' opera delle Scuole Cristiane il giorno di festa, che per me non so vedere qual altra cosa abbia fatto tanto frutto in questa mia Diocesi, quanto questa." To the nuncio in Spain (Castagna), November 2, 1571, *ibid.* 145.

[4] " Si è instituito un collegio ad imitatione del Germanico di Roma per aiuto de' figliuoli nobili." Borromeo to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, March 24, 1574, in SALA, Docum., III., 13. The Swiss college too was established on the model of the Germanicum (MAYER, II., 60 *seq.*) ; in some letters to Borromeo it is described as : " Collegio Germanico nuovamente instituito in Milano." WYMANN, Der heil. Karl Borromeo, 110, *cf.* 156.

[5] *Cf. San Carlo Borromeo,* 199, where there is a picture of Borromeo surrounded by engravings of 26 of his institutions.

and Ursulines, in the introduction of the Capuchins into Switzerland,[1] as well as in establishing a number of colleges of Jesuits in Italy.[2]

The boundless energy and love of work of Borromeo were not exhausted even by all these foundations, and indeed it may be said of him that his episcopal activities were as wide as the Catholic Church herself; this is proved by the enormous correspondence which he carried on, and which is still preserved in the Ambrosian Library in three hundred folio volumes.[3] All classes, all ranks, from the Emperor down to the least correspondent in the Swiss country-side, from the Pope to the poor seminarist, may be found among the writers of these letters and documents; in the archbishopric of Milan, in the Ticino and the Valtellina, there were but few places from which letters did not come; while there are others from Madrid and Lisbon, from Paris and London, from Amsterdam and Cologne, from Vienna and Prague, from Cracow and Vilna, from Malta and Cairo.[4] These letters were systematically dealt with by the archbishop in person, and the replies dispatched in accordance with his instructions.[5]

All who give a little time to the examination of this mass of letters, written from a soul and heart all on fire and consumed by zeal, must be struck with wonder,[6] and their amazement

[1] WYMANN, *loc. cit.* 25-33, 78, 148 *seqq.* MAYER, II., 216 *seqq.*

[2] SALA, Biografia, 24.

[3] WYMANN, *loc. cit.*, 7-15.

[4] *Ibid.* 12 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 8.

[6] "The correspondence on the whole gives an exceedingly favourable impression, and brings out the zeal and labours of St. Charles in a brilliant light" (WYMANN, 9). "The correspondence preserved at the Ambrosiana is the most striking and eloquent testimony to the complete sacrifice of Charles of himself to the Roman Church, a service which absorbed all his powers, and unfortunately wore him out all too soon" (*Ibid.* 10). "These papers speak too plainly for any denial to be possible to-day of the fact that Charles had acquired a world-wide position" (*Ibid.* 12). "Mille argomenti unici nel genere vi si veggono sviluppati

will be all the greater when they bear in mind that all this correspondence must have been personally supervised at the very time when Borromeo was deeply occupied with interviews and visits, with his many sermons and instructions, with the preparation of his seventeen councils, with the visitation of his own and other dioceses, and above all, with the current busines of his episcopal administration. To have accomplished such an enormous amount of work would be quite incomprehensible, if we did not know that Borromeo, during the latter years of his life, only devoted a few hours to sleep,[1] and that for him the days were doubled in length, so many were the hours that he devoted to work in comparison to others. By means of the increasing austerity of his life, which he continued to add to until the end, it[2] seemed to those who knew him that he had attained so marvellous a dominion over sensible things, as to have an almost unlimited power over himself.[3]

The results of his unwearied labours in Milan were wonderfully great, though he too was greatly assisted by the conditions of the times. The Council of Trent, the provincial

nella specie in svariati modi, con diversi indirizzi con una moltiplicità di artificio da fare sbalordire. Vi si ammira concentrata un'attività biologica prodigiosa, un fuoco intenso di affretata combustione, un delirio di operosità, di versitilità d'ingegno e di volere, ri da far ripetere quella gran domanda che faceva Don Abbondio : 'Chi era costui ?'" ZERBI in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 1891, 81. According to Zerbi the correspondence in the Ambrosiana includes 268 volumes ; BASCAPÈ (l. 7, c. 25, p. 208a) says : "Pii et religioso viti ex omni parte ad eum potissimum, quaecunque acciderent, tamquam ad rerum divinarum salutariumque vigilantissimum custodem procuratoremque diligentissimum omnia deferebant." For Botero, one of Borromeo's many secretaries, and a celebrated scholar of his time, *cf.* C. GIODA, La vita e le opere di Giovanni Botero,3 vols. Milan, 1895 ; also *Anal. Boll.*, XIV (1895), 348.

[1] BASCAPÈ l. 7, c. 2, p. 172b.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 171b.

[3] An example of what he was able to accomplish, *ibid.* l. 6, c. 6, p. 159b.

council of 1565, the pontificate of a saintly Pope like Pius V., all these things helped to raise up so extraordinary a man as Borromeo, as well as to give rise in Milan to the conviction that a new era had begun, and that everyone was bound to prove himself worthy definitely to break with the mistakes of the past.[1] Even during his lifetime Borromeo had the reputation of being a saint. During his stay in Rome for the jubilee of 1575, many knelt before him in the public streets as he passed by,[2] and on his later visits to Rome the people ran down the streets to see him.[3] In a letter sent to Germany from the Eternal City in 1577 he is described as a second St. Ambrose.[4] Posterity has bestowed upon him the noble title of "model of Catholic bishops."[5]

[1] Thus Borromeo himself wrote on April 17, 1566, to Bonhomini: "Mi reca consolazione indicibile il rilevare la docilità e la deferenza de' miei Milanesi nel ricevere qualunque mia osservazione ed in ispecie la loro buona volontà ed il loro rispetto a mio riguardo. Sopratutto mi conforta il vederli persuasi, come essi sono, che in seguito al Concilio di Trento ed al Provinciale, mentre governa la Chiesa un Pontefice si santo ed io pure mi adopero al uopo con tutte le forze, da tutti ormai si debba abbracciare una vita nuova." *San Carlo Borromeo*, 134.

[2] BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 3, p. 68a.

[3] *Ibid.* l. 5, c. 7, p. 124b, 125a. Odescalchi remarks in his *letter of September 12, 1579, that Borromeo had declined the invitation of the Pope to take up his residence in his palace: "Si è ritirato ad habitare al suo titolo S. Prassede assai bassamente; in fatti si vede che questo signor non est de hoc mundo." On September 19, 1579, Odescalchi writes of Borromeo: "E stato visitato da tutta questa corte come se fosse un santo et è andato alle 7 chiese dicendo sempre orationi, salmi e corone." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the notes in the *Diarium of Mucantius, on December 24, 1579, Papal Secret Archives; also the *Avvisi di Roma of September 16, 19, and 30, and October 7, 1579, and of January 23, 1580, Urb. 1047 and 1048, Vatican Library.

[4] Epistola ex Romana urbe in Germaniam missa, Ingolstadt, 1577.

[5] "Forma pastorum." Paul V. in the bull of canonization.

In some of the principal difficulties which bishops of post-Tridentine times met with in the fulfilment of their office, they leant to a great extent upon his example. After the XVIth century there came the beginnings of the rise of the modern state, which little by little absorbed into its own hands a number of rights which hitherto had been considered the indisputable heritage of the family or of the Church; the desire to live in peace with the secular authorities duly appointed by God, and the wish not to antagonize the powers by useless disputes, and thus make the position of the Church worse, became henceforward an increasingly grave source of anxiety to conscientious bishops. The Archbishop of Milan, with matchless courage, fought these battles and carried off the palm of victory under circumstances in which even his friends had thought the day was lost.

An example of what was happening was to be found in the case of the disputes with the well-intentioned governor, Albuquerque (died 1571).[1] Luigi de Requesens (1572-1573) as governor carried the matter so far that Borromeo publicly excommunicated him because he had haughtily claimed possession of the town of Arona, the family seat of the Borromei, to surround the archbishop's palace with troops, and to intercept and open Borromeo's correspondence. The excommunication made the greatest impression in Milan; the nobles refused to accompany the governor, the working classes no longer doffed their hats to him, and the foreign ambassadors broke off their relations with the excommunicated man.[2] Fortunately Requesens' appointment as viceroy of the Low Countries, and his departure from Milan extricated him from his difficult position.

During the time of Requesens the strained relations had gone so far as to amount to real hatred of the Cardinal, but

[1] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 22 *seq.*

[2] See the documents relating to the dispute in SALA, Docum., II., 23-69, and the report of Borromeo sent to Rome to Speciani, Castelli, and Galli, *ibid.* III., 448-536, to Philip II., *ibid.* 479 *seq.*, 490 *seq.*, to Gregory XIII. *ibid.* 499, 527. *Cf.* SYLVAIN, II., 65 *seqq.*

under his successor, the truculent Marquis Ayamonte, they went beyond all bounds. The latter set to work to destroy the good name of the archbishop at Madrid, in Rome, and among his own subjects, and to get him removed from his office. Even on the occasion of his first visit, he received the Cardinal in the antecamera without ceremony, and openly, before all who were present, told him his views on the subject of the disputes which were still unsettled.[1] After this he worked openly to counteract the reforms of the bishop.[2] When, for example, Borromeo wished to remove the abuse by which Lent began on the Monday instead of the Sunday, as laid down by the Ambrosian rite, the viceroy at once proclaimed a tournament for that Sunday, on that occasion within his rights, and when the bishop forebade attendance at this function under paid of excommunication, Ayamonte organized on successive festival days entertainments which were deemed incompatible with the spirit of Lent.[3] Workmen were summoned to Milan from the smaller cities, in order to browbeat them by threats into declaring themselves against the government of Borromeo.[4] They were ever on the watch to find an opportunity of sending unfavourable reports to Madrid and Rome.[5] The governor formally compelled the senators of Milan in 1579 to send an embassy to Rome to complain of

[1] Borromeo to Castelli, October 17, 1573, in SALA, Docum. III., 528. The point of view of Ayamonte: Ha mostrato di non haver a pensare nè all' officio mio, nè ad altro, se non a quello che gli parerà servitio del suo Re, dicendo in spetie che a questi tempi non s'ha tanto da guardare a quel che voglione i Canoni, et che se gli altri vescovi non si curano di servar questi Canoni non me ne devo curar ne anch' io. *Ibid.* 529.

[2] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 1, p. 109 *seqq.* SYLVAIN, II., 202 *seqq.* The account of the Milanese controversies in ROTA (La reazione cattolica a Milano, in *Bollett. stor. Pavese*, VI. [1906], 46 *seq.*), apart from the completely biassed views, contains nothing new that calls for remark.

[3] SYLVAIN, II., 215 *seqq.*

[4] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 1, p. 110.

[5] *Ibid.*

Borromeo.[1] Naturally most of the heads of the accusation were of no great importance. Borromeo, for example, was accused because he had claimed that in the country places on festival days there should not take place those dances, which distracted people from the sacred functions and led to many murders ;[2] he was accused of having prevented tournaments and such things during the time of the functions ; of having closed the side doors of the cathedral at Milan because the church was being used as a thoroughfare. The complaints of the senators were supported by the Spanish ambassador in Rome.[3]

As time went on it became more and more apparent that the archbishop was to be made the object of incessant accusations. Philip II., in a moment of ill-temper, said that he would unite with the Pope in removing this disturbing element from his office.[4] To the accusations brought forward by the Spanish ambassador Borromeo caused reply to be made in Rome that he did not make his ordinances after the fashion of Spain and Venice, where men had no idea of the liberties of the Church, but in accordance with the ancient canons and councils.[5] Nevertheless, even among the friends of reform, a doubt sprang up whether Borromeo was not going too far in his attempt to revive in the XVIth century the ecclesiastical customs of the ancient canons and councils, and whether, for example, it was wise under the existing conditions to run the risk of antagonizing the King of Spain by excommunicating his officials. To some it seemed that Borromeo intended with exaggerated severity to lay upon the masses of the people as a matter of obligation what was only intended as a counsel of

[1] The instructions for the envoys in FORMENTINI, La dominazione Spagnuola in Lombardia, 486 *seq.* ; *ibid.* 491 *seq.*, also the reports of the envoys.

[2] SALA, Docum., II., 77.

[3] SYLVAIN, II., 212. Writings in defence of Borromeo, *ibid.* 221 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 207.

[5] *Ibid.* 212.

perfection.[1] When a Jesuit, Giulio Mazzarini, went so far as to criticize publicly from the pulpit, in Milan itself, whether directly or indirectly, some of the ordinances of the archbishop[2] it is easy to understand that such views were held by many others as well. Even in Rome the continued accusations and threats gradually made a similar impression.

During this controversy Borromeo continued to send detailed reports on the subject to his representative in Rome, and protested that he was ready to submit unconditionally to the decision of the Pope, even if it meant his giving up the episcopal privileges which he had hitherto held.[3] Gregory XIII. had from the first charged Borromeo to defend the rights of his own church by all ordinary means.[4] But he gradually became more reserved in what he said, and the esteem in which Borromeo was held grew less and less in Rome.[5] His fourth provincial council, which he had sent

[1] *Cf.* the letter from the confessor of Philip II., the Dominican Diego Chaves, to Borromeo, August 31, 1580, in SALA, Docum., II., 87 *seqq.* See also the report of the Milanese envoys from Rome, January 23, 1580, in FORMENTINI, *loc. cit.* 493.

[2] "Religiosioris item ordinis nonnulli aliqua ex parte consenserunt, Caroli studiis atque operibus non obscure detrahentes et causam adversariorum probantes, etc." BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 1, p. 111a; *cf.* SALA, Docum., II., 73; SYLVAIN, II., 226.

[3] Io per la parte mia conforme a quello che dissi già a Vostra Santità a Roma, . . . quando ella . . . mi diede per resolutione ch'io diffendessi con le vie legitime le sue raggioni e possessioni: così li dico di nuovo che s' ella giudica honor di Dio ch' io ceda, perda, rimetta o patisca ogni cosa in questa giurisdittione faro sempre l' obbedienza. Thus he wrote to Gregory XIII. as early as September 15, 1573, SALA, Docum., III., 500; *cf.* Bascapè to Philip II., 1580, *ibid.* II., 70.

[4] See preceding note.

[5] Interea contentiones adversus Carolum susceptae totoque hoc temporis spatio continuatae res eius tantum in discrimen et invidiam adduxerant, ut nihil fere amplius actorum eius Romae defendi posse quibusdam videretur. . . . Aures vix demum Ecclesiae principes multi sine fastidio Caroli procuratoribus dabant. Eius existimatio, quod ad iudicium prudentiamque

to Rome for confirmation, failed, even after a long delay, to secure the approval asked for.[1] No one, however, ever doubted his zeal or his prudence. It was rumoured that the Cardinal was hated by the people of Milan, that the king was working for his removal, that he would soon be leaving for Rome and would not return. It was widely held to be impossible that he could continue his work of reform in Milan in the way he had so far adopted. Public opinion in Rome was so much against him that the ordinances issued by the "zealot" in Milan found hardly anyone to defend them, and his representatives met with hardly any support. Borromeo himself brought to the Pope's ears the complaint that sometimes he had to defend his enactments like an accused man before a judge.[2] In his own archdiocese, the continued hostility of the civil authorities had the effect of arousing a spirit of opposition and insubordination which seemed likely to imperil all that Borromeo, in the work of years, had done for the moral improvement of his diocese.[3] The report that Gregory XIII. did not approve of the conduct of the archbishop told in the same direction. Together with the appeal to the Pope there came a revival of the dances which Borromeo had almost entirely banned, with the consequence that there

pertineret, suspensa neque mediocriter apud multos erat extenuata. . . . Omnino ita inclinatum videbatur totum de disciplina restituenda negotium, ut ad felices exitus posthac erigi unquam posse plerique desperarent. Bascapè l. 5, c. 7, p. 123. Giussano, l. 6, c. 1, p. 369 f.

[1] Sylvain, I., 443 *seqq.* It was Cardinal Montalto who examined it. Sala, Docum., II., 200, n. 182.

[2] Bascapè, *loc. cit.*, p. 123b. Giussano, *loc. cit.*, p. 370. *Cf.* the very respectful and candid letter of Borromeo to the Pope on July 7, 1579, in Luca Beltrami, La Roma di Gregorio XIII. negli Avvisi alla Corte Sabauda (Nozze Boncompagni-Borromeo), Milan, 1917, xv *seq.*

[3] Si era eccitato un tale spirito di contraddittione et disobedienza, che infino da' particolari non solo laici, ma ecclesiastici ancora et monache si contradiceva ad ogni ordinatione, che facesse il Cardinale contra suo gusto et mandavano a Roma. Bascapè to Philip II., in Sala, Docum., II., 72.

were fifty murders[1] within a period of three or four months ; every insubordinate nun thought to excuse her disobedience to the bishop by the opinions of the Pope.[2] Speciani saw that Borromeo's only course was to present himself in Rome, and deal with the matter in person.[4]

Borromeo came to Rome, and contrary to all expectations, his coming turned into a complete triumph for him. At his approach, and while he was still a mile from the Bridge of St. Angelo, the streets were thronged with people. Prelates and nobles who a little time before had held themselves coldly aloof from him, vied with each other in saluting him and seeking an audience ; the Pope himself invited him to the apostolic palace.[4] It was not long before he was able, through his vicar general, Nicolò Galerio, to renew all his ordinances, which had been so bitterly attacked, concerning plays and dances, festivities and feast days, and the closing of the side doors of the cathedral.[5] Borromeo triumphantly defended his fourth provincial synod, which the Pope himself examined, against the objections that had been raised, and was able to secure it

[1] *Ibid.* 77. BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 7, p. 123a. SYLVAIN, II., 224. Gregory XIII. had actually pronounced with greater leniency than the Cardinal on the subject of dances. SALA, Docum., II., 194, n. 71. Other various opinions, *ibid.* n. 74.

[2] See *supra* 99, n. 3

[3] BASCAPÈ, p. 123b. GIUSSANO, p. 370.

[4] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 7 *seq.*, p. 125a, 126a. "Nell' arrivar qui volse allogiare a S. Prassede suo titula senza nessuna sorte d'addobamenti, ma il Pontefice il giorno seguente, che fu all' audientia lo ritenne in Palazzo, per maggior commodità, disse, di quei che l'haverebbero visitato, et egli se ne contentò ; ma il quarto giorno fornite che furono le visite, volse ritornarsene al primo alloggiamente. . . . Avanti hieri ci ando [to the Papal villa] anco il cardinal Borromeo, chiamato da Sua Beatitudine, con la quale sta spesso in longhissimi ragionamenti." Thus the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Corraro, in SALA, Docum., II., 470. A contemporary account of the stay of Borromeo at Loreto during his journey to Rome, 1579, in *San Carlo Borromeo*, 458.

[5] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 8, p. 126b.

against all further attacks by means of the Papal approbation.[1]

No one could have expected such a result. Even during the journey of Charles to Rome, when he had stayed for a few days at Camaldoli, it was rumoured that he had lost confidence in his cause and was about to become a Camaldolese,[2] and it was often predicted that he would never return to Milan.[3] In spite of this, Ayamonte thought it necessary to send a fresh embassy to Rome to renew the old accusations. But as soon as it arrived it was struck dumb by the news that Borromeo was on the point of returning to his see, and that all further discussion was quite useless.[4] The joy with which he was received in Milan[5] on his return gave the lie to all the stories that had so persistently been spread about, that he was hated by his own people, while the good-will with which Milan, a few days later, observed the first Sunday of Lent in the way desired by Borromeo, was a splendid refutation of the accusation that he was aiming at things far beyond anything that ordinary Christians could or would do. It is a case, the archbishop had written to Madrid,[6] of things that gave occasion

[1] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 7, p. 126a. Sala, Docum., II., 208, n. 314.

[2] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 7, p. 124b. "With them [the Camaldolese] he remained in private for six days, apart from his retinue." Corraro, *loc. cit.*

[3] "che senza fallo anderebbe a Roma, ne gli saria concesso più di ritornar a Milano." Giussano, 370.

[4] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 7, p. 126 *seq.*

[5] Incredibile est, quantum gaudii et iucunditatis invisus ille dictus et intolerabilis adventu suo excitaverit in universa civitate, etc. *Ibid.* c. 8, p. 128.

[6] *Ibid.* c. 11, p. 137a.—Pare ad alcuni, ch'io costringa questi popoli a cose de perfettione, non permettendo balli, etc. . . . Ma quando anco queste fossero opere di perfettione, se per via di diligenza et sollicitudine le potessi introdurre nel popolo, non però dovrei lasciar di farlo, nè potrei senza gravissimo peccato; imperocchè se Iddio mi ha fatto gratia di un popolo buono, facile et ben disposto al bene più di quanti io habbia mai conosciuto, io son tenuto a secondare la sua buona opinione. Borromeo to the confessor of Philip II., in Sala, Docum. II., 91.

to many interminable disputes, to sins of the flesh, to hated, feuds and murder: but on the other hand he knew the good people of Milan, and what he could ask of them. That it was a fact that the people were filled with good will was now made clear to the eyes of all. On the other hand the behaviour of Ayamonte is quite incomprehensible, for he, on the very third Sunday of Lent, which had been so hotly disputed, once again organized his tournament, so that the sounds of the trumpets penetrated into the cathedral, not, it is true, with the result of attracting many spectators, but so as to disturb the sermon of the archbishop.[1] Not long afterwards Gregory XIII. addressed a brief to the people of Milan, in which the conduct of the archbishop was completely justified.[2] In taking his leave Borromeo had been told by the Pope to defend the rights of his church without waiting to consult Rome.[3] At the end of April, 1580, the viceroy died,[4] but Borromeo did not allow this occurrence to move him from his intention, made long before, of explaining to the King of Spain, by means of a secret envoy, all that had happened at Milan, and the story of his controversies with the viceroy. His choice for this difficult task fell upon the Barnabite, Carlo Bascapè, who was successful in obtaining the most favourable results from Philip II.[5] The new governors, Guevara y Padilla (1580-1583) and Carlos di Aragona, Duke of Terranueva, maintained in Milan full agreement between the civil and ecclesiastical powers.[6]

It was during the disputes with Ayamonte that there occurred that event which brought out in the most splendid light the generosity of Borromeo, and which probably has, more than anything else, made his name so famous; this was

[1] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 9, p. 129b.

[2] Giussano, l. 6, c. 4, p. 390 *seq.*

[3] Sylvain, II., 248.

[4] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 9, p. 130 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* c. 11, pp. 132-40. Giussano, l. 6, c. 9, p. 408 *seqq.* *Cf.* the documents concerning this mission in Sala, Docum., II., 70-94.

[6] Bascapè, l. 6, c. 1, p. 141 *seq.*

the great plague at Milan.[1] It is characteristic of Ayamonte that not once did the heroic self-sacrifice of the archbishop succeed in making him speak kindly of him ; on the contrary, some of the things which Borromeo did at that time, with the best intention, were taken by him as being usurpations of the civil power.

The renewal of friendly relations with the new governor, Terranueva, made it possible for the unwearied champion of the Church to turn his attention to the Alpine districts in the north of Italy.[2] Ignorance of religion, errors in matters of faith and immorality, were flagrantly rife there, as well as witchcraft ; those districts were a safe place of refuge for the Italian speaking heretics ; Italy was threatened by a constant danger lest Protestantism should make its way thence throughout the whole peninsula. On the occasion of his last journey to Rome, in 1582, Borromeo brought this state of affairs under discussion, and he was accordingly appointed apostolic visitor, especially for the Misox valley, and was given for that place a kind of personal mission in which he was to be assisted by certain Jesuits.[3] Death prevented him from erecting in the Grisons the great barrier against the advance of the heretics, which he had hoped to produce there.

In spite of the austerity of his life, Borromeo had attained to the years of his father, and had survived his elder brother, and his sister who was much younger than he.[4] Presentiment warned him that for him too would soon strike the hour of his departure; there will be nothing to be surprised at, he said, if my life should come to an end. Man of zeal as he was, he continued to devote himself to the duties of his office, but his

[1] *Cf.* the *description in App. n. 32.

[2] Bascapè, l. 6, c. 4 *seq.*, pp. 149-156.

[3] *Ibid.* Sprotte, 12. For the witches who were handed over to the secular arm and burned on the occasion of the visitation, *cf.* Cantù, Eretici, II., 387. For a magician who tried to discover witches by magic arts, *cf.* the letter of Borromeo in Sala, Docum., II., 420, n. 47.

[4] Bascapè, l. 6, c. 6, p. 159a.

thoughts were turned, more than ever and in a higher degree, to eternity, and to union with God in prayer.[1]

The thought of the Passion of Christ and of His death and burial, became the favourite subjects of his meditations, and in order to give himself up entirely to these, he retired in the middle of October, 1584, to the so-called Monte Santo near Varallo, which, by means of allegorical representations of the scenes of the Passion, set up in a number of chapels, had been transformed by the devotion of a Franciscan into a memorial of Calvary and a much frequented sanctuary.[2] There he daily devoted six hours to meditation ;[3] on one occasion, during the night, he passed eight hours in unbroken prayer, and the time passed so quickly for him that he thought they had put the clocks forward in order to deceive him.[4] On October 28th he left Varallo, in order to open the college at Ascona, and on November 1st he intended to keep the feast of All Saints in his own city. But a violent fever, which had already attacked him several times at Varallo, returned, so that by October 31st he had only reached Arona. There on the feast of All Saints, at the Jesuit noviciate, he said mass for the last time, and on November 2nd he arrived in Milan.[5] Immediately his illness increased so much that the doctors gave up hopes of his recovery, and in the evening of November 3rd a peaceful death took him to eternal rest.[6] "A light has been extinguished

[1] "Libenter alioqui per id tempus frequentiam fugiebat et in remotiora loca discedebat, negotiorum se molestiis subtrahens, ut sacris studiis divinisque contemplationibus vacaret." *Ibid.* p. 160a.

[2] *Ibid.* c. 7, p. 161a, GIUSSANO, l. 7, c. 11, p. 480 *seqq.* *San Carlo Borromeo*, 448 *seqq.*, 454 *seqq.* KNELLER, Geschichte der Kreuzwegandacht, Freiburg, 1908, 22 *seqq.*

[3] BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.*, p. 161b.

[4] *Ibid.* 162a.

[5] *Cf.* SPROTTE, 14 ; SYLVAIN, III., 358 *seqq.*

[6] BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.*, p. 163 *seqq.* Contemporary accounts of his death and the impression it made, in *San Carlo Borromeo*, 517 *seq.*, 525 *seq.* ; *Arch. stor. Ital.*, XXV., 126 ; CRIT. SCOTTO, Epicedium, Milan, 1584 ; new edition, *ibid.* 1823. "L'ultima

in Israel,"[1] exclaimed Gregory XIII. at the unexpected news of the death of this man who had been so venerated both by him and his contemporaries.[2]

lettera di S. Carlo Borromeo" in *Bollett.* della *Svizzera Ital.*, XXVI. (1904), 56 *seq.* The tomb of the holy bishop in the underground chapel in front of the High Altar in Milan Cathedral is thus described by KLIMCH (Italiens berühmte Städte, I., 183 *seq.*) : "The body of the saint is entirely preserved, as was proved at the examination carried out at Corpus Domini in 1910. The flesh and skin are dried up as in a mummy. To this day the posture is wonderfully beautiful, as though the dead man were rapt in prayer. Dressed in splendid pontifical vestments, there lie the mortal remains of the great archbishop, in a precious casket of silver designed by Cerrano and the gift of King Philip IV. of Spain. On his breast are two precious pectoral crosses. The older of these, the chain of which is formed of links of gold with many precious stones, bears on the cross-bar the name of Jesus, and on the other the name of Mary, each composed of 33 diamonds. The latter cross is the gift of the Cardinal of Milan, Cardinal Ferrari. Above the mitre, which is loaded with precious stones, there is suspended from the top of the casket a gold crown adorned with pearls, a gift from his treasury by the Prince-Elector, Charles Theodore of Bavaria. It is said to be the work of Cellini, and according to the inscription (A.Q.D. B.M.V. or "Albertus Quintus Dux Bavariae Mariae Virgini") was a votive offering to the Madonna from Albert V. Duke of Bavaria. The right hand still bears the ring with which the saint was buried, while on the left may be seen two gold rings with cameos (graceful works of art, one of which represents Pius VI.). About eighty large and small lamps of engraved rock crystal throw so good a light upon the saint in his rich vestments that it is quite easy to see." *Cf.* also FELL, Mailänder Dom, Ratisbon, 1910.

[1] BASCAPÈ, l. 6, c. 9, p. 169 a.

[2] GIUSSANO, l. 7, c. 16-18, p. 504 *seqq.* WYMANN, San Carlo Borromeo, 284 *seqq.* The Swiss parish-priest Seb. Werro (of Freiburg) wrote of him in 1581 : "Cardinalis ipse, etsi multa de illo vulgo ferantur, longe tamen sanctius vivit, ut fama minimam adhuc partem de illo referat. . . . Secretiora neque cubicularii deprehendere possunt, ut existiment, maiora esse et diviniora, quae arcana ipse in abscondito cum Deo agit."

It is a fact that Borromeo is still to this day a light in the Church, on account of his ordinances in the matter of ecclesiastical discipline as well as of his splendid example. Among his contemporaries his name was identified with reform ;[1] if anyone wished to draw a picture of a reformer of the Church, it would surely take the form of Borromeo. By the magnitude of the plans which he set before himself, by the burning zeal with which he carried them out, by his courage and constancy, by his readiness to spend himself in his labours, he stands second to none as a reformer of the Church ; what stands out above all in him is his complete disinterestedness in the fulfilment of his duties and his absolute sacrifice of his own personality, and of his own wishes and inclinations before the magnitude of his task. His own interests were ignored as soon as his duty was clearly presented to him, or at the utmost only lightly manifested themselves. This was to be seen even when he was a young student at Pavia, amid the enjoyments and allurements of the frivolous university city. It was to be seen even more when he was a young Cardinal ; all the enjoyments of the capital of the world lay open to him, and he had but to stretch out his hand to take them ; but on the contrary, he laboured from morning to night like the least artisan who has to earn his daily bread, and even in his work he did not follow out his own wishes and ideas, but the orders and desires of his uncle. As a bishop he had no other aim than to die entirely to himself in order to live for nothing but his great duties. His only recreation was prayer, to which he devoted himself for long hours whenever he could find the time, but even in this he showed himself always ready, at the first summons of his episcopal duties, to sacrifice this one happiness.

Wymann in *Zeitscrift für schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, II. (1908), 133 *seq.* Jakob Burckhardt clearly expressed in his historical teaching, his admiration for Borromeo, as one of his pupils told me : " Charles might have been Pope ; he preferred to become a saint, and did so."

[1] " Qui [in Rome] è da molti ammirato più tosto che veduto volontieri, mettendo spavento, con la sua presenza, di qualche riforma." Corraro, in Sala, Docum., II., 470.

The austerity of his life, on the other hand, his vigils and fasts, gradually increased to such an extent that a hermit of the desert could hardly have surpassed him, and few surpassed him very much.[1] Too strongly perhaps, but with perfect truth, the Franciscan Panigarola said in Borromeo's funeral oration that Charles had enjoyed no more of his own wealth than a dog enjoys of the riches of his master, namely a little water, bread and straw.[2] It may be added that this austerity was of great value to Borromeo as a reformer, in the difficulties of his position; it proved to all who had eyes to see that the archbishop neither sought for nor desired anything on earth for himself, and that, for example, in his disputes with the governor, his motive was not, as was thought, any ambition to increase his own power, but only a consciousness of his duty.[3]

Like his intentions, so too the measures taken by Borromeo in his work of reform always bore the imprint of disinterestedness. Although he was everywhere recognized as a master and teacher in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, and his advice was sought by the Pope himself, he never made any display, or sought to enforce his own ideas and wishes. In his work as a reformer he was guided and inspired by the decrees of the Council of Trent; he submitted himself to these absolutely; and whenever he found himself obliged to go further than what had been laid down in the decrees of the Council, he was careful to support his point of view by the witness of the Fathers of the Church and the ancient councils. It cannot be wondered at, then, that his reverence

[1] Some little known traits in WYMANN, San Carlo Borromeo, 108 *seqq.*

[2] BASCAPÈ, l. 7, c. 3, p. 173b.

[3] Bascapè emphasized this point of view before the King of Spain: "che faccia le sue cose con intentione diritta et indirizzata a Dio solo, et che non si mova per passione, nè per qual si voglia riguardo humano, credo che si possa hormai tener per certo, se si può fare argumento dalla vita et dalle attioni sue, et dall'haver fatto la rinuntia, che ha fatta al mondo et a tutti i suoi beni et commodità." SALA, Docum., II., 74.

for the traditions of the past gave their characteristic power to his labours. It was inevitable in the XVIth century that new methods should have been adopted at times, even in ecclesiastical affairs ; but Borromeo never was in any danger of being misinterpreted or misunderstood.[1] The decrees of his provincial councils could never have attained their lasting importance if they had not sprung from the age-long experience of the Church, and carried it to its logical conclusion.

Thus the Cardinal of Milan, by the inflexible consistency of his character, stands before his contemporaries and posterity[2] as one of those great men who sacrifice all in order to gain all, who renounce the world and by their very renunciation obtain unlimited influence over the world. With the exception of the founder of the Jesuits no other personality has had so deep and lasting an influence upon Catholic regeneration as Charles Borromeo. Just as his gigantic statue near Arona, like an apostle bestowing his blessing, looks out over the expanse of one of the finest views in Italy, so from his yet greater grandeur of spirit there still flows to-day a wave of benediction. Among the heroic figures of the Church of the XVIth century, he is one of the greatest ; for long he will be its legislator, and he will be her example for ever ; he stands as a milestone in the history of the Church, at the boundary line between two epochs, the dying Renaissance and the triumphant Catholic reform.

[1] The Jansenists appeal to him in support of their rigorism, but quite wrongly, as Pope Innocent XI. wrote. DEGERT in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Toulouse, 1912, 211 *seq.*

[2] A special admirer of Charles Borromeo was Francis of Sales, who is associated with him by Celier at the end of his beautiful work, St. Charles Borromée (Paris, 1912).

CHAPTER III

Progress of the Religious Orders.—Reform of the Carmelites by Teresa of Jesus.

In an ordinance which he gave to the Camaldolese[1] Gregory XIII. gave a proof of the way in which from the very beginning of his pontificate he turned his attention to the restoration of discipline among the religious Orders. The efforts of Pius V. to formulate and further the legislation of the Council of Trent in this respect were continued with all zeal by his successor. The intentions of Pius V. concerning the difficult question as to how the rights of the mendicant orders and the secular clergy were to be mutually accommodated, had been, according to his own confession in his edicts, misunderstood.[2] Gregory XIII. now set himself to settle this question in accordance with the ideas of his predecessor, and in the meantime declared that none but the ordinances of the Council of Trent had any authority, and revoked all concessions which went beyond those ordinances.[3]

Gregory was filled with the very proper conviction that nothing was of greater importance to the religious Orders than to consolidate in every possible way their fundamental principle of obedience.[4] He therefore took special pains to

[1] Of April 8, 1573, Bull. Rom., VIII., 256.

[2] "ut qui interdum conqueretur, multa aliter alioque sensu a se prolata fuisse, quam litteris expressa essent." Bull. Rom., VIII., 40.

[3] March 1, 1573, *ibid.* 39 *seqq.* For the question of precedence among the mendicant Orders see the Brief of July 25, 1583, *ibid.* 429.

[4] "Nihil in unaquaque religiosa familia . . . aeque arbitramur esse utile, quam supremam in eisdem auctoritatem gerentibus, omni contentione exclusa, ea quae decet reverentia universos parere." *Ibid.* 66.

see that the government of the Orders should be in good hands. In this matter he did not allow himself to be deterred even by the fiercest attacks. The Camaldolese had become so reduced in numbers that they could not adequately fill all the principal offices in the Order, and they had to submit to a Papal ordinance which at one stroke removed the new superiors, and united the houses over which they had hitherto presided to other houses.[1] He did the same thing in the case of the Hermits of St. Jerome, a congregation of only 160 monks, among whom, as a result of the short term of office of the superiors, there had entered a strong spirit of ambition for office and dignities. Gregory removed all the superiors of the congregation and gave them new ones.[2] Disobedient monks who dared, against the commands of their superiors, to obtain the opinion of canonists,[3] or to appeal to secular judges,[4] experienced the severity of the Pope, as was shown in the case of those who had obtained office in the Order through the influence of secular or ecclesiastical princes. "Nothing does greater harm to the discipline of the Orders," he wrote to the Dominicans,[5] "than seeking the protection of externs; superiors of Orders ought not to allow themselves to be influenced in any way by such recommendations, even when they come from Cardinals or from the Emperor; anyone who has obtained office in this way ought to be deprived of it, and rendered incapable of receiving it in the future." In the case of the Olivetans such striving to obtain recommendations from externs was prohibited under pain of excommunication.[6] A whole series

[1] Of April 8, 1579, *ibid.* 256.

[2] May 26, 1574, *ibid.* 69 *seq.* *Cf.* the *reports of Odescalchi of March 6, April 26, June 12, July 17, and September 28, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Edict of April 17, 1574, to the Cassinese Congregation, Bull. Rom., VIII., 66.

[4] Edict of April 8, 1575, to the Order of Franciscan Observants, *ibid.* 108.

[5] June 1, 1580, *ibid.* 335 *seq.*

[6] On April 4, 1579, *ibid.* 254.

of the decrees of Gregory XIII. have for their object above all the due arrangement and freedom of election of the superiors of Orders; ordinances to this effect were issued to the Cassinese Congregation of the Benedictines,[1] the Franciscan Observants,[2] the Hermits of St. Jerome,[3] and the Portuguese Hieronymites;[4] Gregory also issued ordinances concerning the election of abbesses by the nuns of the Cassinese Congregation,[5] especially in Italy.[6]

In the case of the Orders of women he also paid special attention to the enclosure. Pius V. had already taken steps to enforce the strict enclosure ordered for nuns by the Council of Trent.[7] There could be no question as to the necessity for this ordinance, and it was only the wretched state of some of the convents which made it difficult to enforce. Thus in Florence there were no less than twenty-eight convents of women in which 2500 nuns lived on alms in great poverty, and to a great extent did not observe the enclosure.[8] In such cases Gregory tried to assist them by means of large subsidies,[9] but he strictly enforced the enclosure in the case of the convents both of men and women.[10] A constitution of June 13th, 1575, revoked all permissions to enter convents even though these had been granted by the Holy See or by its legates, even in the case of persons of high rank; anyone who, in spite of this, violated the enclosure incurred the greater excommunication reserved to the Pope; the same

[1] On February 12, 1577, *ibid.* 165.

[2] September 8, 1573, and April 29, 1579, *ibid.* 58 *seqq.* For the Chapter General of the Observants at Paris, and the disturbances about the election of the General, Cristoforo Capodifonte, afterwards removed, *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 46 *seqq.*

[3] May 25, 1584, Bull. Rom., VIII., 473 *seqq.*

[4] June 14, 1578, *ibid.* 233.

[5] April 16, 1574, *ibid.* 64 *seq.*

[6] December 30, 1572, *ibid.* 28.

[7] See the account in Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 266.

[8] See REUMONT, Toskana, I., 307.

[9] *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 87 *seq.*

[10] *Cf.* the edict of December 30, 1572, Bull. Rom., VIII., 28.

thing applied to superiors who allowed it to be done.[1]

The greater part of the reform ordinances issued by Gregory XIII. in the case of the religious Orders, were either suggested by the Council of Trent, or were further developments of the Tridentine decrees, of which the new Pope, like his predecessor, always proved himself the champion and supporter. Naturally it had not been possible even for the zealous Pius V. to bring new life into existence everywhere, and his successor found himself obliged to address severe reproofs where the ordinances for the reform of religious issued by the Apostolic See had not been carried into effect.[2] In the case of some religious bodies, however, the Pope was able to express his deep gratitude, as for example to the Servites "who every day do a great work in the vineyard of the Lord by word and example, and by their fasts and prayers. . . ."[3] The same was the case with the Benedictines of Perugia,[4] and the Hermits of the woody solitudes of Camaldoli, whose austerity and zeal had made a great impression upon the Pope himself on the occasion of a visit which he had paid to them.[5] Gregory XIII. also addressed praises to the Augustinians on account of their zeal in preaching and their works of charity ;[6]

[1] Bull. Rom., VIII., 113 *seq.* Bull. casin.; Venice, 1650, 232. Papal permission was also required to go out in the case of the secular clergy in convents ; see Reumont, Beiträge, IV., 258. For the reform of the convents of enclosed nuns at Naples by the Pope we have *information from P. Strozzi, May 25, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Gregory XIII. forbade all figured music in the convents of nuns ; see *Civ. Catt.*, 1918, II., 518.

[2] To the Canons Regular of SS. Salvatore, March 23, 1574, December 16, 1579, and November 18, 1580. Bull. Rom., VIII., 62, 313, 359.

[3] April 20, 1578, *ibid.* 205.

[4] July 8, 1579, *ibid.* 287.

[5] " Quae omnia non solum ab aliis saepe audivimus, sed etiam nostris oculis aliquando vidimus." Brief of January 4, 1585, *ibid.* 505.

[6] On September 5, 1572, *ibid.* 13 ; on September 5, 1579, Theiner 1579, n. 34, (III. 42).

he only asked them to try and give up the exaggerated and not quite disinterested eagerness with which too many of their number sought to attain theological degrees ; soon they would have more masters than pupils, and except for distinguished doctors of theology there would be no one available for the ordinary offices of the Order.[1]

The reforming zeal of the Apostolic See often found an echo in the Orders themselves. The reform of the Franciscans was undertaken with great zeal by the General of the Order, Francesco Gonzaga, who died Bishop of Mantua in 1620, and in whose election to the supreme dignity in his Order, the French nuncio as well as the Pope himself, had taken an important part. Almost immediately after his election in 1579 he issued a severe circular in which he declared that the superiors were responsible for the decline in the discipline of the Order, and urged them to show favour to the brethren who were desirous of reform, and to pay attention to community life, prayer and study. A second circular specially inculcated poverty. Gonzaga made a personal visitation of the convents of north and central Italy, of the Iberian peninsula, and even some of the convents of France.[2]

The Abbot-General of the Cistercians, Nicholas Boucherat (1571-1584) devoted himself with conspicuous zeal to the reform of his Order. On July 20th, 1572, he was able to write to Cardinal Morone, Protector of the Order,[3] that during the last two months and a half he had in his visitation inspected the state of twenty-six monasteries in Switzerland, Swabia and the neighbouring districts, and that he intended to go

[1] Brief of June 5, 1583, Bull. Rom., VIII., 422.

[2] The life of Gonzaga was written in 1625 by his intimate friend of many years, Hipp. Donesmundi. On this work was based the Vita del Ven. Fr. Gonzaga, Min. generale dei Frati Minori, Vescovo di Mantua, Rome, 1906. See HOLZAPFEL, 310 *seq.* *Cf.* " Una lettera a una Relazione autografe del ven. Fr. Gonzaga Min. generale del Min. Oss. intorno alla riforma del gran Convento di Parigi, 1582," in Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, II. (1909), 668 *seq.*

[3] In A. POSTINA in *Zisterzienzer-Chronik*, XIII. (1901), 228.

for the same purpose to western France, Bavaria and Bohemia. During the two following years he continued his visitation in Switzerland, Lower Germany and the dioceses of Constance, Augsburg, Würzburg, Bamberg, Freising, Ratisbon, Salzburg, Brixen, Passau and Strasbourg; in 1573 he personally visited 18 monasteries of men and 28 of women in north Germany containing 887 persons; in the territory of the three ecclesiastical Electors, and in the dioceses of Paderborn, Münster and Liège, he visited 15 Cistercian monasteries of men and 43 of women, containing 1307 persons.[1]

The state of these religious houses was on the whole satisfactory. The monastic buildings, according to the reports of the visitation, were for the most part in a good state, sometimes even beautiful, and the revenues sufficient.[2] From the point of view of religion many of the houses visited were accorded the praise that the reform had been set on foot, and not rarely that it had burned away every evil.[3] Some convents naturally were the objects of sharp criticism;[4] it is said of Hardehausen in Westphalia that the monks were barbarous and uncouth, yet, in spite of that, good.[5] Some-

[1] Reports of the visitation of 1573 (Lower Germany) *ibid.* 230 *seqq.*, 1574 (Upper Germany), *ibid.* 257 *seqq.* For the visitation decree for Marienstatt *ibid.* XXIX. (1917), 97 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* XIII., 227 *seqq.*

[3] Thus the monastery at Donauwörth, which numbered 38 monks "bene reformatos," *ibid.* 232; at Niederschönenfeld the abbess and the nuns are "religiosissimae et observantissimae," *ibid.* 234; Oberschönenfeld is "bene institutum," *ibid.* 235; of Lichtental in Baden it is said: "abbatissa est doctissima et vitae sanctimonia praeclara," *ibid.* 237; Königsbruck is "reformatissimum, neque ullum reperi [monasterium], in quo tanta est vitae monasticae austeritas," *ibid.* 237; Himmenrode is "bene reformatum et abbas bonus vir," *ibid.* 257, etc.

[4] At Himmelspforten "reformatio hucusque nullum sortita est effectum," *ibid.* 233; at Zarn in the Duchy of Berg, among the nuns there are 4 Lutherans, *ibid.* 262; Langheim has a good abbot, "sed monachos non adeo bene reformatos, ut desiderabat," *ibid.* 233, *cf.* 234, 260, 261.

[5] *Ibid.* 262 *seq.* SCHWARZ, Visitationsakten, p. CXXX., *seq.*

times encroachments on the part of lay patrons are complained of; thus the nuns of Heiligkreuztal, near Riedlingen, were obliged by their "protector and defender," Count Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, to look after his hunting dogs and their keepers; sometimes he himself arrived with 30 or 40 horsemen, who all had to be entertained in princely style at the expense of the convent.[1] Boucherat also complained of the arbitrary behaviour of some of the bishops.[2]

Less satisfactory was the state of the Cistercian monasteries in Lombardy and Tuscany. Commendams had caused widespread ruin,[3] the revenues were wasted upon all manner of external purposes, the monasteries were deeply in debt, the monks were in want of necessaries, the superiors were elected in defiance of the Papal prescriptions, and therefore invalidly.[4] An improvement of this state of affairs was inaugurated by the enactments of the visitors, and in place of these superiors other men of promise and experience were installed. Gregory XIII. supported the reform of the Cistercian Order with all his power.[5]

The Benedictine monasteries of Portugal were in a state of serious decadence. At the request of King Sebastian, Pius V. had already begun to restore them by uniting them into one congregation, and Gregory XIII. continued the work of unification. It was from this Portuguese congregation that the first Benedictine foundation in Brazil sprang in

[1] *Zisterzienser-Chronik*, XIII., 229.

[2] *Ibid.* 233, 235.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work p. 243.

[4] Report of the visitor to Morone for the year 1579, in *Zisterzienser-Chronik*, XIII., 204.

[5] Decree of June 12, 1574, and May 23, 1578, Bull. Rom., VIII. 73, 228. For the reform of the Order in Poland *cf.* the letter of recommendation from Gregory XIII. for Caligari to the Cistercian abbots, April 9, 1578, in THEINER, 1578, n. 39 (II., 394), and the letter of the visitor, Edmond de la Croix, to the nuncio in Poland, June 25, 1580, and to Morone, October 6, 1580, *ibid.* 1580, n. 49 (III., 173).

1581.[1] In 1575 the Pope approved the congregation of the Exempts in the Low Countries, which had already been founded six years earlier.[2]

In 1576 the Pope had sent a nuncio to the Knights of Malta to reform them;[3] four years later the unsatisfactory state of affairs called for decisive intervention. The Grand Master, Jean Levesque de la Cassière, who was eighty years of age, had carried out his work of reform with great want of tact, and a party of malcontents had replaced him by a vicar, and in July 1581 had thrown him into prison.[4] Both parties appealed to Rome, where the French ambassador, Paul de Foix, warmly supported the Grand Master.[5] Gregory XIII. expressed his dissatisfaction with what had been done,[6] sent a nuncio,[7] and invited both the Grand Master and the vicar to Rome, where they both died.[8] Gregory then gave the Knights the free right to elect a new Grand Master.[9]

[1] Brief of May 25, 1572, Bull. Rom., VIII., 3. SCHMIEDER in *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benedictiner-und Zisrezienserorden*, XII., 1871, 73.

[2] See BERLIÈRE *ibid.* X., 541 *seq.*

[3] MAFFEI, I., 252.

[4] CIACONIUS, IV., 9.

[5] See *Lettres de Paul de Foix*, 85 *seq.*

[6] Brief of August 8, 1581, in THEINER, 1581, n. 62 (III., 304 *seq.*).

[7] Gaspare Visconti. Brief giving him full powers, August 8, 1581, *ibid.* n. 63 (305 *seq.*).

[8] First the vicar-general on November 3-4, 1581, then the Grand Master on December 21. *Cf.* the *Relatione del Viaggio del gran maestro di Malta in Cod. 6619, p. 178 *seq.* Imperial Library, Vienna.

[9] Brief of December 26, 1581, in THEINER, 1581, n. 65 (III., 308). Visconti returned in April, 1582. The end of the affair was a bull of September, 1582, which declared the innocence of the Grand Master and annulled all that had been done against him. *Cf.* for the whole affair the *notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; MAFFEI, II., 168 *seq.*, 260 *seq.* *Mélanges d'archéologie*, XXXI., 75-141, where the great services rendered by Gregory XIII. on the occasion of these disputes

In spite of all his severity, Gregory XIII. was a kind father to all the Orders, and always showed himself ready to grant favours and privileges if these were for the good of the Church.[1] He conferred special marks of his favour upon the celebrated Benedictine congregation of Monte Cassino,[2] of the internal constitution of which he always spoke in terms of the highest praise.[3] The congregation corresponded to the Pope's efforts to raise it to a high level[4] by submitting its rules and constitutions to a strict examination.[5] In the same way among the Servites, by command of the general chapter of 1578, the rule of the Order was brought into conformity with the requirements of Pius V.[6] Special enactments are frequent

during which the Turks fortunately remained quiet, is brought out. See also the *Memorie of Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cod. D. 5, *cf. ibid.* D. 6. Later on Gregory had again to intervene in a dispute between the Knights of Malta and Venice; *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 352; BALAN, VI., 615 *seq.*

[1] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Gregory XIII. reunited the Orders of St. Lazarus and St. Maurice, canonized Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians (1582), and confirmed the new constitutions of the Augustinian Hermits (1580); see HEIMBUCHER, I., 149, 227, 421, 449; for the confirmation of the privileges of the Cistercians see the *Handschriften der Zisterzienser-Stifter*, II., Vienna, 1891, 79. The same was done for the Camaldolese in a very gracious form, see Bull. Rom., VIII., 25, 409 *seq.*, 438 *seq.*, 505 *seq.*, Gregory XIII. gave the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order a general confirmation of all their old privileges; see PETTENEGG, Urkundenbuch des Deutschen Ritterordens, 653.

[2] At the Chapter General of the Basilians for the appointment of an Abbot General, a Cassinese presided. Bull. Rom., VIII., 308 § 2, 309 § 11.

[3] "Ab eius primaeva erectione optimis ac salubribus institutis et constitutionibus usque ad haec tempora recta et gubernata fuit." *Ibid.* 260.

[4] See *supra*, p. 111.

[5] Confirmed on April 13, 1579, Bull. Rom., VIII., 259 *seq.*

[6] Confirmed on September 6, 1579, *ibid.* 290 *seq.* A brief of September, 1575, to the Servite Bened. de Burgo for the reform

whereby Gregory XIII. introduced or encouraged reforms among the old religious Orders.[1]

of his Order in Lombardy is in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. For the reform of the Servites see also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 367. In 1579 Gregory XIII. united the congregation of the Observants among the Servites with the rest of the Order. See MORINI-SOULIER, Monum. Ord. Serv. B. Mariae, I., Brussels, 1897.

[1] The Archives of Briefs contain a whole series of *briefs for the reform of the Orders; thus for Italy, one of May, 1573, to Arsenio, President-General of Vallombrosa, on the reform of his congregation in February and September, 1574, to the Archbishop of Salerno; February, 1574, to Pisa; April, 1575, to the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Bishop of Parenzo; in June, 1575, to the Bishop of Squillace for the reform of the monastery of S. Sofia, and an authorization to Cardinal Borromeo to visit the churches and sacristies of the regulars and the exempts; July, 1575, to Venice; February, 1577, to Serafino Cavalli at Brescia; December, 1577, authorization to the Bishop of Bergamo to visit the churches of the regulars in the dioceses of Savona and Ventimiglia; January, 1578, to Cristoforo da Foligno, and February, 1578, to Rodrigo de Avalos for the reform of the Minorites at Milan and Terra di Lavoro; February, 1578, to Domenico Petrucci for the reform of religious houses in the diocese of Ferentino; December, 1578, to the Bishop of Suessa; August, 1581, to the Bishop of Parenzo; May, 1581, on the reform of the monasteries at Zara; 1583 to Borromeo at Milan; September, 1584, for the nuns at Volterra; December, 1584, for the monasteries of Perugia; January, 1585, for those at Ragusa. For Spain and Portugal briefs were sent in July, 1572, to Cardinal Henry for the reform of the Congregation of the Holy Cross at Coimbra; in November, 1576, to the General of the Trinitarians for the reform of his Order in both countries; in May, 1581, for the visitation of the Dominicans in Spain. *Cf.* further pp. 125 *seq. infra.* Special briefs were issued concerning the reform of convents of enclosed nuns in Spain and Portugal; thus in May, 1573, to the Cardinal of Portugal; November, 1572, on the reform of nuns of the Third Order in the diocese of Cartagena; December, 1572, for the convent of Cistercian nuns of Las Huelgas in the diocese of Burgos; December, 1572, for the nuns in the diocese of Valencia; 1574 for those of Granada; December, 1574, to Tarragona concerning the enclosure of nuns in the diocese of Gerona. In France the

Just as was the case with the old Orders, so for some of the ecclesiastical congregations which had sprung up in the XVIth century the pontificate and legislation of Gregory XIII. were of the greatest importance. Some of these bodies were at that time slowly approaching their final form and constitution. The Barnabites, who were at first limited to a single house in Milan, but who had subsequently spread more and more, and had even established a house in Rome, received from Gregory the approval of their new constitutions, together with important regulations concerning the general congregation,[1] and the limitation of freedom to leave the Order.[2] The new constitutions[3] were discussed under the

Pope turned in April, 1573, to the Cardinal of Lorraine for the reform of the nuns of Metz, Toul and Verdun; in July, 1574, to Vienne for the religious there; in May, 1579, to the Archbishop of Lyons concerning monastic reform. For Germany see Vol. XX. of this work. With regard to the reform of the Carmelites see also the Bull. Carmelit., II., 183, 188, 208, 213, 215, and also Barb. XXXII., 58, Vatican Library, "De solemni visitatione Congreg. Mantuanae facta a priore ac magistro generali totius ordinis Carmelit." 1575. Dr. Jacobus Rabus (concionator et consiliarius ducis Bavarici et prot. apost.) wrote in Rome in 1576 a little book addressed to Bishop Ernest of Freising "super instituenda monasteriorum ipsius diocesi subiectorum visitatione consultatio.", Cod. XI., 140, of the monastery of S. Florian. The Dominican Pietro Paolo Filippi composed in 1585 a monograph *De reformatione religiosorum, which he dedicated to the Bishop of Piacenza, Filippo Sega. A copy in the Corvisieri Library, Rome (1900 sold). The Benedictine, Petrus de Walloncapelle (*cf.* BERLIÈRE, Monast. Belge, I., Bruges, 1890, 37), published "Institutionum monasticarum secundum s. Concilii Trident. decreta libris tres" Cologne, 1584, one of the first books in which were given the decrees of the Council on the observances of religious.

[1] Decree of October 1, 1578, and April 25, 1579, Bull. Rom,. VIII., 245, 262. *Cf.* PREMOLI, 255 *seq.*, 284 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*

[2] Decree of September 13, 1577, Bull. Rom., VIII., 191.

[3] Approved by a letter of Gregory XIII., of November 7, 1579, in Litt. et constit. Summorum Pontif. pro congreg. Cleric. regul. S. Pauli Ap., Rome, 1853, 46 *seq.*

presidency of Cardinal Borromeo, and had won his approval.[1] For this reason the Barnabites venerated Borromeo as their second founder, and their first church in Rome was built in honour of that saint.[2]

Some of the religious congregations of the XVIth century had originally been conceived, not as Orders, but as free associations, and it was only under Gregory XIII. that they attained a stable form. This was the case with the Fratelli della Misericordia of St. John of God, who now, in addition to the house of their founder, the great hospital at Granada, possessed other similar establishments at Seville, Cordova, Madrid, Lucena, and in the Indies. The ties between these houses became much closer when a Papal concession extended to them all the privileges of the hospital at Granada.[3] The first women who formed the Order of the Ursulines had likewise at first not been bound by vows ; they lived scattered throughout the city with their relatives, nor were they as yet entirely occupied with the instruction of the young, but also with the care of the sick and in other works of charity.[4] Their later development is associated with the name of Cardinal Borromeo. In 1568 he summoned the infant society to Milan ;[5] he declared himself very pleased with their work,[6]

[1] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 5, p. 120, who recognizes it as a special grace "quod tanti viri benigno adiumento atque auctoritate iacta sint nostrae amplificationis fundamenta." *Cf.* Sala, Biografia Diss., 268-273. In the case too of the female branch of the Barnabites, the so-called Angeliche, according to Bascapè, the constitutions were drafted at the request of Borromeo. Sala, 255.

[2] See Sylvain, III., 36.

[3] On April 28, Bull. Rom., VIII., 537 *seq.*

[4] Postel, I., 118 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 342.

[6] *Ibid.* 332. *Cf.* the IVth Provincial Council of Milan, in which it is stated concerning the association of St. Ursula for girls and that of St. Anne for widows : "Uberrimos auditrice Dei gratia fractus et populis et familiis attulerunt, non modo ad retinendum, sed ad excitandum vehementius in femineo sexu innocentis vitae, omnis christianae pietatis et caritatis stadium." All the bishops might therefore for that reason introduce it into

but suggested to them the three solemn vows, together with the vow to lead a perpetual life in common. The Ursulines accepted this change in their original form of life, and Gregory XIII. confirmed it in 1572.[1] In 1579 the Cardinal of Milan was appointed apostolic visitor of the young congregation,[2] whose rule he examined on the occasion of a visitation at Brescia, and altered in one important respect: he placed the sisters immediately under the bishop of the diocese, by which act the office of superioress-general of the whole congregation was suppressed,[3] and the congregation itself placed upon a new canonical basis. At his fourth provincial synod, held in 1576, Borromeo recommended his suffragan bishops to introduce the Ursulines as a highly efficacious means for the improvement of their dioceses. After that the congregation spread to Verona, Parma, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna and Venice.[4]

How greatly Gregory XIII. favoured the Order of the Theatines is shown by the briefs and favours granted by him to the houses at Rimini, Milan, Cremona, Padua, Genoa, Naples and Capua.[5] The Theatines in Rome received from him a present of 2000 gold ducats to complete their church

their dioceses. Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis, I., Bergamo, 1738, 198. *Cf.* the Regola della Compagnia di Sant'Orsola, *ibid.* II., 912, 917. Brief of December 24, 1582, which laid it down, with regard to the dowry, that entrance into the confraternity of the sisters of St. Ursula was equivalent to entry into a convent. Gregory XIII. says of this association in a brief: "quam auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium approbamus et confirmamus et quatenus opus sit, de novo instituimus." SALA, Docum., I., 454.

[1] POSTEL, I., 343.

[2] *Ibid.* 344.

[3] *Ibid.* 330.

[4] *Cf.* SALVATORI, Vita d'Angela Merici, Rome, 1807, 60 *seq.* HEIMBUCHER, I., 515.

[5] The documents relating to this are found in the General Archives of the Theatines in Rome, CASSETTA, 43-45. For the fruitful labours of the Theatines, especially at Naples, see the notes in Cod. L. 23, Vallicella Library.

of S. Silvestro al Quirinale.[1] A short time before his death Gregory also witnessed the foundation of a house of Theatines at Mantua.[2] To the Fratelli della Misericordia, known as the Fate-Benefratelli, the Pope in 1582 assigned the ancient church on the island in the Tiber, which bears the name of the Greek St. John Calibita ;[3] its adjoining hospital, which had a great repute, received from him a gift of 3000 scudi.[4]

The congregation of secular priests, the Oblates of St. Ambrose, who bound themselves to their bishop for all spiritual labours, was founded by Charles Borromeo at Milan in 1578. Gregory XIII. confirmed[5] the congregation of Clerks Regular of the Mother of God, founded for the same purpose at Lucca, by Giovanni Leonardi.[6]

Guided as he was by a strong sense of justice, Gregory XIII. often found his intervention necessary in the case of innovations which had made their way into the ancient Orders, just as he had to regulate the affairs of the congregations which had only recently come into existence. In the Franciscan Order there had been formed the Alcantarines, who led a much more strict life than the other Observants, but who were all under the same General as the others. In these circumstances a certain tension between the two schools and endless disputes

[1] See in App. n. 20, the *report of Odescalchi of September 9, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Reumont, III., 1, 492.

[2] *Cf.* in this connexion the *report of Capilupi, dated Rome, Jan. 16, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] The year 1572, which is commonly given, is wrong. See the *report of Odescalchi of October 23, 1582. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *Avviso di Roma of June 2, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 184, Vatican Library.

[5] See Acta Eccl. Mediol., 826 *seq.* ; B. Rossi, De origine et progressu cong. oblat. S. Ambrosii et Caroli, Mediol., 1739 ; Sylvain, III., 39 *seq.* The Spanish hermits of S. John the Baptist also received their approbation from Gregory XIII. ; see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.[2], 1449.

[6] See the Vita del b. Giovanni Leonardi, Rome, 1861 ; *cf.* Balan, VI., 1302.

were inevitable. Gregory XIII. ordered a report from both parties to be laid before the cardinalitial congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and then decided the questions at issue, giving his approval in terms of the highest praise to the stricter school, and forbidding their being opposed, or that its members should be transferred to houses of the milder observance. The Alcantarines, however, like a particular province of the Order, must remain under the obedience of the common General.[1] In the same way the provisions of Clement VII. concerning the position of the reformed houses of the Franciscan Order were completed by Gregory XIII.[2]

The Pope felt a special love for the Order of the Capuchins, who at that time were spreading rapidly in Italy and numbered many excellent religious,[3] The many pontifical documents referring to favours and privileges[4] granted to this religious family are a proof of the high esteem in which Gregory held their labours, especially in the matter of popular missions. Nothing could turn the Pope away from his predilection for this branch of the Franciscan Order, of which Cardinal Santori was named Protector in 1578.[5] When, on one occasion, some of the Cardinals alluded to many defects which existed in the Order of the Capuchins the Pope replied: the more exalted an Order is, the more liable it is to great dangers; even the sea rejects everything that is not in conformity with itself.[6]

[1] Brief of November 12, 1578, Bull. Rom., VIII., 247 *seqq.*

[2] On June 3, 1579, *ibid.* 274 *seqq.* *Cf.* HOLZAPFEL, 340.

[3] *Cf.* BOVERIUS, I. and II. *passim*, and SISTO DA PISA, Storia dei Cappucc. Toscani, I. (1906), 143.

[4] *Cf.* Bull. Cappucc., II., 112, 122, 255 *seq.*, 286 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*; III., 107, 205 *seq.*, 237 *seq.* A subsidy for the "fabrica dei *Cappuccini*" at Anagni, February 16, 1576, in Cod. Vat. 6697, Vatican Library.

[5] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 363. A list, which, however, is not altogether reliable, of the vicars-provincial in Rome until 1588, in GIUSEPPE MARIA DA M. ROTONDO, Gl'inizi dell'ordine Cappuccino e della provincia Romana, Rome, 1910, 285 *seq.*

[6] See BOVERIUS, II., 2 *seq.*

Of quite unusual importance was an order of Gregory XIII. of May 6th, 1574,[1] by which he revoked the ordinance of Paul III. of January 3rd, 1537, limiting the Order to Italy. This order confirmed and safeguarded the establishment of the Capuchins at Meudon and Paris, which had already been attempted in 1568, and in which, besides the Cardinal of Lorraine, Catherine de' Medici and the nuncio Salviati had interested themselves.[2] Cardinal Borromeo supported the introduction of the Capuchins both into France and Savoy, by letters to the sovereigns of those countries, and to the nuncios at their courts.[3] In 1578, by the foundation of a convent at Barcelona, they also found their way to Spain, and in 1581, at the express wish of Gregory XIII., they went to Switzerland.

As had been the case with their many foundations in Italy,[4]

[1] See Bull. Capuc., I., 35, and V., 1 (in both cases with the year of the pontificate wrong).

[2] See the valuable work of P. Alençon: Documents pour servir a l'histoire de l'établissement des Capucins en France, Paris, 1894, 6 *seq.*

[3] See Sala, Docum., II., 423 *seq.*

[4] Besides Boverius, *loc. cit. cf.* the recent monographs of Bonaventura da Sorrento (I. Cappuccini della prov. monast. di Napoli e Terra di Lavoro, S. Agnello di Sorrento, 1879), Filippo da Tussio (I frati Capuccini degli Abruzzi, *ibid.* 1880), Valdemir, da Bergamo (I conventi ed i Cappuccini Bergamasche, Milan, 1883), Fort. Securi (Memorie storiche sulla prov. dei Cappuccini di Reggio di Calabria, Reggio, 1885), Appollinare a Valentia (Bibl. fratr. min. Capuc. prov. Neapolit., Rome, 1886), Bonaventura da Sorrento (I conventi dei Cappuccini d. città di Napoli, Naples, 1889; *cf.* also *Arch. stor. Napolit.*, VI., 198 *seqq.*). Valdemiro Bonari (I conventi ed i Cappuccini Bresciani, Milan, 1891; I conventi ed i Cappuccini dell'antico ducato di Milano, Crema, 1893. I Cappuccini d. prov. Milanese, dalla sua fundazione [1535] fino a noi, 2 vols., Crema, 1868-99), Franc. Saverio Molfino (Codice dipl. dei Cappuccini Liguri, 1530-1590. Genoa, 1904), Sisto da Pisa (Storia dei Cappuccini Toscani, I, [1532-1591], Florence, 1906), P. Bernardino Latiano (Mem. stor. del Cappuccini della monastica di S. Angelo, Benevento,

so did these "men of the people" in the true sense of the words, whose constitutions were finally settled and printed in 1575,[1] in course of time and with great self-sacrifice, spread even in the remote and mountainous valleys of Switzerland, their disinterested and often stirring work as pastors of souls, as well as that of consolers and helpers of the poor and sick. Their first foundation at Altdorf was soon followed by others at Lucerne (1583), Stans (1583), Schwyz (1583), Appenzell and Soleure (1587), Baden (1591), and Frauenfeld and Zug (1595).[2]

Fresh shoots were also put out in the XVIth century by the Order of the Basilians, which represented the common form of monastic life of the Oriental monks in union with Rome.[3] Whereas in the east, in the difficult circumstances, several monasteries perished, the monastery of S. Maria di Oviedo, which had sprung up in the diocese of Jaén in the time of Paul IV.,[4] had adopted the rule of St. Basil, and with the consent of Pius IV., on January 1st, 1561, had been united to the Basilians of Italy.[5] When Pius V. prescribed

1907), G. Mussini (Mem. stor. su i Cappuccini Emiliani, I. [1525-1629], Parma, 1908; on p. 65 *seq.* special information on the services rendered by Gregory XIII.), Ferdinando da Montignoso (L'ordine dei min. Cappuccini in Lucca [dal. 1571], Lucca, 1910), C. da Bagno and Mussini (Mem. stor. sui Cappuccini Emiliani, 2 vols., Parma, 1912), Franc. Saverio (I Cappuccini Genovesi, I., Genoa, 1912), Ant. da Castellamare (Storia d. prov. di Palermo, I. [1533-1574], Rome, 1914).

[1] See *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, VII.², 125.

[2] See Chronica provinciae Helveticae ord. S. P. N. Francisci Capucinorum ex annalibus eiusdem manuscriptis excerpta, Soleure, 1884, with special authorities.

[3] J. Pargoire in Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, II., 1, Paris, 1910, 507 *seq.*, shows how only these can be described as Basilians, and not the schismatic monks.

[4] "Giennensis diocesis," Bull. Rom., VIII., 182, § 8. *Ibid.* 308, § 2, it is called "Genuensis dioecesis," but wrongly.

[5] See the excellent history of all the religious and military Orders by Ippolito Helyot, I., Leipzig, 1753, 270

for all monks the adoption of a definite monastic rule, two other monasteries of hermits in Spain, that of Tardon in the diocese of Cordova, and that of Val di Galleguillos in the diocese of Seville, decided upon that of the Basilians.[1] Gregory XIII. united these three monasteries into a Spanish province, which was, however, to be subject to the Abbot-General of the Basilians in Italy, who was still to be elected.[2] The election of the new Abbot-General took place for the first time at Pentecost in 1578, and received the Papal confirmation on November 1st, 1579, the constitutions of the Basilians being at the same time reorganized.[3] For the Greek monks this union of several monasteries into a single congregation was something new, since hardly anything of the sort existed in their own countries.

Outside Italy the Pope took part in the restoration of the religious Orders by means of his nuncios; as for example in Germany by Ninguarda[4] and in Poland by Caligari.[5] In the case of the monasteries of Bohemia, which had fallen into a bad state, an Imperial ordinance[6] arranged for a visitation by the nuncio Malaspina. In Dalmatia, in 1582, an eremitical Order of St. Paul, the first hermit, became the object of a zealous reform at the hands of the nuncio Bonhomini.[7]

[1] *Ibid.* 274 *seq.*

[2] Rescript of May 25, 1577, Bull. Rom., VIII., 181. *Ibid.* 309 § 5, there is a rescript of May 1, 1574, mentioned on the same occasion. A *brief on the reform of the Basilians of March, 1580, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome; another for the reform of the Basilians of Milan, October 12, 1580, in SALA, Docum., I., 414 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of November 14, 1573, seems to suggest that the Pope had undertaken the plan of reforming the monks of St. Basil because they were leading too relaxed a life. Vatican Library.

[3] Bull. Rom., VIII., 307 *seqq.*

[4] See further, Vol. XX. of this work.

[5] THEINER, 1579, n. 53 (III., 63); *cf.* 1584, n. 59 (III., 555 *seq.*).

[6] On March 31, 1585, *ibid.* 1585, n. 4 (III., 622 *seq.*).

[7] MAFFEI, II., 250; *cf.* brief of July 25, 1583, Bull. Rom., VIII., 431 *seq.*, 563.

Pius V. had especially laboured, in conjunction with Philip II., for the renewal of the monasteries in Spain ;[1] under Gregory XIII. the nuncio Nicolò Ormaneto again took up this difficult task.[2] Endless complaints of the nuncio and his activities consequently reached Rome ; in 1575 twelve Franciscans came to Rome to complain. The Pope did not allow himself to be at all shaken in his confidence in the experienced Ormaneto by this, but he warned him to be more careful, so as not to irritate the religious any more.[3]

The nuncio met with a great obstacle in the fact that it was extremely difficult for him to obtain trustworthy reports of the true state of the monasteries. In order to obtain better information as to this he had recourse to an otherwise unfortunate step,[4] he suggested to the king that he should surreptitiously obtain through the Jesuits the necessary information for the reform of the other Orders. Philip actually chose the rector of the Jesuit College at Madrid, Gonzalo Melendez, to visit Andalusia for this purpose. Melendez, together with his provincial, Cordeses, made counter-suggestions in order to escape so unpleasant a task ; the king, however, adhered to his decision, and Ormaneto imposed obedience under the threat of ecclesiastical censures. Other similar missions on the part of the Jesuits were also in contemplation.

Then the Jesuit superiors of the Spanish provinces had recourse to their General, Everard Mercurian, who on July 8th, 1575, replied that they must allow none of their subjects

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 249 *seqq.*

[2] A *brief addressed to him in 1575 on the reform of the Carthusians and another of June, 1575, on the visitation of their monasteries in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. To Sega, Ormaneto's successor, a *brief was addressed in 1580 on the reform of the convents of nuns, *ibid.* A *brief of November, 1576, to the General of the Trinitarians on the reform of that Order in Spain and Portugal, *ibid.* A *brief of May, 1581, on the visitation of the Dominicans, *ibid.*

[3] Carini, 103 *seq.*

[4] Astrain, III., 54-58.

to undertake such missions; in case of necessity, those who were chosen for the purpose might set out upon their journey, but they must not put a finger to their task pending a Papal decision. Gregory XIII. settled the question in accordance with the wishes of the General of the Order, but in the meantime Melendez had completed his tour in Andalusia, the religious who were threatened had been informed of the purpose of his visit, and the result was a violent attack upon the Jesuits. It is related that 300 monks held a meeting to consult about reprisals, and the Generals of the Orders and the Cardinal Protectors were overwhelmed with complaints and importunities. Melendez had to leave Spain and died at Naples in 1578. Ormaneto excused himself for his unfortunate step by appealing to the wishes of the king and the need of obtaining reliable information about the state of the monasteries.[1] A violent resentment sprang up against the Jesuits, who were, so to speak, but of yesterday, but who apparently had dared to try and teach and reform the most ancient and celebrated Orders. Some of the events of the times that immediately followed become easier to understand if we bear in mind these feelings of resentment.[2]

Ormaneto's efforts for the reform of the Premonstratensians in Spain were happier. At the chapter of the Order at Segovia on September 29th, 1573, and again at the next chapter in 1576, he intervened in person. Houses which numbered less than thirteen religious were suppressed, the Order was set free from the pastoral care of nuns, the abbatial office was placed in experienced hands, and special novitiates were formed. After this both the Pope and the king declared themselves satisfied with the state of the Order.[3]

Of even greater importance to the Church was the co-operation of Ormaneto in other great movements of reform

[1] CARINI, 104 *seq.*

[2] For the difficulties experienced in Andalusia by Diego di Bonaventura, Ormaneto's commissary for the reform of the Franciscans (1576-77) see the document in Cod. 68 of the Collection Ed. Favre in the Library at Geneva.

[3] CARINI, 105.

of Spanish monastic life, which he did not, indeed, originate, but supported and defended, namely, the renewal of the Carmelites in Spain, and the foundation of a new and flourishing branch of that Order, already so ancient, at the hands of the great Teresa di Ahumada, or, as she was called from her name in religion, Teresa of Jesus, who was born in 1515 at Avila in old Castille, and who died at Alba de Tormes on the very day when the Gregorian calendar came into force, October 4th, 1582. As far as the religious Orders were concerned these were the two great works of Gregory XIII.; to have given the Papal approval, and therefore the right to exist, to this reform, and to the foundation of the new congregation formed by Philip Neri.

Teresa of Jesus,[1] by the richness of her mind, and the

[1] Escritos de santa Teresa, añadidos é ilustrados por VICENTE DE LA FUENTE (Biblioteca de Autores españoles, vol.53- 55), Madrid, 1861-1879; Oeuvres complètes, par les Carmélites du premier monastère de Paris, 6 vols. Paris, 1907 to 1910; Oeuvres, traduites par MARCEL BOUIX, 5th ed., vols. 1-3, Paris, 1880, revised edition by I. PEYRÉ, Paris, 1903 *seq.*; Lettres. Traduction par GRÉGOIRE DE SAINT-JOSEPH, 3 vols., Paris, 1906 (*cf.* CHÉROT in *Etudes* LXXXVII. [1901], 823 *seqq.*) The Letters of St. Theresa. A complete edition, translated from the Spanish and annotated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, with introduction by CARDINAL GASQUET, vol. 1, London, 1919 (*cf.* the review by MOREL-FATIO in *Revue hist.*, CXXXIV., 245 *seq.*). For the 2nd vol. of the Letters (London, 1921), *cf. Rev. hist.*, CXXXVIII., 274 *seq.*, Sämtliche Schriften der hl. Theresia von Jesu; a new German edition from the autographs and other Spanish originals edited and annotated by FR. PETRUS DE ALCANTARA A S. MARIA and FR. ALOISIUS AB IMMAC. CONCEPT. O.C.D., 5 vols., in 8 parts, Ratisbon, 1907-19; (*cf.* W. SCHLEUSSNER in *Lit. Handweiser*, 1919, n. 9). Of very great value are the articles published by JOSÉ GOMEZ: Relaciones biográficas de S. Teresa por el P. Julian de Avila en 1587, 1596 and 1604, in *Bolet. de la R. Acad. de la Historia*, December, 1915; *cf. ibid.* February-March, 1916; Relaciones biográficas de S. Teresa hechas bajo juramento en 1587 por sus hermanos, primas hermanas y sobrinos carnales. FRANCISCO DE RIBERA (Vida de S. Teresa de Jesús [first ed. 1590]

versatility of her quite special gifts, is one of the most brilliant and most lovable figures in the whole history of the Church. Her writings: a typical autobiography, the history of her monastic foundations, letters, poems, and treatises on mysticism; her letters she put on to paper with flying pen,[1] in the midst of the pressure of business, on the spur of the moment, for the most part without even reading them over,[2] yet thanks to them, on account of the purity, beauty and grace of style,[3] and of her "genial strength of expression,"[4] she holds an honoured place among the classical writers of the Spanish language;[5] in mystical theology she is an authority of the

nueva edición por el P. Jaime Pons, Barcelona, 1908), gives on pp. xxvi-xxxii a bibliography of the biographical works; *cf.* HENRI DE CURZON, Bibliographie Thérésienne, Paris, 1902, ed. HERGENRÖTHER, III[15], 644 *seq.* Among the biographies, the following stand out: Diegó de Yepes (1599), Juan de Jesus Maria (1605), Eusebio Nieremberg (1630, new edition, Barcelona, 1887), Acta Sanct., October, VII., 1, 109-790, W. PINGSMANN, Santa Teresa de Jesus, Cologne, 1886, SALAVERRIA, S. Teresa de Jesús, Madrid, 1922.

[1] *Cf.* for her biography (twice written): "casi hurtando el tiempo, y con pena [I write], porque me estorbo de hilar, por estar en casa pobre y con hartas ocupaciones," LA FUENTE, Bibliot., LIII., 43a; *cf.* c. 14, *ibid.* 52a. She wrote the book of the Foundations "á causa de los muchos negocios, ansi de cartas, como de otras ocupaciones forzosas" (Introduction, *ibid.* 179b); also Las Moradas: "Los negocios y salud me hace dejarlo [to write it] al mejor tiempo . . . irá todo desconcertado, por no poder tornarlo à leer" (IV., c. 2, *ibid.* 448a).

[2] To her brother Lorenzo, January 17, 1577, LA FUENTE, LV., 126b: "Ni vuestra merced tome esto trebajo en tornar à leer las que me escribe. Yo jamás lo hago."

[3] G. TICKNOR, Geschicte der spanischen Literatur. German edition by N. H. Julius, II., Leipzig, 1852, 269.

[4] ZOCKLER in Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie, XIX., 524.

[5] CAPMANY (Teatro histórico crítico de la eloquentia espanola, III., Paris, 1841) says that it was the letters alone which placed Teresa among the first Spanish prose-writers. Ochoa considers Guevara, Cervantes, Louis of Granada, Mariana, and Teresa to be

first rank in the Catholic Church; no one before her had described the various mystical states so profoundly, or so clearly and distinctly, and no one since her time has substantially added anything new to the descriptions which she gave;[1] at the utmost, her disciple and friend, John of the Cross, may be placed in this respect side by side with his teacher. By her reform of the Carmelite Order, to which she imparted a new power of propagating itself, and to which to some extent she gave a new form, and opened out to it new fields, she takes her place on equal terms with the great founders of Orders of the XVIth century.

This extraordinary versatility in itself proves that which the writings of Teresa constantly confirm, namely that in her penetrating intellect there were united in a wonderful way clearness of judgment, an amazing calmness, and keen introspection with the grasp of a lawgiver, a knowledge of human nature, and an understanding of everyday needs, and of the little things of daily life. These extraordinary gifts of mind went hand in hand with the yet greater gifts of her character. The whole of her life, and yet again her writings, show this. Pure and noble to the depths of her soul, easily fired by sublime moral and religious thoughts, and determined, in the fight to attain to the highest good, to make any sacrifice with joy,

the five greatest Spanish writers of prose. *Cf.* PINGSMANN, 101-4; WILKENS in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, V. (1862), 118 *seq.*, and *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 575. Dupanloup wrote: "Teresa may be placed among the greatest writers of Spain; it may even be questioned whether she does not surpass them all." (See *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXIV., 411). SCHACK, Erinnerungen, II., Stuttgart, 1887, 258) praises the writings of Teresa as being full of noble poetry and surpassing energy. "Her poetry and letters stand in the front rank of the religious poetry of all times and all religions," says MAURENBRECHER (Studien u. Skizzen zur Gesch. der Reformationszeit, Leipzig, 1874, 27).

[1] AUG. POULAIN, Des grâces d'oraison. Traité de Théologie mystique, Paris, 1901, 391. *Cf.* LUIS MARTIN, Santa Teresa de Jesus doctora mística, in Ribera-Pons, *loc. cit.* 1-59; Acta Sanct. *loc. cit.* 468.

courageous at the coming of difficulties, and patient in sorrows, she displayed all the strength and decision of a strong man, and at the same time all the sweetness and lovableness of the noble soul of a woman. And at the same time, as though all these qualiites were not enough, she had a delicacy of mind and character which any woman in the world might have envied her.

We cannot relate in a brief account of her, for one must read the story for oneself, how, for example, she dissuaded from her purpose a great benefactress who wished to impose an unsuitable novice upon her,[1] how, in the disputes between the reformed and unreformed Carmelites, in her letters to their common General. she was always able to take the right line between frank criticism and respectful obedience.[2] She never failed in finding, even in the most difficult circumstances, the right thing to say. A celebrated instance of this was her first address as the recently appointed superioress of the Convent of the Incarnation at Avila. She had left that convent in order to begin her work of reform, and now she had come back to it, to the great disgust of many of the inmates, appointed as prioress and reformer by the decree of the apostolic visitor, to the exclusion of the right of election by the nuns, but in spite of everything she succeeded as soon as she arrived, in winning all hearts by her exquisite tact.[3]

Teresa's nobility of character showed itself even in her childhood which was passed in the pure air of Avila, among the mountains. Like a sacred spell, to this day the name of this wonderful woman hovers over the granite buildings of the mountain city, surrounded by walls and picturesque towers, which preserves so many memories of its great daughter.[4] On

[1] To Maria de Mendoza, March 7, 1572. La Fuente, LV., 23 *seq.*

[2] Letters of June 18, 1575, and the beginning of 1576; *ibid.* 49 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*

[3] See La Fuente, LIII., 522 *seq.*; Bouix, Lettres, I., 145.

[4] In the earliest biographies local colour is lacking, notwithstanding the varied memorials of Teresa which are to be met with in Avila and the other cities of Spain. *Cf.* V. de la Fuente,

the site of her father's house is built the baroque church of St. Teresa; the room where she was born has been transformed into a gorgeously ornate chapel. Her tiny garden is still preserved; it was there that, when seven years old, she read with her elder brother the legends of the saints, and the sufferings and triumphs of the martyrs; it was there that the idea took possession of them that all those heroes of Christianity had thus won a happiness that would never end: "For ever, for ever!" the two children cried, and straightway Teresa's decision was taken; in her childish simplicity she set out with her brother for the territory of the Moors, in order to win for themselves by martyrdom a happiness that would never end.[1] Brought back by an uncle, she built for herself and her brother little cells, where she said the rosary with him. After the premature death of her mother other influences came into her life. Secret reading of the romances of chivalry and the companionship of worldly relations formed in her a feminine desire to please, and an inclination towards a worldly life; her deep sense of honour and her natural nobility of soul preserved her from serious fall. This state only lasted for a few months, and in the convent of the Augustinians at Avila, where her father now sent the fourteen year old girl to be educated, the impressions of her pious childhood soon revived,[2] though it was only after painful interior struggles that she made up her mind to embrace the religious state,

El tercer centenario de S. T. Manual del peregrino para visitar la patria, sepulcro y parajes, donde fundá la Santa o existen recuerdos suyos en Espana, Madrid, 1882 (second edition under the title, Casas y recuerdos de S. Teresa en España, Madrid, 1882). Hyr Hoys (L'Espagne Thérésienne, 1894) gives in 30 plates a rich pictorial record of the saint, together with an account of the convents inhabited or founded by her, and of her relics, etc. A good account of the surroundings in which Teresa was placed is given by Gabriela Cunningham in her book, St. Theresa, 2 vols., London, 1894, which is justly severely criticized by Wilkens (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 575 *seq*).

[1] Vida, c. 1, La Fuente, LIII., 24a.

[2] Vida, c. 2 *seq.*, *ibid.* 25 *seqq.*

and even then chose a convent of very mild observance, that of the Carmelites at Avila. It was the Letters of St. Jerome which determined her to make known her decision to her father, and by so doing the die was cast for her ; honour would never have suffered her to go back upon her word once given, for anything in the world.[1]

From 1535 to 1562 Teresa belonged to the convent of the Incarnation at Avila.[2] Once she had heroically overcome her separation from her relatives, a sorrow that was in her case a very agony, she experienced a constant joy in the exercises of the life of the cloister,[3] and there began for her a period of serious seeking after perfection, but also one of great sorrow and struggle. In a serious illness the violent methods adopted by a quack-doctor, went so far that she fell into a state of coma for four days, and her tomb was prepared for her. After this she still remained for a long time with her body contracted, her tongue gripped between her teeth from pain, unable to move her limbs an inch without help, and her whole body so sensitive that the lightest touch was unbearable.[4]

When, after many years, she was again restored to health, Teresa once more experienced a long series of interior struggles.[5] The convent at Avila was without any real enclosure, and as the revenues were hardly sufficient for the large number of quite 150 nuns, communication with externs was encouraged.[6]

[1] Vida, c. 3, *ibid.* 27a : " Me determiné á decirlo á mi padre, que casi era como tomar el hábito ; porque era tan honrosa, que ma parece no tor ara atrás de ninguna manera habiéndole dicho una vez."

[2] For the year of her entry into the convent *cf.* The life of St. Theresa, London, 1904, xi.

[3] " Cuando sali de en casa de mi padre no creo será más el sentimiento cuando me muera, porque me parece cada hueso se me apartaba por si . . . A la hora [the clothing] me dió [God] un tan gran contento de tener aquel estado, que nunca me faltó hasta hoy." Vida, c. 4, La Fuente, LIII., 30 *seq.*, 27b.

[4] Vida, c. 5, 6, La Fuente, LIII., 30 *seq.*, 32.

[5] Vida, c. 7, 8, *ibid.* 34 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.* 34b ; *cf. Vida*, c. 32, *ibid.* 98 *seq.*

Above all others was the cheerful Teresa often called to the parlours, and she found pleasure in worldly conversation. An interior life of deep recollection could not flourish amid such constant distractions, and the young nun therefore found herself torn in two directions; she felt herself drawn more and more to give herself up to God and spiritual things, but on the other hand she still found pleasure in the things of the world.[1] Frightened by the death of her father, she again began to devote herself to that contemplative prayer which she had given up, but she could only force herself to it by exercising extraordinary violence upon herself.[2] Later on she found her state clearly described in that passage of the Confessions of St. Augustine in which he tells of his hesitation between God and the world. As long before St. Jerome, and later on during her illness St. Gregory the Great had influenced her, so now it was another of the great doctors of the Church, St. Augustine, with his celebrated description of his conversion, who by his example urged Teresa to her final decision.

Before this, a statue of the "Ecce Homo" had made a great impression on her, and had done much to take her heart away from the love of the things of this world.[3] With this decision a new period in the life of Teresa began, the period of her interior mystical experiences. All of a sudden she felt herself entirely filled with the presence of God; "it was absolutely impossible for me to doubt," she wrote, "that He was dwelling in me and that I was entirely immersed in Him"; at that moment she felt her soul so raised up that she seemed to be altogether beside herself;[4] then followed the apparitions, in which she was brought into relations with Christ and heaven, and was given enlightenment; it was for her as though she

[1] "Por una parte me llamaba Dios, por otra yo siguia á el mundo, etc." Vida, c. 7, *ibid.* 37a.

[2] "En la oracion pasaba gran trabajo, porque no andaba el espíritu señor, sino esclavo, etc.," *ibid.* 37a. She called (Vida c. 11, *ibid.* 45a) these pains in prayer "grandisimos, y me parece es menester mas ánimo, que para otros muchos trabajos del mundo."

[3] Vida c. 9 *ibid*,. 40 f.

[4] Vida, c. 10, *ibid.* 41 f.

had been unexpectedly endowed with new interior senses, comparable to the senses of the body.[1] These visions were for the most part immediately directed to the intellect, and later on also to the imagination, but never during the whole period of her visions did she see anything with her bodily eyes.[2] In all this she was filled with an unspeakable joy ; by one hour of this supernatural enlightenment she felt herself abundantly rewarded for all the labours and weariness of years, when she had, in spite of every difficulty, forced herself to perseverance in prayer.[3]

This interior life of Teresa, owing to her writings, which found an immense circulation in the languages of all Catholic peoples, attained to an importance which reached far beyond the narrow circle of the great exponents of mysticism. It is obvious that mystical experiences have always occurred in the Church, for the first martyr, Stephen, saw the heavens opened, and the apostle Paul was rapt in ecstasy to the third heaven ; the writings of the first Fathers of the Church, such as Cyprian and Origen, not infrequently speak of it, and even though illusions and deceits have made their way into the obscure subject even since the Montanist movement, yet the Church has always admitted their possibility, and in by no means rare cases their reality. Christianity itself, both in its doctrines and its worship, is full of mysteries, and rests en-

[1] " Un recogimiento interior, que se siente en el alma, que parece ella tiene allá otros sentidos, como acá los esteriores." Report to Rodriguez Alvarez (1576), *ibid.* 164 ; Bouix, Lettres I. 342.

[2] " La vista interior, que es la que ve todo esto ; que cuando es con la vista exterior, no sabré decir de ello ninguna cosa : porque esta persona que he dicho, de quien tan particularmente yo puedo hablar, no habia pasado por ello." Moradas VI., c. 9, La Fuente LV. 476.

[3] " Es ansí cierto, que con una hora de las que el Señor me ha dado de gusto de sí, despues acá, me parece quedan pagadas todas las congojas, que en sustentarme en la oracion mucho tiempo pasé." Vida c. 11, La Fuente LV. 45a. " Basta un momento para quedar pagados todos los trabajos que en ella [vida] ellapuede haber." Vida c. 18, *ibid.* 60b.

tirely upon the mystery of mysteries, the dogma of the Most Holy Trinity, which works, by the mission of the second and third divine Persons, for the sanctification and redemption of mankind, and for the purpose of dwelling in individual souls ; yet none may assert that the work of the Holy Spirit in the souls of men can never go further than the ordinary operations of grace. Thus, the great founders of Orders and saints of the XVIth century all without exception had mystical gifts, but in the history of the Popes it is obviously unnecessary to touch upon the matter at all fully.

But with Teresa the case is essentially different. It might be possible perhaps to mention all the mystical apparitions which had been accorded to those who preceded her, but until her time the whole field of mysticism in all its degrees had never been so profoundly dealt with, or described so clearly in all its details. Teresa is in this respect a discoverer who boldly sets out upon an as yet unknown sea, and wins for the Church a new spiritual kingdom. Since her writings have been examined by the Church before her canonization, and found to be free from error, she has, under the protection of the Popes themselves, attained to so great a position that she, a woman, and alone of her sex, may be compared with the great doctors of the Church.[1] In spite therefore of the exceptional circumstances, the historian of the Popes cannot pass over in silence the mysticism of Teresa.

The value of her writings, as well as of the whole school of thought to which Teresa opened the way, must be understood and estimated especially in their relationship to the spiritual tendencies of modern times. The undeniable progress of the XVIth century led to exaggerations and aberrations ; more and more did that tendency make itself felt which counted the whole value of human life in terms of riches and

[1] Thus wrote Pius X. on March 7, 1914 : "Tanta tamque utilis ad salutarem christianorum eruditionem fuit haec femina, ut magnis iis ecclesiae Patribus et Doctoribus, quos memoravimus [Gregory the Great, Anselm, Chrysostom] aut non multum, aut nihil omnino cedere videatur."

pleasure, in development of commerce and industry, and of power and comfort ; in the world of science there is a reluctance to accept anything that is not tangible or demonstrable by experiment ; in the world of politics, not only in practice, but more or less in principle, Christianity and justice are set aside in favour of the right of might. With all the greater force, therefore, have the supernatural and the spiritual been insisted upon by the Church, and it is clear that in this respect much importance must attach to mysticism, since it is that which defends, deepens and strengthens faith in the supernatural character of Christianity ; the worldly tendency of those times was extending its influence to an extraordinary degree over the things of this world, so, by way of counterpoise, within the Church, we have the development of the knowledge of the supernatural. As has always been the case, any exaggeration leads by reaction to its opposite, and thus during the centuries that followed, as the tendency towards worldly things grew stronger and stronger, there also grew up a false and exaggerated form of mysticism. Teresa had then an important work to do ; in the Quietist controversies, for example, Bossuet was able to appeal to her writings against Fénelon, as an example of the true religious mysticism.[1]

A special importance also attaches to the writings of Teresa in connexion with the development of the new religious Orders. The religious bodies of the Middle Ages sought to maintain the spirit of the Orders above all by the exclusion

[1] Even among Protestants such as J. Arndt, G. Arnold, Tersteegen, the mysticism of St. Teresa exercised an important influence (ZÖCKLER, in *Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie*, XV., 323). She also exercised an influence over certain philosophers such as Malebranche and Leibnitz, who wondered with respectful admiration at the mystical experiences of St. Teresa, " which," says C. A. Wilkens, " rise above the experiences of every believing Christian like the flight of a flock of birds above a nest placed in a flower-decked meadow, or in the summit of an oak, or of a flight 20,000 feet up, or like a fugue of Bach over a popular air." (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 576). *Cf.* HENRI JOLY, Ste. Thérèse, Paris, 1908, 239 ; Acta Sanct., n. 1581, p. 462.

of external influences, by bodily austerities and by vocal prayer. The new Orders, as a necessary consequence of the conditions of the times, were above all intended for the care of souls, and to exert an influence upon the world ; the older methods could no longer be employed to the same extent, and they were obliged to seek to make up for them by an increase in the life of interior prayer ; in the place of vocal prayer in choir more attention was devoted to interior prayer and contemplation. The first to do this was Ignatius of Loyola by means of the Exercises, but it is also obvious that the development of mysticism and its great teacher, Teresa, did much to promote the prayer of the interior life. The various Orders have laboured for the glorification of Teresa, and the spread of her writings,[1] nor was his veneration for her the only reason why Alphonso Maria de' Liguori, one of the greatest founders of modern times, never wrote a letter without placing her name at the head of it.[2] Moreover, the writings of Teresa are full of lessons for the common life of Christians.[3]

It is no part of the historian's duty to attempt an explanation of the mystical states,[4] but Teresa is a mystic of such

[1] Acta Sanct., October VII., 764.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] This point of view was brought out, e.g. by Pius X. (*loc. cit.*) : "[Teresa] tutam demonstrat viam inde a ruidmentis vitae christianae ad absolutionem perfectionemque virtutis proficiendi." In like manner Leo XIII., March 7, 1888 : "Inest in ipsis [the writings of Teresa] vis quaedam . . . mirifica emandatrix vitae, ut omnino cum fractu legantur . . . plane ab unoquoque homine, qui de officiis, de virtue christiana, h. e. de salute sua cogitet paulo diligentius."

[4] Just as at one time the attempt was made to explain the mystical state by animal magnetism, so is the attempt made today to do so by hysteria. But a scientific research on the basis of the authorities which gives us a satisfactory picture of Teresa the mystic, and shows her state to have been the result of hysteria, is yet to be found. One thing, however, is certain : all that concerns the spiritual life of Teresa form the very antithesis of sufferers from hysteria. These sufferers may indeed be full of vigour and

importance, and stands so much alone, that he may not shrink from the task of describing her in detail in this aspect, even at the risk of making her nature appear more mysterious than it really was.

Teresa was not one of those people who give rein at once to their vivid imagination without thought or resistance. She was on her guard against treating the first illusion of phantasy as visions, and adds that she cannot understand how anyone can persuade himself that he sees things that he actually does not see.[1] Above all she is clear that excessive fasts

intelligence, but as the result of their physical condition they have none of that command of themselves, which was so remarkable in Teresa, or of her power of judgment, and strength of will. A great impression was made, some ten years ago, by a work of the Belgian Jesuit, G. HAHN, Les phénomènes hystériques et les révélations de Sainte Thérèse, Louvain, 1883. This work, a reply to a *concursus*, is conceived as a defence of the authenticity of the visions and revelations of Teresa against rationalist attacks. (*Cf.* CH. DE SMEDT in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXV., 1884, 533-550). The author arrived at the conclusion that Teresa suffered indeed physically from hysteria, but that in her high spiritual life she was the very opposite of an hysterical person ; that those visions which she attributes to the devil might be considered the result of hysteria, but that this is quite out of the question with regard to those visions, etc., which she attributes to a divine origin. That it is impossible to accept this dualism was shown by a colleague of the author at the Jesuit College in Louvain : Étude pathologique théologique sur sainte Thérèse. Réponse au mémoire du P. G. Hahn par LOUIS DE SAN, Louvain-Paris, 1886. WILKENS (*Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 576) points it out as praiseworthy that Gabriela Cunningham (St. Theresa, 2 vols., London, 1894), although a follower of Renan, indignantly rejects hysteria as the solution to be adopted in dealing with mysteries of faith. Against PAVALES Y GUTIERREZ, El supernaturalismo de S. T. y la filosofia médica, Madrid, 1894, see GRÈGOIRE DE SAINT-JOSEPH, La prétendue hystérie de ste. Thérèse, Lyons, 1895.

[1] "Tengase aviso, que la flaqueza natural es muy flaca, en especial en las mujeres . . . ; es menester que á cada cosita que se nos

and nights without sleep may induce a state which the inexperienced might look upon as an ecstasy ; in such cases she recommended her subjects to cure themselves by taking more nourishment and sleeping longer at night.[1] Above all Teresa's nature was quite free from exaggerations. The Poor Clares of Madrid, with whom she stayed for fifteen days, were delighted to find in her a saint who could be imitated, for she ate, slept, and spoke like everybody else.[2] One can read dozens of her letters to members of her family and to her sisters in religion without finding a trace of the mystical state of the writer ; she does not walk among the clouds, but always shows herself reasonable, of sound judgment, compassionate, interested in the small things that concern her relatives and subjects,[3] so that she does not disdain to give advice about toothache and the like, or to recommend the trial of some celebrated cooking oven.[4]

At the same time nobody who knows her writings can doubt

antoje, no pensemos luego es cosa de vision. . . . Adonde hay algo de melancolía es menester mucho mas aviso, porque cosas han venido á mi de estos antojos, que me han espantado, como es posible que tan verdaderamente les parezca, que ven lo que no ven." Fundaciones c. 8, La Fuente LIII. 195a.

[1] "A una persona le acaecia estar ocho horas, que ni están sin sentido, ni sienten cosas de Dios : con dormir y comer y no hacer tanta penitencia, se le quitó a esta persona." Moradas IV., c. 3, *ibid.* LV. 181b.

[2] Acta Sanct. n. 457, p. 221.

[3] This is also the opinion of S. M. Deutsch in *Herzogs Real Enzyklopädie*, XIX., 642 : "Teresa is above all one of the most extraordinary figures in the whole field of mysticism, in whom were combined a vast number of ecstasies and visions with the most unreserved submissiveness to the Church, while at the same time she displays a remarkable sanity of judgment of the practical Christian life."

[4] Such things, of no interest to the reader, were omitted in the earliest editions of the letters. *Cf.* the collection of these omissions by Joly, in *Le Correspondent*, CCI. (Nouv. Série, CLXV.), 1900, 555-577 ; L. Valentin in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclés.*, Paris, 1901, 285-310.

that Teresa speaks with perfect sincerity and truth about her interior experiences. She describes things that she has actually lived through, and in no way invented, and this is the impression which is irresistibly forced upon the reader ; she not only expects of others the most exact love of the truth,[1] but makes the same demand upon herself, and therefore takes obvious pains to express herself clearly, and with all possible adherence to the truth. She often tries to explain the nature of her mystical experiences by examples, but does not fail to point out the things in which the example does not hold good ; when she is not sure of any fact, no matter how trifling, as for example a date, if the matter is uncertain in her mind she does not fail to note the uncertainty.

Moreover, Teresa attaches no particular importance to her mystical experiences. The love of God, she often says, does not consist in tears and sweetness, but in serving God with uprightness, and with great resoluteness and humility.[2] She therefore prayed God in her first mystical experiences that He would be pleased to lead her by another way ;[3] and even later on she tried to resist the ecstasies when they came to her, though naturally in vain, because it was as though an eagle had seized her and flown away with her.[4] Such

[1] " Quiérole contar una tentacion, que me dió ayer y aun me dura, con Eliseo [=Gracian]. pareciéndome se si descuida alguna vez en no decir toda verdad en todo ; bien que veo serán cosas de poca importancia, mas querria anduviese con mucho cuidado en esto. Por caridad vuestra paternidad se lo ruegue mucho de mi parte, porque no entiendo habrá entera perfecion, á donde hay este cuidado." To Gracian on 18 July, 1579, La Fuente, LV. 221a. She says of herself : " En cosa muy poco importante yo no trataria mentira por ningun de la tierra." Fundaciones, Einl. *ibid.* 179a. "Y ahora y entonces puedo errar en todo, mas no mentir ; que por la misericordia de Dios antes pasaria mil muertes ; digo lo que entiendo." Moradas IV. c. 2, *ibid.* 449a.

[2] Vida, c.11; Moradas IV. c.1, La Fuente, LIII., 45b, LV., 447a.

[3] Vida, c. 27, *ibid.* LIII., 81b.

[4] " Viene un impetu ten acelerado y fuerte, que veis y sentis levantarse esta nube, ó esta aguila caudalosa y cogeros con sus alas." Vida c. 20, *ibid.* 64a.

things did not move her to any self-complacency; in her opinion, the reason why she, in preference to others, was led by so extraordinary a way, was to be found in her weakness, which needed such special support.[1]

Her mystical experiences were to Teresa a source of great trouble. At first those about her looked upon it all as a deceit of the devil, and the anxiety she herself felt lest perchance she was being made sport of by the evil spirit caused her terrible interior trials.[2] The first who gave her reassurance were certain Jesuits, under whose direction she had placed herself during the first difficult years of her new life;[3] later on she said that she had been educated in the Society of Jesus, and had received her life from them.[4] Still greater comfort was given her by Peter of Alcantara,[5] but even then from time to time all recollection of her mystical joys was as it were wiped out of her memory, and she found herself tormented both in body and soul in an extraordinary way.[6] When her full states of ecstasy came upon her, her ordinary condition during and after these graces was one of great grief of soul,

[1] "Que mi flaqueza ha menester esto." Vida c. 19, *ibid.* 62a. "Ansí creo que de flaca y ruin me ha llevado Dios por esto camino." Relation of 1560, *ibid.* 147a.

[2] "Que á no me favorecer tanto el Señor, no sé que fuera de mí. Bastantes cosas habia para quitarme el juicio, y algunas veces me via en términos que no sabia que hacer." Vida c. 28, *ibid.* 87b.

[3] Vida c. 23, *ibid.* 75a.

[4] "Pues en la Compañia me han, como dicen, criado y dado el sér." To Pablo Hernandez, S.J., October 4, 1578, *ibid.* LV., 194a. That the reform of Teresa was connected with the reforming Orders of the XVIth century, she herself states, e.g. to Juan Suarez, of the Society of Jesus, February 10, 1578 (*ibid.* 163 *seq.*): "Jamás creeré que . . . permita su Majestad [God], que su Compañia [the Society of Jesus] vaya contra la Orden de su Madre, pues la tomó por medio para repararla y renovarla."

[5] Vida, c. 30, La Fuente, LIII., 90 *seq.*

[6] "Todas las mercedes, que me habia hecho el Senor, se me olvidaban: solo quedaba una memoria, como cosa que se ha sonado, para dar pena." *Ibid.* 91a.

which was like a death-agony.[1] Contemplative souls, so she specially points out, are led by God along hard ways, and are harshly treated, and mystical joys must be considered as a counterpoise to pains which would otherwise be unbearable.[2]

In spite of all her initial doubts Teresa later on was quite at rest as to the reality of her mystical visions. So long as they lasted it was quite clear, she said, that they could not be due to any natural cause;[3] and the great change for the better which took place in her with these mystical graces, showed the hand of God. During these visions Our Lord enriched her with treasures of grace in the shortest space of time, such as with all her austerities she had not been able to attain to in twenty years[4] and she found herself filled with contempt for everything of earth, and with an invincible courage to undertake great things for the honour of God.[5]

Indeed it called for a courage out of the common to undertake the task to which Teresa now set herself, and successfully accomplished, namely the reform of the whole Order to which she belonged.

The attempt to bring back the Carmelite Order once more to its original high ideals had already begun in the XVth century; John Soreth (1451–1471) established convents in many of the provinces into which the more zealous monks

[1] Vida, c. 20, *ibid.* 65a.

[2] "Son intolerables los trabajos, que Dios da á los contemplativos, e son de tal árte, que si no les diese aquel manjar de gusto, no se podrian sufrir." Camino de perfeción, c. 27 (18 or 19), La Fuente, LIII., 339b.

[3] Vida, c. 15, 18, 25, *ibid.* 53b, 61a, 78a. "Y viene á veces con tan grande majestad, que no hay quien pueda dudar, so no que es el mesmo señor" (c. 28, *ibid.* 86a). "Ser imaginacion esto, es imposible de toda imposibilidad" (c. 28, *ibid.* 86b); "porque cuando yo le via presente, si me hicieran pedazos, no pudiera yo creer que era demonio" (c. 29, *ibid.* 88b).

[4] "Lo que la pobre del alma con trabajo, por ventura de veinte años de cansar el entendimiento, no ha podido acaudalar, hácelo esto hortolano celestial en un punto." Vida c. 17, *ibid.* 57b.

[5] Vida c. 20, *ibid.* 67a.

could be gathered, but more commonly special reformed congregations were established for the same purpose, such as the Congregation of Mantua (1413), Albi (1499), and one at Monte Oliveto near Genoa (1514). But the effect of such attempts was limited to a single time or place, and the reformed congregations were something of an embarrassment, for they broke up the Order into sections. Above all others the special Congregation of Albi led to serious differences; its author, Luigi de Lyra, was placed under excommunication by the general chapter in 1503, but in spite of this his followers continued their efforts. The affair went to lamentable lengths, and at length Gregory XIII. suppressed the congregation in 1584. These dissensions had the effect of leading various men who were well-disposed towards the formation of new associations throughout the Order, either to refuse to have anything to do with them or to regard them with suspicion.[1] Under these circumstances Teresa had to encounter hard trials, but she never relaxed her zeal for a renewal of the religious spirit. At the same time as Teresa, a pious widow, Mary of Jesus, who had just entered the Carmelite Order at Granada, felt herself called by God to establish a reformed convent. Having gone on pilgrimage on foot to Rome, she obtained the necessary Papal approval and carried out her design in 1563.[2] A reformed convent of the men of the Order sprang up in Aragon owing to the efforts of James Montaner, who in 1565 obtained the approval of the General of the Order, Rossi.[3]

The immediate occasion of these reform designs of Teresa must also be sought in mysticism. One day she felt herself carried body and soul to hell, and saw the place to which a life devoid of definite religious zeal would have brought her in the end. She looked upon the terrible impression which this vision made upon her as one of the greatest graces of her life;

[1] Benedict Zimmermann, O. C. D. in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, III., 360.

[2] Teresa, Vida, c. 35, La Fuente, LIII., 106b.

[3] Zimmermann, *loc. cit.* 361.

after this all the sorrows of this world seemed to her to be quite inconsiderable, and she was entirely possessed by gratitude to God, and readiness to do and suffer great things for Him, and by compassion for the many souls who by their sins were preparing for themselves so terrible a future, and by a determination to win from God by her austere life pardon for sinners, and especially for the heretics of France.[1] The first thing she resolved upon was an exact observance of the rule of the Order. Further visions, and the help of friends who put their means at her disposal, though these were not sufficient, directed Teresa's thoughts to the foundation of a special convent of strict observance. Her provincial gave her the necessary permission, and Peter of Alcantara and the great Dominican, Louis Bertrand, encouraged her.[2]

But it was just at that moment that a terrible storm broke out against her; she was looked upon as a fool. The foundation of a convent for which she had not the necessary means seemed to everybody the veriest madness. Teresa herself was unable to give any reasons to her enemies. The provincial recalled his permission, and Teresa's confessor, the Jesuit Alvarez, forbade her to take any further steps in the matter.[3] Pending the recall of this prohibition Teresa found herself condemned to inaction for six months. That the reform was not thus smothered at the beginning was due to the intervention of Pope Pius IV. Teresa's adviser, the Dominican Ibañez, obtained for her a decree from the Grand Penitentiary, Ranuccio Farnese, which gave full authority for the desired foundation.[4] In the meantime Teresa caused a small house to be bought in secret through her sister and quite unexpectedly a large sum of money reached her from Peru, from her brother, and on August 25th, 1562, the little convent of St. Joseph at Avila was opened, the first stone of a very important reform of the Order.[5] A fierce storm at once

[1] Vida c. 32, La Fuente, LIII., 98b.
[2] *Ibid.* 99b. Acta Sanct., n. 283, p. 183.
[3] Vida, c. 33, La Fuente LIII. 100b.
[4] Of February 7, 1562, in Acta Sanct., n. 334, p. 194.
[5] Vida, c. 36, La Fuente, LIII., 108 *seq.*

broke out ; Teresa was recalled by her prioress to the convent of the Incarnation, and the city council of Avila decreed the suppression of any new foundation. Special difficulty had been occasioned by the fact that Teresa, after meeting the above-mentioned Mary of Jesus had refused to give any fixed revenue to her convent.[1] She nevertheless obtained the approval of her Order through the Penitentiaria.[2] Supported by these two Papal decrees, which were confirmed by a bull of Pius IV.,[3] she was able to withstand all attacks. Her defender, the celebrated Dominican theologian, Domenico Ibañez, successfully defended her action before the city council of Avila.

In her new convent, which Teresa had placed under the care of the Bishop of Avila, and not of the General of the Order, she passed, until 1567, the five most peaceful years of her life. The Carmelite rule in all its primitive strictness was observed there without the mitigations granted by the Popes, and was even rendered more severe by Teresa in a constitution. All this austerity, however, was penetrated by that apostolic spirit which meant so much to Teresa, and which she sought to instil into her subjects ; all their prayers and sacrifices were to be offered to Our Lord to help priests in the conversion of heretics and infidels.[4] Teresa's wish to be able to do something of this kind for the honour of God, was especially enkindled in her by a visit from a Franciscan missionary to the Indies, Francisco Maldonado, who told her of the sad state of the pagans in the Indies.[5]

Soon afterwards the General of the Carmelites, Giovanni Battista Rossi, came to Avila. Philip II., in order to further his work of reform, had interested himself in obtaining the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Decree of December 5, 1562, in Acta Sanct., n. 361, p. 201.

[3] July 17, 1565, *ibid.* n. 370 *seqq.*, p. 202 *seq.*

[4] Fundaciones c.1., La Fuente, LIII., 182a. "El deseo con que se comenzaron estos monasterios, que fué para pedir á Dios, que á los que tornan por su honra y servicio ayude." Teresa to Gracian, middle of December, 1576, La Fuente, LV., 108a.

[5] Fundaciones, *loc. cit.*

personal presence of Rossi in Spain, and Pius V. had given his consent by a brief of February 24th, 1566. On September 20th, 1566, Rossi held a chapter of the Order in Andalusia, appointed a new provincial, and issued ordinances of reform. In the following year he did the same in Castille.[1] At the invitation of Teresa he also visited the reformed convent of Avila.[2] He rejoiced exceedingly in seeing there once more the Carmelite Order in all its ancient purity. Rossi opened a wide field to Teresa's zeal and desire for work by giving her full authority to found more reformed convents ;[3] later on he wrote to her that she might found as many as there were hairs on her head.[4] With her usual courage Teresa set herself to this fresh task, and even went beyond it, for the General had scarcely left Avila when the idea came to her that it was necessary for the well-being of the convents of nuns that there should also be formed to assist them reformed houses of the men of the Order, so she determined to set her hand to the reform of the friars as well as of the nuns.[5] Rossi acceded to this desire of hers, but under limitations ; he gave her full authority for the foundation of two houses of friars, but only in Castille, not in Andalusia ;[6] a remembrance of the sad consequences of the establishment of former congregations within the Order made such a limitation to a great extent necessary.

Teresa no longer lacked authority, though she was still in want of the necessary funds. She therefore sought advice. At Medina del Campo she found her former confessor, Balthasar Alvarez, the rector of the Jesuit college, and with his

[1] Acta Sanct., n. 393, p. 207.

[2] Fundaciones c. 2, La Fuente, LIII., 182 *seq.*

[3] Two patents of April 27 and May 16, 1567, published in La Fuente, LIII., 552 *sqq.*

[4] Teresa to Pablo Fernandez, October 4, 1578, La Fuente, LV., 194a ; Fundaciones c. 27, *ibid.* LIII., 230a.

[5] Fundaciones c. 2, *ibid.* LIII., 183a.

[6] Letter of August 14, 1567, from Valencia, in Acta Sanct., n. 403 *seq.*, p. 209 *seq.* *Cf.* Zimmermann in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, III., 361.

help she overcame the opposition of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. A young lady who had been unable to obtain admission to the convent of St. Joseph through want of room, gave the money, and Teresa ventured upon what the Bishop of Avila and some of her friends deemed an act of madness, namely the beginning of a house at Medina, though of course at first upon an extraordinarily small scale.[1]

This first successful attempt had an even greater result for the foundress. The prior of the Carmelites at Medina, Antonio de Herida, who had helped her to acquire the new convent, declared himself ready to accept the reform, and, what was more important, brought her into relations with another yet greater man, the still youthful Juan de Yepes, or, as he was called later on, John of the Cross.[2] Born in 1542, the youngest son of a poor cloth-weaver of Fontiberos, John, especially after the premature death of his father, had many opportunities, in his struggles for his daily bread, of experiencing privation and trouble, and of becoming accustomed to a life of hardships. To his privations were also added humiliations, for he found himself employed as a labourer, being quite without any sort of training. The director of a hospital at Medina took him into his house, and John passed seven years there, rendering the most menial service, and in the meantime attending the neighbouring Jesuit school, where he made good progress. In 1563 he entered the house of the Carmelites at Medina, taking the name of John of St. Matthias. After he had made his vows he received permission to observe the primitive rule without any mitigation. Not content with this, however, in his desire for a life of extraordinary austerity he thought of leaving the Carmelite Order and joining the Carthusians.[3] Teresa, however, persuaded him, when she met him at Avila, that it would be more pleasing to God if he were to lead a life of perfection in the Order of his choice. She thus gained the principal instrument for the reform of the

[1] Fundaciones c. 3, *loc. cit.* 183 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 158b.

[3] Vita di Giovanni della Croce by Jeronimo de S. Jose, Madrid, 1641. Zimmermann, *loc. cit.*, VIII., 480 *seq.*

male branch of her Order. In a little hamlet of but twenty families, named Durvello, a gentleman placed at their disposal a house of extraordinary poverty, and there, on November 28th, 1568, Antonio de Herida and John of the Cross began to lead the conventual life of the discalced Carmelites.[1]

In the meantime Teresa had established, during 1568, two convents of nuns at Malagon and Valladolid. It was just at this time that Teresa entered upon an entirely new period of her life. The mystical visions still continued, and she ascended to greater and greater heights, but now it is above all Teresa the Foundress, and the reformer of her Order, who demands our attention. Her fame spread throughout Spain; sometimes it is a member of the great aristocracy, sometimes a pious merchant, who stretches out a hand to help her. In a covered carriage which was to serve her as a cloister she travelled from one place to another; sometimes she was in the heart of Spain, at Toledo or Segovia, sometimes in the north, at Burgos or Valencia; sometimes in the extreme south, at Seville or Granada. For the most part after long negotiations, and with many difficulties, she was successful in founding a new convent in these places, at first very poverty stricken, but which quickly took root and developed.[2] Besides the reformed convent at Avila, in the course of a few years, between 1567 and 1582, she founded no less than sixteen other convents of nuns, and that though her work as foundress was twice interrupted during that period for several years.

The first interruption, from 1572 to 1574, was connected with the work of Gregory XIII. for the reform of the discalced Carmelites. The attempt made by the General of the Order, Rossi, in Spain, had not had the desired effect, and at the instance of Philip II., the Pope then entrusted two Dominicans with a further visitation. Pedro Hernandez was to reform the Carmelites of Castile, and Francesco de Vargas those of Andalusia. Hernandez began his labours at Pastrana; what

[1] Fundaciones c. 13-14, *loc. cit.* 201 *seqq.*

[2] She has herself described the foundations she made in her Libro de las Fundaciones, La Fuente, LIII., 179-250.

he there learned of Teresa filled him with admiration, and this led to the probably distasteful result, as far as the foundress was concerned, of her being appointed prioress of her former convent of the Incarnation at Avila. On the other hand this marked an important step forward for her, as Hernandez sang her praises in Madrid before the king and the nuncio, Ormaneto.[1]

Ormaneto's favour was of special value for Teresa's reform, in connexion with the development of the male branch of the Order. To the first house at Durvello, which was soon transferred to Mancera, a second was added at Pastrana in 1569, again owing to the personal efforts of Teresa. By the orders of the General, Rossi, her work as foundress was not to exceed the number of two houses for men ; it would however have been very desirable for the reformed Carmelites to have possessed a college in the university city of Alcalá, for the training of the young members of the Order. This was actually brought about by the plenary powers of the visitor, Hernandez, in 1570, and during the two following years the reformed Carmelites erected with the consent of the apostolic visitor, Vargas, but without the participation of Teresa, four other houses of men in Andalusia.[2] The permission of the General of the Carmelites, who was at that time occupied with the houses of Castile, had thus been again exceeded ; moreover Vargas had committed the imprudence of taking away a convent from the Carmelites of the mitigated observance and handing it over to the reform.

The Carmelites of the mitigation had watched with increasing anxiety the growth of the reform, which took away from them their best members. At length the General of the Order, Rossi, obtained a Papal brief of August 13th, 1574, which deprived the two Dominicans of their plenary powers as visitors ; he postponed the publication of the edict until the general chapter of the following year.[3]

The reform, however, found a defender in the nuncio at

[1] Acta Sanct., n. 497, p. 228 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* n. 564 *seqq.*, p. 242 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* n. 616, p. 253 *seq.*

Madrid. On hearing of the Papal edict Ormaneto restored to the Dominican Vargas his office of visitor ;[1] a letter from the Secretary of State, Galli, seemed to recognize his right to do this, for he confirmed Ormaneto's request[2] that the plenary powers of the nuncio should not be prejudiced by the brief. Ormaneto further associated the reformed Carmelite, Jerome Gracian, with Vargas as his colleague in that office. Gracian was a capable and zealous man of whom Teresa spoke with genuine enthusiasm, after she had had an interview with him at Veas.[3] He was, however, only twenty-eight years old, and had only been a few years in the Order, and there was something repugnant in the idea of a representative of a recently begun reform acting as a censor of the ancient government of the Order. Soon afterwards Ormaneto added to the powers of Gracian by making him also visitor of the discalced Carmelites of Castile,[4] whereas, as the colleague of Vargas, he had only had authority in Andalusia.

At the approach of the chapter of the Order at Piacenza, the General obtained a Papal brief of April 15th, 1575, which, though it urged the maintenance in all its purity and the universal introduction of the true observance of the Order, gave him full powers to take action against superiors and convents which were established or begun against his orders.[5] The general chapter of Piacenza clearly showed the purpose of this ordinance ; on the Feast of Pentecost, 1575, it decreed the suppression of the houses which the reformed Carmelites had established outside Castile, and ordered the religious in them

[1] On September 22, 1574, *ibid.* n. 617.

[2] On December 27, 1574, *ibid.*

[3] Fundaciones c. 23, La Fuente, LIII., 220 *seq.* ; letter of May 12, 1575, *ibid.* LV., 47 *seqq.* For Gracian (1545-1615) *cf.* his life by A. Marmol, Valladolid, 1619 ; Bouix, Lettres, I., Paris, 1882, 246-285. Gracian gives us a kind of autobiography in the Peregrinación de Anastasio, new edition, Barcelona, 1905 ; *cf.* La Fuente, LV., 452-85 ; Grégoire de St. Joseph, Le P. Gratien et ses juges, Rome, 1904.

[4] Acta Sanct., n. 618.

[5] *Ibid.* n. 635 *seq.*, p. 259 *seq.*

to return to their former houses within three days.[1] The Portuguese Tostado was sent to Spain as visitor to enforce this decree, and he went there with the intention of, before all things, destroying the reform.[2] The acts of the chapter make no mention of the convents of nuns.[3] At the end of 1575 Teresa received instructions to choose one house of her Order as her permanent abode, and neither she nor any other Carmelite nun of the reform was to leave their convent any more. Teresa chose Toledo, and from 1575 to 1580 her work as foundress was stopped for a second time.[4]

Otherwise, however, the decrees of Piacenza did not have any very marked effect.. The previously appointed visitors of the Order continued to exercise their authority in virtue of their plenary Papal powers, and Tostado was unable to have his way altogether against them.[5] Ormaneto supported Teresa and her friends, and as long as he lived there was not much to fear from Tostado; on the contrary the reform was able to establish itself more firmly. For a long time past Teresa had looked upon it as a great drawback that the reformed branch of the Carmelites should be dependent upon the mitigation.[6] In a letter of July 19th, 1575, she had re-

[1] *Ibid.* n. 637.

[2] *Ibid.* n. 638.

[3] ZIMMERMANN in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, III., 361.

[4] Acta Sanct., n. 663 *seqq.*, p. 265 *seqq.* In July, 1577, she again moved from Toledo to Avila; see *ibid.* n. 769, p. 287. Teresa wrote on January 16, 1578, that the chapter and the General had ordered "que ninguna Descalza pudiese salir de su casa, en especial yo: que escogiese la que quisiese, so pena de descomunion. Vese claro, que es proque no se hagan mas fundaciones de monjas." LA FUENTE, LV., 162a.

[5] "Dice que si no tray, el Tostado poder sobre los visitadores, que valdrian las atas; mas que si le tray, no hay que hablar, sino obedecer." Teresa to Mariano, February 26, 1577, LA FUENTE, LV., 345b, *cf.* 133b.

[6] Fundaciones c. 23, LA FUENTE, LIII., 221b; "Las [casas] de los frailes no iban mal, mas llevaban principio de caer muy presto, porque, como no tenian provincia por si, eran gobernados por los calzados."

course directly to the king; it was absolutely necessary, she concluded by saying, that the reform should have its own provincial, and Gracian was the man for that office.[1] Ormaneto not only supported her wishes in this, but he also at the same time, in defiance of the decrees of Piacenza, appointed Gracian as visitor and reformer in Andalusia as well, for the branch of the Order that was not yet reformed.[2] This was a rash and imprudent step. When the new visitor presented himself at the unreformed convent of Seville he met with so much resistance that Ormaneto had to intervene with a sentence of excommunication. During the course of the reform those who were threatened by it sent two envoys to Rome with a request for the recall of the full powers of Gracian;[3] according to the constitutions, they pointed out, ten years membership of the Order is required for the office of visitor, and Gracian has only three.[4] A chapter was held in Castille under the provincial of that region, Salazar, the decrees of which were aimed at the destruction of the reform. According to these the two parties must no longer be distinguished by their dress, and their members must live together in the same houses, each according to their own rule.[5] Obviously if these decrees came into force, after a time the reform party would be absorbed into the rest of the Order.

By the wish of Ormaneto, the reformed Carmelites had

[1] La Fuente, LV., 52a.

[2] On August 3, 1575, Acta Sanct., n. 657, p. 264. Ormaneto wrote on September 4, 1575 (Carini, 139): "S'hò deputato qualche visitatore come hora hò fatto nell'Orden del Carmen nell'Andalusia per dar qualche ordine a disordini, che troppo vanno attorno et per far eseguir le riforme fatte. . . . Et hò deputatò persona santa et essemplar de questi Discalzi del medesimo ordine che ha credito con S. M^{tà} et se ne và a piedi et senza dar una minima spesa ad alcuno convento et che farà tutto con gran charità et circonspettione come già hò visto in alcuni conventi, dove fin hora è stato."

[3] Acta Sanct. n. 662.

[4] Carini, 107.

[5] Acta Sanct. n. 708 *seqq.*, p. 274.

sent some representatives to the meeting to protest against these decrees. They availed themselves of their rights as an independent province, and in their turn assembled in chapter at Almodovar,[1] and there, as the principal business, the new constitutions for the discalced Carmelites were introduced, in order to remove the differences between the various houses.[2]

This new legislation was drafted by Gracian, but altogether in accordance with the spirit of Teresa and by her advice.[3] The influence of Teresa had by no means come to an end with her seclusion at Toledo. Her advice was sought from all quarters, and she sent her letters everywhere; to the king, to the General of the Order, to the chief supporters of the reform, to the convents of nuns which she had founded, everywhere encouraging them to perseverance, or moderating excessive zeal. She herself said that she was over-fatigued with writing letters, and was often kept until late in the night pen in hand.[4] Above all she realized that, following the example of their adversaries, they too must send representatives to Rome, because otherwise the unreformed party, by their prejudiced account of what had happened, would obtain all the possible briefs,[5] whereas on the other hand their own envoys, whether to the General or to the Pope, might succeed in obtaining their separation from the mitigation and the formation of a separate province. She urged haste. Methusalem—a nick-name for Ormaneto—was for separation;[6]

[1] Begun on September 8, 1576, *ibid.* n. 711.

[2] *Ibid.* n. 714.

[3] JOLY, Ste. Thérèse, 117 *seq.*

[4] "Aquel dia fueron tantas las cartas y negocios, que estuve escribiendo endo hasta los dos, y hizome daño á la cabeza; . . . me ha mandado el dotor, que no escriba jamás, sino hasta las doze, y algunas veces no de mi letra. Y cierto ha sido el trabajo ecesivo." Letter of February 10, 1576, LA FUENTE, LV., 129b.

[5] To Gracian, September 5, 1576, *ibid.* 75a.

[6] "Santelmo [or Don Pedro Gonzales; see BOUIX, Lettres, II., 41] me ha escrto hoy . . . que no tenemos qué temer, que cierto está Matusalem muy determinado de cumplir nuestro deseo de apartar las águilas [namely the unreformed].' To Gracian, September 6, 1576, LA FUENTE, LV., 15b.

she did not understand why there was this delay; they were letting the favourable opportunity escape them.[1]

In spite of Teresa's insistence they still delayed in sending the mission to Rome, and the favourable opportunity was allowed to pass. On June 18th, 1577, the nuncio Ormaneto, the great friend of the reform, died, and in his place came Filippo Sega, who looked upon Teresa as a restless adventuress,[2] and treated her conventual foundations as canonically invalid.[3] He favoured Tostado, removed Gracian from his office,[4] and entrusted the visitation of the reformed houses to Carmelites of the mitigation, with an injunction to prevent any further foundations according to the ideas of Teresa.[5] The nuns of the convent of the Incarnation at Avila were treated as excommunicated because they had chosen Teresa for their prioress,[6] and John of the Cross was kept in close imprisonment.[7] Tostado, however, had to leave Spain in May 1578 because he fell out of favour with Philip II.[8]

To attacks from without were added difficulties from within. It was by no means clear whether the nuncio had the right to deprive Gracian of his powers. Canonists from whom Teresa sought advice replied that he had not.[9] The king in his edict to the magistrates, probably after he had first made

[1] Acta Sanct., n. 713.

[2] "una vagamunda y inquieta." Teresa on October 4, 1578, La Fuente, LV., 193b.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] On July 22, 1578, Acta Sanct., n. 795.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] October, 1577, *ibid.* n. 772.

[7] From the beginning of December, 1577, *ibid.* n. 775.

[8] Acta Sanct., n. 795. See the letter of Teresa of July 2, 1577 (La Fuente, LV., 144b): "Sepa que murió el nuncio, y el Tostado está en Madrid. . . . Aunque hasta ahora no ha querido el rey, que visite, no sabemos en qué parará. La comision de nuestro padre [Gracian] no acabó, aunque murió el nuncio." Nevertheless, the persecutions of the Carmelites of Avila and the imprisonment of John of the Cross were ordered from Toledo. Teresa on January 16 (or 19), 1578, Lf Fuente, LV., 161b.

[9] Acta Sanct., n. 796.

inquiries in Rome, declared that the enactments of Sega with regard to the Order were invalid.[1] The confusion reached its height when Gracian, to the great sorrow of Teresa, allowed himself to be persuaded, on October 9th, 1578, to convoke a second new provincial chapter at Almodovar, and there, on the strength of the presumed Papal authority, to proclaim the separation of the reformed Carmelites from the rest of the Order, to give them a province of their own, and lastly to send to Rome the mission that had long before been decided upon.[2] This chapter naturally had no other result than to irritate the nuncio still more. Moreover the embassy to Rome proved quite useless because of the imprudence of the envoys.[3]

The fortunes of the reform seemed to be in a desperate position when suddenly, as the result of a hint from the king and the remonstrances of the friends of Teresa, Sega changed his views at the beginning of 1579.[4] Referring to something Sega had said, Philip II. gave him four assistants, one of whom was the Dominican, Pedro Hernandez, to advise him on the question of the Carmelites.[5] On April 1st, 1579, there appeared an edict from the nuncio in favour of the Carmelites; by this Sega withdrew them from the authority of the mitigation, and gave them as their vicar the prior of Valladolid, Angelo de Salazar, who, though he did not belong to the reform, was nevertheless well disposed towards it.[6] A decision of July 15th, 1579,[7] signed by the nuncio and his assistants, recommended to the king that which had been Teresa's most ardent desire, the separation of the two parts of the Order into two distinct provinces.

In May, as the result of the insistence of Teresa, two Carmelites had been sent to Rome to obtain the formation of a

[1] On August 9, 1578, *ibid.* n. 798.
[2] *Ibid.* n. 611 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.* n. 834 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* n. 825 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.* n. 832.
[6] The decree in La Fuente, LV., 358 *seq.*
[7] Published *ibid.* 360 *seqq.*

separate province.[1] As Tostado was there and the chapter for the election of a new General was at hand, the envoys travelled in absolute incognito, in civilian dress and wearing swords, and at first they went about their business in Rome in secret and only with known friends.[2] At last the question was brought before the cardinalitial congregation of Bishops and Regulars, at which Cardinal Montalto, the future Sixtus V., especially took the part of Teresa. Nevertheless certain final difficulties were raised by the new General, Caffardo, who proposed that the provinces should not be separated, but that the provincials should be chosen alternately from the reformed and the unreformed parties. The Pope was not averse to this suggestion, and the envoys were about to return home without having accomplished their purpose when, during the course of a farewell visit they were advised to bring pressure to bear upon the Pope through Cardinal Alessandro Sforza. Gregory XIII. allowed himself to be persuaded,[3] and on June 22nd, 1580, there followed the brief which fulfilled the desire of Teresa.[4] On March 3rd, 1581, there was opened at Alcala the chapter which was to decree the separation of the provinces, which appointed Gracian as provincial of the reformed Carmelites, and which settled the constitutions of the Order.[5] The adherents of the primitive Carmelite rule now numbered 300 friars, 200 nuns, and 22 houses of men and women.[6]

Teresa's life's work was now done; between 1580 and 1582 she continued to found, with the usual difficulties, five more convents of women; with her return from Avila on October 4th, 1582, to Alba de Tomes, came the day she had so long desired which was to end her "exile" in this world.[7]

[1] Acta Sanct., n. 833, 836.
[2] *Ibid.* 836, 876.
[3] *Ibid.* 877.
[4] Bull. Rom., VIII., 350 *seq.*; *cf.* 247.
[5] Acta Sanct., n. 879, 909 *seqq.*, 916 *seqq.*
[6] Bull. Rom., VIII., 351, § 3.
[7] For the tomb of St. Teresa *cf.* the article by W. Frank in the *Köln. Volkzeitung*, 1909, n. 876.

Not long before she had warned her former confessor and director that her work, "The Citadel of the Soul" was finished, and had told him that she had attained to the degree of mystical union there described,[1] in which the soul is entirely absorbed, but nevertheless is not hampered in its exterior work, but is even helped in it, and is enabled to combine in the most perfect way, for the honour of God, the life of Mary and Martha.[2]

This union of the highest degree of contemplation with the greatest possible activity in the world is in itself of great significance. Teresa desired that the same spirit should animate her Order; she rejoiced if her Carmelites devoted themselves to apostolic works in preaching and in teaching Christians, or attempted missionary work among the pagans in the Congo. The convents of women, too, in her reform, must dedicate all their prayers and exercises of penance to the salvation of souls. That still remains the hall-mark of the reform which she inaugurated. The Carmelites who bear Teresa's name have done great work in the missions to the infidel; in the foundation of Propaganda, as well as of the seminary of the missions in Paris, the most influential missionary body of modern times has been conspicuously that of the Carmelites.[3] In theological science they have greatly distinguished themselves by the colleges at Alcalá and Salamanca, and by the great treatises published there dealing with the whole of theology and philosophy.[4]

One more violent struggle took place even after the death of Teresa, before her ideas really penetrated the whole of the Order.[5] The Carmelites were in their origin a society of hermits; after they had been transferred to Europe they still might expect to exercise an influence over their contemporaries, but for a long time there was a divergence of opinion

[1] Letter of November 8, 1581, La Fuente, LV., 305b.

[2] Moradas VII. c. 1, La Fuente, LIII., 482b.

[3] R. Streit in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, VII. (1907), 12, 14.

[4] Zimmermann in the *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.*, III., 1785.

[5] Zimmermann in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III., 362.

among them as to how fully they could combine the care of souls with their original purpose of a life of contemplation. The first provincial of the reformed Carmelites, Gracian, always exercised his office in accordance with the spirit of Teresa, but his successor had quite different ideas; this was Nicolò Doria, a Genoese who had come to Spain as the representative of a bank, but who, after renouncing great wealth, had entered the Carmelite Order in 1577. He recalled the missionaries from the Congo, limited the care of souls as far as possible, resisted any further extension of the Order outside Spain, and increased its austerity both as to its external manner of life and its government. Gracian was expelled from the Order and John of the Cross banished to a distant convent. Thenceforward the reformed Carmelites of Spain were almost entirely a contemplative Order. The aims of Teresa were thus entirely frustrated in her own country, in one of the most important points. But a marvellous dispensation of Providence brought it about that Doria himself founded at Genoa in 1584, outside Spain, a convent of reformed Carmelites, which was soon followed by others at Rome and Naples. On Italian soil the Carmelite Order developed entirely on the lines laid down by Teresa, and thenceforward took on a new character, and attained to new and greater importance. That which the most distinguished men among the Carmelites from the beginning of the XVth century had sought to do, by introducing their own ideas on the basis of the powers which the Canon Law had placed in their hands, but which they had never succeeded in doing, had at length been happily carried into effect by a simple nun in the cell of her convent, supported only by contemplation and confidence in God, in the midst of a thousand difficulties and even against the wishes of her own superiors.

CHAPTER IV.

Philip Neri and the Foundation of the Oratory.

Born in the same year as Teresa, 1515, and like to her on account of his great natural gifts, the heights of mysticism to which he attained, the loveableness of his character which drew all souls to him, and above all that cheerful humour which runs through all his life like a bright ray of sunshine, Philip Neri is another of the great reformers of the XVIth century.[1]

[1] Life by Ant. Gallonio (Rome, 1600), Pietro Giacomo Bacci (*ibid.* 1622, 1625, 1859, English translation by F. W. Faber, 1845, 2. vols. New ed. with notes by F. J. Antrobus, 2 vols., 1902), Girolamo Barnabeo (ed. in Acta Sanct. Maii VI.; reissued Paris, 519-642, where (pp. 459-519) the life by Gallonio is given), Domenico Maria Manni (Intorno all'emendare alcuni punti delle Vite scritte di S. Filippo Neri, Florence, 1785), Alfonso Capecelatro (La vita di S. Filippo Neri, 3 books, Naples, 1879, 3rd, in his Opere vols. IX. and X., Rome-Tournay, 1889; German translation by Lager, Freiburg, 1886, English translation by Thomas Alder Pope, in 2 vols., London, 1882, new edition, in 1 vol., London, 1926.) *Cf.* Jos. Hilgers in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLVIII. (1895), 349 *seqq.*, 485 *seqq.*; Jörgensen, Römische Heiligenbilder, Einsiedeln, 1906, and E. Göller in Merkle-Bess, Religiöse Erzieher der kathol. Kirche, Leipzig, 1921; *ibid.* also an article by J. Mumbauer on Teresa of Jesus. A study of the process of canonization of Philip Neri and of his correspondence with the house at Naples, preserved by the Oratorians there, would give further information. Similar documents might be sought in the State Archives, Rome. The Rev. Louis Ponelle, to whom I suggested these sources for his new life of St. Philip, unfortunately fell in the war of 1914. [Our references are to Bacci in the last English edition of 1902, and to Capecelatro in the English edition of 1926. The researches made by Abbé Ponnelle, which include the Process of Canonization, the Archives of the Oratory in Rome and Naples, and other

Just as in the case of Teresa the field of her direct labours did not extend beyond the borders of her own country, so was Philip's sphere even more limited, namely to the circuit of the Eternal City; as the "Apostle of Rome" he devoted to her more than fifty years of labour, and to him more than to anyone else was it due that as early as 1576 the Venetian ambassador Paolo Tiepolo, was able to write that the whole city had abandoned its former frivolity, that its customs and manner of life were without any question moral and Christian, so that it might be said that from the point of view of religion Rome was in a good state, and perhaps not far removed from that perfection, of which human imperfection is generally speaking capable.[1]

Philip, who was a lively and cheerful boy, passed his first years in his native city, Florence.[2] He soon showed his capacity for study; he distinguished himself in profane learning, as later on he did in philosophy and theology; he also had a natural gift for poetry and a keen appreciation of music. Above all, even as a boy, he displayed a keen sense of everything that is noble and beautiful in the sphere of morals. The Dominicans of S. Marco had a great influence upon him, and in his later years he confessed himself indebted to them for the whole of his spiritual training.[3] From them, too, he learned a love for Savonarola, whose writings were among his favourite books.[4]

archives, were continued after his death by the Abbé Bordet, and have recently been published: PONNELLE ET BORDET, Saint Philippe Néri et la Société Romaine de son temps (1515-1595), Paris, 1928. Ed. note.]

[1] "forse non molto lontano da quella perfezione che può ricever l'imperfezione humana." P. TIEPOLO, 213 *seq.*

[2] CAPECELATRO, 7 *seqq.* Particulars from the baptismal registers at S. Giovanni, *ibid.* 6 note 2. For the family of Philip *cf. Riv. del collegio araldico*, X. (1912); for his renunciation of his property in favour of his sisters Caterina and Elisabetta 1560; Notarius de Comitibus prot. 622, in LANCIANI, IV., 71.

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.* 157 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account in Vol. VI. of this work, p. 52.

At the age of eighteen Philip went to live with his cousin, a rich merchant of the little city of San Germano, in order to be trained by him in commercial matters, so that he might become his heir after the death of his cousin, who had no children. The thoughts of the youth, however, were turned to other things than the seeking for money and property. At San Germano, too, he gave himself up to exercises of piety.[1] and soon felt himself drawn to take a step as heroic as those once taken by Benedict of Nursia and Francis of Assisi, when they turned their backs upon the world and its brilliant allurements ; Philip made up his mind to leave his cousin and to renounce his inheritance of 22,000 scudi and to begin a life of the greatest poverty and abstemiousness, so as not to be hampered in his relations with God and his thoughts of the things of heaven. Without money or recommendations he set out for the Eternal City, without any idea how he was to find lodging or the necessary means of livelihood.[2] This love of poverty remained with him all through his life ; as he used to say, he prayed that the day might come when he was in need of a single "grosso," and knew not where to turn to beg for it.[3]

It so happened that Philip's noble bearing made at their first meeting a favourable impression upon a Florentine gentleman, Galeotto Caccia. Out of charity he gave him a poor little room in his house adjoining S. Eustachio,[4] and a

[1] The house in which Philip lived is still preserved ; a photograph in KERR, Pippo Buono, 2nd ed. London, 1927, p. 31.

[2] CAPECELATRO, 25. It is not true to say that Philip was disinherited by his father ; it is more correct to say that he passed on his inheritance to his sisters. *Ibid.* 17 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 27.

[4] For the position of the house of Caccia *cf.* CAPECELATRO, p. 34 ; Andrea Belli in the Diario di Roma 1843, n. 43. The year of Philip's coming to Rome is not certain ; Capecelatro (p. 16) supposes him to have gone to San Germano at the beginning of 1533, and at the end of 1534 or (p. 32) of 1535 to Rome. In the Cart. Strozze I., 1, 393 (reports from Rome in the time of Clement VIII.) it is stated : "He came from Florence to Rome in the year 1536."

yearly allowance of corn; in return for this Philip was to undertake the care of the two boys of his host.

For sixteen years the ascetic youth led in Caccia's house a life of prayer and severe penance.[1] What were his favourite thoughts, and what the ideas that had attracted him to Rome may be gathered from those exercises of piety to which he specially devoted himself. He very often visited the Seven Churches of Rome with all their memories of the apostles and martyrs,[2] and passed whole nights in prayer and meditation in the only catacomb that was accessible at that time, that of St. Sebastian.[3] It was thus the primitive Church, with its heroic spirit of faith and love of Christ, which spread itself as a picture before the eyes of his soul, and inflamed his heart with an insatiable thirst for a like heroic courage. He was able, without ever wearying, to pass ten years immersed in such thoughts in the catacomb of St. Sebastian, and it seemed to him as though during this prayer a burning fire was kindled in his breast, so that he was obliged to tear open his clothing in order in some wise to cool this interior fire.[4] This mystical state, which remained with him all his life, reached its climax at the Pentecost of 1544 in an occurrence which may be compared to the stigmata of St. Francis, the explanation of which the historian, less than anyone else, is called upon to give.[5] In an altogether extraordinary manner, while he was praying in a chapel in the catacomb of St. Sebastian,[6] he felt himself filled with the love of God, and at the same time, as though it was necessary to give more room for the violent beating of his heart, he discovered, after the occurrence was over, that over his heart there was a swelling larger than a man's fist; medical examination after his death showed that two of the false ribs had been forced outwards, and the connexion between the bone and the cartilage of the ribs

[1] Capecelatro, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 55 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 66.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 70.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 75.
[6] Photograph in Kerr, Pippo Buono, p. 54.

broken, without, however causing him any pain.[1] This may be described as his consecration as the apostle of the love of God, for a divine love, which attracted his heart and his whole person with wonderful force to compassion and deep humility, together with an unchanging joyfulness and gaiety, and a great love for all men—he was commonly known as " Pippo Buono " —is the outstanding characteristic of Philip's nature. If anyone really loves God, so he thought, he will no longer attach any importance to the life of this world,[2] for to do so hinders the vision of God.

Soon he could no longer endure the solitude of the house of Caccia ; the love of God urged him to the service of his neighbour, and his enthusiasm for the Rome of the apostles and martyrs filled him with the desire to be able to labour against the moral decadence of the capital of the world,

[1] Angelo Vettori (Victorius) who made the examination, published a work on the subject, Historia palpitationis cordis ruptarumque costarum Philippi Nerii, Rome, 1613 (GURLT-HIRSCH, Lexikon der hervorragendsten Ärtze aller Zeiten VI., Vienna-Leipsig, 1888, 102). The celebrated physician and botanist Andrea Cesalpino says in his Katoptron sive Speculum artis medicae hippocraticum, l. 6, c. 20 (Frankfort, 1605, 476) : " Repertum est Romae nuper in b. Philippo Nerio sacerdote, qui saepius in palpitationem cordis incidebat ex vehementi extasi, cor valde amplum et arteria, quae ducit in pulmonem, duplo latior naturali. Eidem duae costae mendosae in latere sinistro abruptae a suis cartilaginibus follis instar elevabantur et deprimebantur, dum palpitationem pateretur, quo remedio divinitus servatus est, ne extingueretur usque ad annum octogesimum." Other physicians also wrote in confirmation of the occurrence (BENEDICT XIV., De Canonizat. IV., P., 1 c., 19 n., 25 *seq.* : Opera Omnia, Bassani, 1767). Information given by Philip himself to Cardinal Federico Borromeo concerning the beating of his heart in GALLONIO c. 2, n. 13. Acta Sanct., Mai VI., 463, *cf.* 523. *Cf.* KNELLER in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.* XLI. (1917), 497 *seqq.* As well as Cesalpino, there was to be found among the admirers of Philip the botanist Mercati (for him see vol. XVII. of this work, p. 114, and *infra*, p. 260).

[2] CAPECELATRO, p. 54.

and the profanation of its holy places. In his humility he had as yet no thought of the priesthood. He nevertheless resumed with brilliant success his study of philosophy at the Sapienza, and of theology under the Augustinians,[1] but he once more abandoned his studies and chose for his field of reforming zeal that which would be looked upon as the simplest and the least noticeable. He went to the hospitals, and there tended the sick, and by his readiness and love in serving them he won their hearts and spoke to them of God and their conversion. His zeal was rewarded with abundant fruit.[2]

A reformer could not well have begun his work in a more humble way, yet it was from the labours of Philip by the bedside of the sick that was developed the most characteristic part of the apostolate of Rome. The extraordinary results that he obtained with the sick drew men's attention to him, led others to imitate him, and attracted to him priests and laymen, nobles and common folk, as his pupils and disciples.[3] He went to the public squares, to the warehouses and the shops, and there he spoke, as he spoke to his sick, not in the pompous style of the humanist, but after the manner of intimate conversation. Gradually abundant means for the exercise of his works of charity were placed in his hands ;[4] he made use of them to save poor girls from dishonour, and to assist promising youths in their studies ; to many he showed the way to the cloister.

In 1548 Philip laid the foundations of the first of his great institutions.[5] Together with his confessor, Persiano Rosa,[6] just as once Gaetano di Tiene had done, he united together fifteen simple men in the confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity. The object of this association was the care of the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 38 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 47. *Cf.* PERICOLI, L'ospedale di S. Maria della Consolazione, Imola, 1879, 126.

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 84.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 78.

[6] A contemporary portrait of P. Rosa in the periodical *San Filippo Neri*, Rome, 1894, n. 11-12.

poor pilgrims to Rome, and of the convalescent sick who were still in need of care. The brothers assembled regularly in the little church of S. Salvatore in Campo,[1] in the Rione della Regola, in order to receive the sacraments together, and for their mutual edification by means of simple discourses. Under Philip's guidance the confraternity quickly developed, especially after the pilgrims of the year of jubilee in 1550 had everywhere sung its praises. At the next jubilee (1575) more than 200,000 strangers came under their pious care, and fifty years later about 600,000. In 1614, in the place of the old church of S. Benedetto in Arenula which had been assigned to it by Pius IV., the confraternity was able to build a new and splendid church, the SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini.[2] The rich indulgences which had been granted to it by Pius IV., were lost in the legislation of Pius V., but Gregory XIII. again restored them.[3]

In 1551 a new period in Philip's life began. He had already laboured for twelve years like the most zealous priest, without however being in orders. Now, however, at length, yielding to the pressure of his confessor, he received the sacred orders in the church of S. Tommaso in Parione,[4] and joined himself

[1] *Cf.* as to this M. Armellini, 594 (2nd. ed., p. 407). Picture of the church as reconstructed in Kerr, *loc. cit.* 59.

[2] Armellini, 152 *seq.* Morichini, Istituti di carita, I., Rome, 1870, 7. *Cf.* Hilgers, 352; Herbert Thurston, The Holy Year of Jubilee, London, 1900, 262-9. For the Jubilee of 1775 the registers of the Confraternity give 271,970 pilgrims, and for 1825 the number is 273,299 (*Hist. Polit. Blätter*, XI., 1843, 737 *seq.*). For the confraternity in the XIXth century, *ibid.* 737-41.

[3] Bull of Pius IV., April 29, 1560, Bull. Rom., VII., 23 *seqq.* Revocation of all the indulgences attached to the giving of alms, *ibid.* 535 *seqq.*, a fresh confirmation of the confraternity by Gregory XIII., March 27, 1576, *ibid.* VIII., 530 *seqq.* Pius V. also granted it privileges on March 21, 1571, *ibid.* VII., 901 *seqq.* Its protector was at that time the Cardinal of Augsburg, *ibid.* *Cf.* Laderchi, 1571, n. 173.

[4] *Cf.* in Forcella, VII., 542, the commemorative inscription which is still preserved; *cf.* L. Dorez, Rabelaesiana, Paris, 1905, 37 *seqq.*

to certain excellent priests who managed the confraternity della Carità, founded by Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII., in 1519,[1] and who led a common life at S. Girolamo della Carità in the Via Monserrato.[2]

Henceforward Philip was in a position to do a much greater work for the moral regeneration of Rome. To this end he laboured as a confessor in a way beyond all description.[3] From early morning he was occupied in hearing confessions; it was only towards mid-day that he made a break in order to celebrate holy mass with touching devotion and with many tears, almost as though in ecstasy;[4] in the evening he was

[1] *Cf.* our account in Vol. X. of this work, p. 393; TACCHI-VENTURI, I., 358. For the church of S. Girolamo della Carità, restored in 1600, *cf.* ARMELLINI, 282 *seq.*, and CAPOGROSSI GUARNA in *Il Buonarroti*, 3rd ser., Vol. I. (June, 1884). Photograph in KERR, Pippo Buono, p. 83. *Ibid.* p. 65 the approach to his room now changed into a chapel, and p. 70 the Oratory itself where Philip lived for a generation. For the relics of the saint preserved there see DE WAAL, Roma Sacra, 174.

[2] CAPECELATRO, p. 102 *seqq.* In the archives of the arch-confraternity of S. Girolamo, Philip is named for the first time on July 12, 1552. In the ordinary congregation of the confraternity leave of absence having been granted for Christmas to the priest Francesco Marsuppini of Arezzo, Philip was appointed his deputy "cum eisdem honoribus et oneribus, et col patto, che al ritorno del suddetto p. Francesco gli debba restituere il suo luogo." On June 13, 1553, Philip addressed a petition to the Confraternity: "Deinde D. Philippus Florentinus renuntiavit salarium pro servitio futurum, offerens servire velle suo arbitro." In the year 1558 he is among the deputies and taking part at the meetings of the Congregation. (PASQUETTI, 56). According to MERKLE (Conc. Trid., II., 170, on the strength of the Diarium of Massarelli, VI., April 26, 1550) he had been in the preceding year one of the representatives of Duke Cosimo for the obedientia to Julius III. It was not, however, Philip Neri but Filippo dei Nerli, the historian, who was at the head of that embassy. *Cf.* KNELLER in *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XLI. (1917), 472 *seq.*

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 107.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 108.

again to be found in the confessional until late at night. During those forty years of his priesthood countless thousands opened their consciences to him, and he had the gift of sending them away new men. Moreover he knew at the same time how to multiply himself, by inspiring others with his own zeal and preparing them to be his fellow workers in yet wider fields.[1] He did not preach in the churches, but gathered together a few friends in his own room, generally in the afternoon, and spoke to them of spiritual things, of the goodness of God, of the transitory nature of the things of this world, in the same simple way that he had been accustomed to do when he was a layman. His own personal emotion made a deep impression. Soon Philip's room was too small for the crowd of visitors ; he gathered round himself a growing body of disciples and followers, among whom were men of the greatest eminence for their noble birth or their learning, such as Giovanni Battista Salviati and many who belonged to the most distinguished cardinalitial families ; besides the learned physician Modio,[2] there were the Florentine ambassador, Alessandro de' Medici, who afterwards ascended the Papal throne as Leo XI., Francesco Maria Tarugi, the near relative of Julius III. and Marcellus II.,[3] as well as Baronius, afterwards Cardinal.[4]

These two favourite disciples, Tarugi and Baronius, are eloquent proof of the wonderful influence exercised by the personality of Philip even at that time. Tarugi had no other thought than to secure his career at the Papal court, but when the twenty-nine year old courtier met Philip in 1556, it needed but a few words of conversation with him for the ambitious young man to be entirely changed. Tarugi

[1] *Ibid.* p. 114 *seq.*

[2] Editor of the poems of Jacopone da Todi (Rome, 1558, Naples, 1615) ; see Böhmer in *Romanischen Studien*, I. (1871), 140.

[3] Capecelatro, p. 132 *seq.* " Pronepos fuit cardinalis Antonii de Monte, nepos autem Iohannis magni magistri Ierosolymitanae militiae, qui Iulium III., SS. Pontificem habuit patruum." Gallia Christiana, I., 835.

[4] Capecelatro, p. 181 *seqq.*

gave up his worldly life, and devoted himself to prayer, the study of the Holy Scriptures, and to works of charity.[1] Baronius, who came to Rome on October 22nd, 1557, at the age of nineteen,[2] chose Philip for his confessor ;[3] by December 8th in the same year he already looked back upon his past life with sorrow,[4] and very soon entered the circle of the intimate friends of that perfect reader of hearts. Everything, he wrote to his father in 1562, would turn out for his advantage if he followed the guidance of his master, but if he departed from his advice even in the smallest things he would be sure to repent of it, while he feared the most serious consequences if he were to withdraw himself from his obedience.[5] It was

[1] *Ibid* p 135

[2] On October 23, 1557, he wrote to his father : *" Siamo arrivati venerdi a sera qui in Roma." Vallicella Library, Rome, Cod. Q. 46. For Baronius *cf.* HIERON. BARNABEO, Vita Caesaris Baronii, Rome, 1651 ; C. Baronii Epistulae et opuscula pleraque nunc primum ex archetypis in lucem eruta, ed. RAYM. ALBERICUS (incomplete), 3 vols. Rome, 1759 ; LAEMMER, Analecta 65-74 ; the same, De Caesaris Baronii litterarum commercio diatriba, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903 ; GENEROSO CALENZIO, La vita e gli scritti del cardinal C. Baronio, Rome, 1907 ; Per Cesare Baronio. Scritti vari nel terzo centenario della sua morte, Rome, 1911 ; SAVIO in *Civilta catt.*, 1907, III., 3-20, 159-75.

[3] See the deposition of Baronius at the process of canonization of St. Philip, published in CALENZIO, 948.

[4] See the letter of Baronius of that date, CALENZIO, 13 *seq.*

[5] *State con l'animo quieto che ho tal maestro e guida, che spero, se da me non resterà, che opera in me che voi ne habbiate ad essere molto contento e Dio ne sarà molto servito. . . . Pregate dunque Iddio che mi faccia obediente a lui, che certo sempre che io ho voluto far la sua obedienza, ogni cosa m'è riuscita in bene et l'havermi Iddio liberato alli mesi passati dall'insidie di quelli ladri quali robborno gl'altri : sappiate ciò essere stato per suo merito et santa obedienza. E di questo ve ne potria racontare cose miraculose et di grande importanza, come all'incontro, se in alcuna cosa ancora minima ho voluto preterire la sua obedienza, sempre me ne son trovato male. E credo certo, che s'io tornassi a voi senza sua santa voluntà, che tutto l'inferno si scatenarebbe contro di me et in poco tempo arebbe in grave scandalo a tutti

a virile spirit that Philip's direction planted in him ; Baronius wrote to his mother that she must pray to God for him in order that he might become another Stephen or Lawrence, or one of the great martyrs : " This is my desire : may the love that unites you to me be such that you may be able to act like those Christian women of the first ages who, with eager desire and joy, led their own sons to martyrdom ; she indeed thought herself happy who was worthy to have a martyr son."[1] In these two men, so highly endowed intellectually, their veneration for Philip remained until extreme old age, even after his death. Later on Tarugi, when he was a Cardinal and Archbishop of Avignon, made it his boast that he had been for fifty years with Philip as a novice in the Congregation ; Baronius, after the death of his master, in words of the deepest emotion, in his great historical work of the Annals, declared himself before all the world, and in every way, the disciple of Philip; he attributes to him the credit for his learned works, and thanks him for the fact that when he was a young man and found himself alone amid the dangers of the Rome of that time, he did not suffer moral shipwreck.[2]

et ogni piccola tentatione mi aterrarebbe. Onde hora essendo aiutato dalli suoi santi meriti et orationi sono come pulcino sotto l'ali della bioccha : ne temo se ben tutto l'inferno s'armasse contra di me ; e mentre sono in sua protettione, mi trovo allegro e contento e tutto satisfatto. Aiutatemi a ringratiare Iddio di tanto beneficio d'avermi dato un si perfetto Padre spirituale ; e pregate Dio, ch'io ne facci frutto. Baronius to his father, March 22, 1562, Vallicella Library, Rome, Q. 46, f. 33 ; 56, f. 3, used by BARNABEO, Vita Baronii 21.

[1] Letter of December 3, 1563, in LAEMMER, Diatriba, 38.

[2] " Imprimis apostolico spiritu nos saepe parturiit, et ab ipsa adulescentia eiusdem spiritus freno coercuit, cohibuitque a lubrico iuvenilis aetatis procurentis ad malum." (Annales, VIII., Philippo gratiarum actio ; also in BARNABEO, *loc. cit.*). Baronius also took the opportunity in his Martyrologium Romanum, on August 23, when speaking of the Florentine St. Philip Benizi, to speak of the other Florentine St. Philip Neri : " sanctitate et puritate vitae atque eximia in Deum et proximum caritate clarissimo, quem sanctorum consortio perfrui in coelis miracula crebra testantur."

By the years 1557-1558 it would seem that the number of Philip's disciples had risen to several hundred;[1] a special chapel was erected for their meetings over one of the aisles of S. Girolamo della Carità, to which Philip gave the name of the Oratory. The way in which these meetings were held has been described to us by Baronius.[2] First they knelt together in silent prayer, and then followed some pious reading upon which Philip commented, or made explanatory remarks. Sometimes he also asked those present to give their opinions, and thus the meeting was continued for about an hour in the form of conversation. There then followed three discourses of half an hour, the subjects of which were taken from the lives of the saints, the Holy Scriptures, and from the Fathers of the Church or ecclesiastical history; some singing and a short prayer brought the meeting to an end. And "when this arrangement had been established and approved by the Pope," Baronius continues, "it seemed as though the beautiful days of the first Christians, with their apostolic assemblies, had been revived and adapted to the conditions of the times." That these meetings at the Oratory made an extraordinary impression is also borne witness to from other sources; a pilgrim of 1568 assures us that these gatherings had given him greater pleasure and comfort than all the other beauties of the Eternal City.[3]

[1] Capecelatro, p. 146.

[2] Annales, a. 57, n. 164. Baronius attributes a special share in the foundation and maintenance of the Oratory to Tarugi, who was held in high esteem by Gregory XIII. (see *supra* p. 54), and who was its "dux verbi" (App. n. 14). The description by Tarugi of the meetings at S. Maria in Vallicella (see *infra*, p. 180) taken from the archives of the Oratorians in Rome has been recently published by Calenzio (Vita, 132 *seq.*). The *Memorial to Gregory XIII. of January, 1578, concerning the method and manner in which the meetings at the Oratory had been held for 20 years, in App. n. 13

[3] See Capecelatro, p. 144; Tacchi Venturi, I., 260. *Cf.* the letter of Giovenale Ancina of May 28, 1576, in Barnabeo, c. 7, n. 91; Acta Sanct., n. 535; Sonzonio, l. 1, c. 14, n. 8, p. 61.

The importance of the Oratory for the moral regeneration of Rome lay especially in the fact that a chosen number of pious and eminently intellectual laymen[1] were thus instructed in the interior life and given a deep understanding of Christianity, and that they afterwards, each in his own surroundings, spread the lessons they had learned from Philip and gave them effect. It was a lay apostolate that St. Philip instituted, and the Oratory was to serve as the instrument for carrying his ideas to every class of the people.

On feast days the circle of his hearers was enlarged beyond those who took part in the ordinary assemblies. In the afternoon there was only one discourse at the Oratory, and then they went out, either to the beautiful site on the heights of S. Onofrio, which was also so dear to Torquato Tasso, whence a splendid panorama of Rome and the surrounding mountains rejoiced the eye,[2] or to the Villa Mattei, whence could be enjoyed a no less beautiful view over the Campagna.[3] When the great heat began Philip chose some church for these meetings; all could take part, and Philip made every effort to attract many people. Generally a short discourse was delivered by a boy, which not infrequently made a deeper impression than the words of the most experienced preacher. The intervals between the discourses were filled with music. These feast day assemblies, which in winter were carried on until the evening and joined to the ordinary exercises, made a very great impression and attracted crowds of people.[4]

Of the discourses delivered at the Oratory naturally none have come down to us, but for that very reason the hymns

[1] " Qui ardentiori studio christianam vitam excolerent " (Baronius, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 263. Philip imposed grave obligations on the habitual frequenters of the Oratory; *cf.* GALLONIO, n. 32; Acta Sanct., n. 467.

[2] An amphitheatre with steps for seats at S. Onofrio is still pointed out to-day as the place where Philip gathered his disciples.

[3] An inscription upon a bench at the south corner of the villa shows the place " where Philip discoursed with his disciples of heavenly things." Picture in KERR, Pippo Buono, p. 78.

[4] BARNABEO, c. 7, n. 88, p. 535.

which remain, and which were there performed are all the more important.[1] Some of these were expressly composed or at any rate adapted for the Oratory, for Philip numbered among his disciples a graceful poet in Agostino Manni (died 1618), and a distinguished composer in Francesco Soto (died 1619). His keen insight, which was able to draw all that was beautiful and noble even from natural means for the purposes of his Oratory, made use of their talents in order to deepen the impression produced by the discourses. Thus the hymns of the Oratory, like the reflection of a mirror, give us back its spirit and its aims, and make it possible for us in later times to give new life to the thoughts with which the preacher then laid before his hearers the vanity of the things of earth, which endure for but a moment, the eternal value of supernatural things, the hatefulness of sin, the horrors of death and of eternal punishment. If this world, it is said for example in a hymn on the beauty of heaven, if this vale of tears, this stormy sea, this battle-field so filled with endless wars, seems to us so beautiful, what one day will heaven be, the dwelling place of peace, the safe haven, the place where the victor will be crowned? Let us then leave this gloomy valley, Christ shows us the way when he tells us to carry the Cross.[2] As this hymn clearly shows, Philip not only

[1] *Cf.* for what follows KNELLER in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.* XLI., (1917), 260 *seqq.*

[2] Se questa valle de miserie piena
Par cosi amena e vaga, hor che fia quella
Beata e bella region di pace
Patria verace?

Se questo tempestoso mar di pianto
È dolce tanto a chi con fragil barca
Errando il varca, qual gioia e conforto
Serà nel porto?

Se grato è il campo ove il crudel nemico
Per odio antico guerra ogn'hor ci move,
Che fia là dove al vincitor si dona
L'alta corona?

sought to fill men with fear of sin, but he had it very much in mind to inflame his disciples to follow Christ in their daily lives, to seek bravely after virtue, to zeal in the service of God, and to this end to kindle in them that courage and resolution which become the soldier of Christ. He that would undertake the fight for heaven is also the subject of these hymns, bidding him take courage and become the true knight of Christ. If he has no courage he turns back at once, or takes to flight at the first alarm. "Thou, O Lord, hast suffered everything for me, and hast died upon the field of battle, but I, on the contrary, can endure neither fire nor scourge for Thee, but tremble at a jest from the lips of a child. Therefore I must again take up, and for ever, my discarded shield."[1]

Deh lasciam dunque questa oscura valle,
Il dritto calle della via smarrita
Christo ne addita, e dice : O pellegrino
Ecco il camino ;

Prendi la croce, e drieto a me t'invia :
Io son la via, io sono il vero duce,
Che ti conduce alla città superna
Di gloria eterna.

[1] Chi vuol seguir la guerra,
Per far del ciel acquisto,
Su, levisi da terra,
Et venga a farsi cavallier di Christo.

Chi non ha cuor, non vada,
Chi teme d'arco o fiomba
Ritornisi per strada,
Che poi non fugga al primo suon di tromba.

Tu dolce mio Signore,
Perch'io non fussi vincto,
Soffristi ogni dolore
E'n campo aperto rimanesti estinto.

Et io per te nè foco
Sopporto, nè flagello :
Ma temo un picciol gioco
De fanciulli, che dican : vello, vello.

Naturally at Christmas and Easter, and on the feasts of the Madonna, the poet would strike another note in order to express the feeling of the solemnity. In a poem intended for the Visitation of Our Lady the poet describes, for example, a chaste and comely virgin climbing the steep mountain paths; he does not dare to praise her because she is more beautiful than the sun and the moon; the flowers and plants smile upon her, the trees bend down their green branches, the wild beasts forget their ferocity; the ripples of the stream in the shady valley murmur, while the birds sweetly sing, "Ave Maria."[1]

All these hymns were composed under Philip's eye, and it is not impossible that some of them were composed by him.

In contrast to the ancient popular hymns which are composed in verse of fixed and regular form,[2] those of the Oratory employ all the various poetical methods of that time, and thus afford a great wealth of different poetical forms. From the

O che grave cordoglio!
Lo scudo che gittai
Hoggi ripigliar voglio,
Ripigliar voglio, e non lasciarlo mai!

[1] Per aspri monti vidi girne lieta
Vergine saggia e bella,
La qual lodar non oso con parole,
Chè di splendor avanza luna e sole.

Ridean intorno a lei l'herbette e i fiori,
Gli alberi d'ogni banda
Chinavan le frondose cime altiere,
Lasciavan l'orgoglio ancor le fiere.

Sentiasi il mormorar delle chiar'onde
Per quelle ombrose valli,
I vaghi augei con dolce melodia
Cantando parean dir: Ave Maria.

[2] Philip knew these poems. An English Catholic, whose acquaintance I made here in Rome in 1901, Mr. Grissell, of Oxford, possessed a copy of the Laude di Frate Jacopone da Todi, in which Philip had written his name with his own hand.

point of view of music they are deserving of the closest attention of the historian. Philip's last years coincide with that period in the history of music which saw the completion of the transition from counterpoint and polyphony to melody, and from the old ecclesiastical chant to the new scale in the major and minor tones. The music of the Oratory was directed entirely along the new paths.

If the gatherings at S. Onofrio on festival days attracted great numbers, the same was true in an even greater degree of another device which Philip had thought of in the religious interests of his beloved Romans. Mindful of the deep impression that he had himself received in his youth by his visits to the seven principal churches of Rome, St. Peter's, the Lateran, St. Mary Major, St. Paul's, St. Lawrence, Holy Cross in Jerusalem, and St. Sebastian, he arranged a public visit to these sanctuaries during one of the days of Carnival, or at Easter-tide. The result showed that this great man had thereby accurately gauged the taste of the Romans. At first only some twenty or thirty companions accompanied him on this pilgrimage, but before long the number of the pilgrims grew to several thousands, and great prelates and even Popes joined the procession.[1] For centuries this public pilgrimage became a favourite devotion of the citizens as well as of strangers who came on pilgrimage to Rome, for it was an exercise in which the most sacred memories of the Redeemer, the apostles and the martyrs, the poetry of a walk in spring time, and a severe spirit of penance were united to innocent recreation, and the devotion of each, shared as it was with so many others, was increased and rekindled again and again. The citizens of Rome especially had once more brought home to them in a sensible way the treasure they possessed in her, when the great procession left the enclosure of the old grey walls in order to go through silent roads, mid gardens and

[1] CAPECELATRO, pp. 146, 287. In the entrance hall of the chapel of St. Isidore on the road to the Seven Churches, the learned Oratorian, Generoso Calenzio, had the following words of Philip Neri engraved : " Sarai sarai e poi ? e poi tutto passa. Paradiso, paradiso."

vineyards, to the basilicas outside the city.[1] That Christian Rome which during the Renaissance had to some extent been thrown into the shade by pagan Rome, now once more came back to the possession of its full rights.

This happy inspiration and these institutions raised Philip to the position of being the apostle of all Rome. He was, moreover, endowed with extraordinary qualities. He knew how to deal with all classes of the population, and in each case to hit upon the subject that would arouse a response, with Cardinals of great lineage, with the nobility, with the sick in the hospitals and with the beggar in the street. The effects he produced, the conviction that he worked miracles,[2] and that he not infrequently read the secrets of men's hearts,[3] gave him an immense reputation. His conspicuous charity, quite disinterested and ready to make every sacrifice for men, as well as the tact with which he could adapt his demands to each one's strength, won for him the confidence of all. His loving and serene nature, far removed from any sort of reserve, and his sound common sense entirely removed any feeling of fear, and made him the favourite of the Romans. Philip had a special power of attracting the young,[4] and he made a quite special use of this in order to build up by their means a new Christian Rome. For them he was ready to make every sacrifice of his time and convenience ; he took them out for walks in the country, he took part in their games, and allowed them to play at ball outside his room ; "so long as they do not sin," he said, "they may chop wood upon my back."[5]

[1] *Cf.* Barbier de Montault, Oeuvres, VI., 31 ; Armellini, La visita delle sette chiese e san Filippo Neri, Rome, 1894 ; Laemmer, Diatriba, 35. F. Hettinger, Aus Welt und Kirche, I., Freiburg, 1897, 60 *seqq.* M. Meschler in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LVIII. (1900), 19 *seqq.*, 153 *seqq.* The periodical *S. Filippo Neri*, A. II. (1922), Nr. 5.

[2] Capecelatro, 222, 398.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 442 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 196 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 201.

In some matters, especially in the struggle against the sensuality of southern countries, he gave them strict rules of conduct, but for the rest he principally wished to see young folk cheerful, and did not desire for them any excessive exercises of piety, but rather fidelity to those which they had undertaken.[1]

If Philip Neri's work was to survive its author, it was necessary that he should establish an association of priests who could carry it on. Philip's humility long resisted any such step, until at length circumstances made him, as it were, against his will, the founder of an Order. As early as 1558[2] a number of priests at S. Girolamo looked upon him as their actual superior. Their number increased when in 1562 ten priests who were living in community, and were serving the church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, asked for him as their head, and the orders of Pius IV. compelled him to accept this title. Philip sent some of his priests to S. Giovanni, among them Baronius, who in 1562 had just received sacerdotal orders; for ten years these came three times a day to St. Philip and to the exercises of the Oratory at S. Girolamo, until in 1574 the Florentines built them an oratory of their own in their church.[3] At S. Giovanni Philip's disciples served in turn in the kitchen, each one for a week; it was at that time that Baronius, in the joyful alacrity of his humility, perpetuated his name with the inscription written upon the fire-place in the kitchen: "Caesar Baronius coquus perpetuus" (cook for ever).[4]

[1] *Cf.* his "Documenti spirituali diretti specialmente alla gioventù," in BACCI.

[2] The inscription in the house of S. Girolamo della Carità, where Philip lived, mentions this year; see CALENZIO, 32.

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 221 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 191. CALENZIO, 86. In the refectory at San Giovanni there are still the tables along the benches fastened to the walls, at which Philip ate with his disciples. The pulpit, too, from which he preached to the people has been taken there from the church. *Cf.* DE WAAL, Roma Sacra, 465. A picture in the very rare periodical *San Filippo Neri*, Rome, 1894, 15-16.

In the meantime the number of priests among Philip's disciples had sensibly increased.[1] Their master still had no idea of gathering them together in the form of a congregation, when an unpleasant incident convinced him of the necessity of such a step.[2] A priest had been received into the house at S. Giovanni, but on account of his unsuitableness had been dismissed; in revenge he spread such calumnies against Philip and his followers that the Florentines in Rome were on the point of driving him out of S. Giovanni. From this it was easy to see on what insecure foundations he was building so long as he had not a house and church which he could call his own. Yielding to the insistence of his disciples Philip decided to accept one of two churches which were offered to him. Gregory XIII. himself decided the choice in favour of S. Maria in Vallicella.[3] The brief of July 27th, 1575, which granted this church with all its rights and revenues to Philip and his disciples is the foundation document of the Congregation of the Oratory.[4] Instead of restoring the small and ruined church Philip had it pulled down and erected in its place a larger and more beautiful one which has been called, down to our own times, the Chiesa Nuova.[5] In January 1578 the Congregation numbered, with priests and lay-brothers, thirty-eight persons in all.[6] Baronius moved to the Vallicella with Francesco Maria Tarugi and Giovanni Antonio Lucci as early as August 1st, 1578,[7] but Philip only took up his abode in the new house

[1] According to CAPECELATRO (p. 263) as many as 100.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 264.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 277.

[4] Bull. Rom., VIII., 541 *seqq.* A *brief of July, 1577, "pro Congregatione presbyterorum S. Mariae in Vallicella de Urbe (donatio vineae cum domo et canneto)" in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* also more fully, Vol. XX. of this work.

[6] CAPECELATRO (p. 263) gives 130; on the other hand, a manuscript *Elenco dei membri della Congregazione of January, 1578, only gives 38 (Papal Secret Archives; see App. n. 13).

[7] He says so in a letter to his father of August 14, 1578, in CALENZIO, 148.

on November 22nd, 1583, by the advice of Gregory XIII. He chose for himself the worst rooms.[1]

The new congregation, by Philip's wish, was not to be a religious Order, nor was it ever to become one. Its members —The Fathers of S. Maria della Vallicella—as they were called,[2] were bound by no vow; they remained secular priests, and retained their own property, from which, following the example of the first Christians, each was to contribute to the common life; as soon as anyone wished to do so he could leave. Charity was to be the sole bond that united the Congregation; it alone compelled the members to obey, just as though they had been united under a vow of obedience, and to live as though they were the members of a regular Order. The Oratorians had no superior-general; an exception

[1] "Piglio le manco bene et manco commode stantie che fossero in casa per poter star piu retirato che potea, ne ci seria venuto senza li fosse stato ordinato da P. Gregorio XIII," says P. Pateri in the *Memorie (Papal Secret Archives) mentioned *supra* p. 182, n. 3. The room in which Philip lived until his death was most lamentably destroyed in a fire. His bed and confessional were saved, and are now to be found in the cloister attached to S. Maria in Vallicella, in a room on the upper floor, the ceiling of which is decorated by a painting by Pietro da Cortona. In its original state has come down to us the small adjoining room which served the saint as a chapel, and with it the altar. On the wall hangs the Byzantine triptych (Mary in the centre, and angels at the sides) which Philip took with him when he visited the sick; there is also preserved the little bell which was rung at his mass there. Many relics of the saint are to be seen in the sacristy of S. Maria in Vallicella, kept in five cupboards. There, besides some clothes (among them the cloak in which he went to see the Pope, and the jacket given him by Pius V.) are his watch, spectacles, wooden spoon, discipline, chalice, bed-crucifix, and, lastly, his death-mask. *Cf.* the pictures in the special number of the *Voce della verità*, 1905, n. 122. Other pictures in the periodical *San Filippo Neri*, Rome, 1894.

[2] *"I padri di S. Maria della Vallicella sono di un vita molto esemplare," wrote Odescalchi on July 1, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

was made in the case of Philip himself when in 1587 he was declared the common father of the whole congregation. Each Oratory is independent of the others and chooses its own superior. The few general principles which regulated the common life of the Oratory were not written down in the lifetime of Philip; that was only done later on, in 1612.[1]

The spreading of his Congregation after the manner of the great Orders had no place in Philip's intentions, yet it took root in several cities of Italy and in one case also in France. In 1575 a first attempt to transplant the Oratory to Milan failed; Cardinal Borromeo had asked for some Oratorians for his diocese. Philip consented, but he soon recalled them when the Cardinal made use of them contrary to Philip's wishes, for visitations and for the examination of his priests.[2] It was only in 1586 that Oratories were established at Naples,[3] at S. Severino, and at Fermo; others followed in 1591 at Camerino, in 1592 at Cotignac in France, and in 1593 at Palermo.[4]

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 362. A. THEINER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 512 *seq.*

[2] CAPECELATRO, p. 291 *seqq.* Borromeo, in a letter addressed to Rome on September 8, 1577, clearly explains the fundamental reason for his divergence of view from Philip. The Oratorians, he wrote, wish their congregation to depend only upon themselves, whereas he, on the other hand, wished everything to be in his own hands ("io desidero che tutto stia nella mia volontà"; CAPACELATRO, p. 295); with this wish of the great Cardinal no General of any Order could be in agreement; this makes us understand how it was that Borromeo at times found himself at issue with other Orders that were by no means in a state of decadence.

[3] *Cf.* the *Memorie lasciate dal P. Pateri, Carpegna, p. 56 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] The Oratorians came to the Low Countries in 1620 (Montaigu) and in 1626 (Douai), to Spain in 1645, to the East Indies in 1650, to Poland in 1665, to Portugal in 1668, to Mexico in 1669, to Brazil in 1671, to Peru in 1686. See the list of Oratories in CAPECELATRO, Vol. II. (Ed. 1882), p. 534; MARCIANO, Memorie historiche della Congreg. dell'Oratorio, Naples, 1693. The Congregation was introduced into Germany by I. G. Seidenbusch,

In spite of a great natural talent for learning as well as for literature, Philip had, for the love of God, in his youth renounced learning and all seeking for the beautiful. He nevertheless, as a grown man, exercised a profound influence in both these respects, and it was his Oratory that afforded him the opportunity. The discourses at the evening meetings were partly undertaken by laymen, who had not sufficient training for the scientific treatment of matters of faith, so it naturally followed that they should have by preference found their subjects in the lives of the saints and the history of the Church. It was his favourite disciple, Cesare Baronius, still a layman and about twenty years old, that Philip ordered every evening to deliver a discourse upon the history of the Church, and he kept him strictly to this subject, even though Baronius himself would have preferred to devote himself to purely religious subjects ;[1] during the course of thirty years Baronius had occasion to go through seven times in all its entirety, that subject in which he was one day to become so learned.[2] In 1568, after ten years of preparation, Philip ordered him to write a history of the Church in answer to the

who had become an Oratorian in Rome in 1675, and then founded Oratories at Aufhausen in Bavaria (confirmed by the Pope in 1695), at Vienna (1702), and at Munich (1707). *Cf.* EBNER, Propst. Joh. Georg Seidenbusch und die Einfuhrung der Kongregation des hl. Philipp Neri in Bayern und Oesterreich, Cologne, 1891. In Ceylon Giuseppe Vaz, who was of Indian birth (died 1711) distinguished himself in difficult times as the missionary of the Oratorians. (Vita by DO REGO, Venice, 1753 ; ZALESKI, Calcutta, 1896 ; *cf.* A. HUONDER, Bannertrager des Kreuzes II., Freiburg, 1915, 180 *seqq.*). In the XIXth century, Newman, afterwards Cardinal, introduced the Oratory in Birmingham and London (1847).

[1] *Cf.* his deposition at the process of canonization of Philip, in CALENZIO, 948.

[2] BARNABEO, Vita Baronii, 40 ; Baronius himself in his thanksgiving to Philip at the beginning of the 8th volume of his Annals, printed in BARNABEO, 54. For the discourses of Baronius at the Oratory see LAEMMER, Analecta, 76.

Centuries of Magdeburg, and inexorably kept the disciple to his subject, although, almost in despair at the imposition of this gigantic task, he resisted it in every way. After Philip's death, Baronius, at the beginning of the eighth volume of his Annals openly declared before all the world that the whole credit for the work of the disciple belonged to his father and master; with his greater insight, Philip had realized the danger which threatened the Church from the Centuries, and had in consequence formulated the idea of a counter attack, and had chosen the hand that was to deliver it, and had combined and incorporated it with the exercises of the Oratory, so that it should never flag.[1] Baronius desired that this confession should be hung as a votive tablet at Philip's shrine, and that by means of the Annals it should find its way throughout the world, so that all readers might recognize and give praise to their "author and architect."[2] This votive tablet of the great scholar may actually be seen to this day on the right hand side of Philip's shrine: above it is shown, in a beautiful miniature, Baronius, who wrote the Annals; underneath there is the long act of thanksgiving taken from the eighth volume of the great history.

Even though Philip may not have had the spirit of prophecy which Baronius attributes to him, he in any case displayed a surprising foresight when he realized the importance of the Centuries, and set himself to their refutation, not as others had done, by polemical writings great and small, but by a work on a grand scale. He well understood the spirit of the

[1] "Eiusdem namque Patris nostri iteratis saepius iussionibus, sumus nos tantum opus aggressi, inviti licet ac renitentes propriisque diffisi viribus; suscepimus tamen tanquam divino parentes imperio, quo quidem ipse adeo opus urgebat, ut siquando nos tantae molis pondere superati, desisteremus a coeptis, stimulis acerrimae reprehensionis impelleret, etc." In BARNABEO, Vita, 55, and in "Caesaris Baronii pro Annalibus ecclesiasticis beato Patri Philippo Nerio gratiarum actio." Annales, VIII., published in BARNABEO, 54.

[2] "amplis notis ipsum praedicet Annalium primum auctorem et architectum." BARNABEO, 57.

times. The Centuries marked a turning point in Protestant theology and polemics; they were beginning to despair of being able to attain success against the ancient Church in the field of dogma, and instead of this were making every effort to make use of history against her, and to show forth its development in the light of a constant departure from the spirit of Christ. Thus, in the second half of the XVIth century, a new tendency came to the fore, especially in spiritual matters. The current of humanism, with its exclusive search for beautiful forms, had gradually lost its force, and a period of philology and archeology, which drew the attention of men towards history and research into antiquity, had begun. It was of great importance that this new tendency should not develop, as humanism had done, along lines that were more or less hostile to the Church. Philip recognized the danger in time. Enthusiasm for the history of the Church was natural to him who, when he had hardly left his childhood's days, had sought a new country in holy Rome with her grand memories, and a further incentive in her catacombs. Thus he was just the man to understand this new tendency, and at the very moment of its birth to press it into the service of the Church.

Just as the gigantic work of Baronius and its vast influence upon the world of history sprang from the spirit of Philip, so in like manner in the world of archeology did the "Columbus of the catacombs," Antonio Bosio (died 1629), owe it to two disciples of Philip[1] that even after his premature death his researches were published and preserved to us. "Among the first," wrote Giovanni Battista de Rossi,[2] "who shed light upon the darkness of the catacombs, special mention must be made of the fathers of the Oratory, who, under the guidance of their holy founder, Philip Neri, showed a love and a special veneration for the Acts of the Martyrs, for the sacred monuments of Rome, and for everything that bore

[1] Severani and Aringhi. A bibliography of the immediate disciples of Philip in CAPECELATRO (ed. of 1882), vol. II., 529 *seqq.*

[2] Roma Sotterranea, I., 12; *cf.* HILGERS, 490.

upon ecclesiastical history." Philip himself was also the founder of the library at the Vallicella, one of the first that was thrown open to public use.

Just as Philip's activities had a great influence upon learning, so was it in the case of one of the fine arts, music. After his death music at once began to embark upon new ways. The polyphonic contrapuntal style, in which all the voices sing together equally, lost ground, and there began the era of the monophonic style, in which one voice alone executes a particular melody while the others only keep up an accompaniment. At the same time a new form of musical art developed, the Cantata, Opera and Oratorio.

Philip looked upon music as a means of raising the heart to God, and therefore very gladly caused songs for various voices to be performed at the meetings of the Oratory. He obtained the services, as director of his music, of a distinguished composer, his fellow-countryman Giovanni Animuccia (died 1569), meastro di capello at St. Peter's, and Palestrina's predecessor in that office. Animuccia composed collections of spiritual laudi on purpose for the Oratory, which were followed by others composed by the Oratorian, Francesco Soto.[1] As Animuccia himself says, in these compositions he sought for a certain simplicity, and it was only after the Oratory of S. Girolamo "by the grace of God and the assistance of distinguished prelates and nobles, had met with an extraordinary development" that he permitted himself a moderate use of the common devices of music.[2] It is a fact that in the later collections there are to be found compositions for six and eight voices, which shows that by that time Philip had at his disposal a full choir.[3] At the meetings at S. Girolamo, which had become so popular, it was inevitable that the kind of singing in use there should have inclined to a simpler style of music, so as to meet the taste of a wide circle of hearers.

[1] *Cf.* KNELLER in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.* XLI. (1917), 249.

[2] HABERL in *Kirchenmusikalischen Jahrbuch*, XVI. (1901), 47. CAPECELATRO,

[3] P. WAGNER in *Kirchenmusikalischen Jarhbuch*, X. (1895), 93.

The marvellous Mass of Pope Marcellus of Palestrina, with its well-known clearness and lucidity, finds its precursor in the works of Animuccia.[1]

Without intending it, Philip also contributed in the matter of music to the formation of a new form of art, the musical Oratorio, which later on, at the hands of Handel, Haydn, Mendelssohn, and more recently of Liszt, Tinel, and Perosi, has been brought to such great perfection. Hitherto the art of music, as far as secular music was concerned, had contented itself with one form alone, the so-called madrigal, choral singing of a purely lyrical character. At the end of the XVIth century the eternal madrigal had become wearisome, and composers had begun to unite several lyrical numbers into one greater work, and thus Opera and Oratorio had come into being. Opera may be defined as the combination of lyrics with drama; a story is acted by the performers who at suitable points give expression to their sentiments in song, whereas on the other hand the musical Oratorio is a combination of lyrics with something of the nature of an epic; a story taken from the Holy Scriptures or legend is told, but then the sentiments of the persons who are telling it are expressed in solos or in chorus, or else the connexion between the events is obtained even without any express narration, and of itself, by means of successive numbers.

At first Philip caused to be performed at the evening meetings of the Oratory sacred hymns, and songs of a purely lyrical character. His disciple, Giovenale Ancina, afterwards Bishop of Saluzzo and the friend of St. Francis de Sales, composed the texts for these laudi in strict accordance with

[1] HABERL, *loc. cit.* 48. That after the death of Animuccia the direction of the music at the Oratory was undertaken by Palestrina is the opinion of Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, 1703, Leonardo Cecconi 1756, Pietro Antonio Petrini, 1795 (in CAPECELATRO, p. 373 *seqq.*). Haberl, however, remarks that he has so far sought in vain for "authentic proofs of this story; at any rate, the name of Palestrina is altogether wanting in the Laude spirituali" (*loc. cit.* 41; *cf.* WAGNER, *ibid.* X. [1895], 51, 95). See KNELLER, *loc. cit.* 477 *seq.*

the narrative of the Holy Scriptures.[1] From this it was but a single step to the performance of these narratives and stories after the manner of the later musical Oratorios. This step was taken in 1619 by the celebrated composer, Giovanni Francesco Anerio,[2] who at the request of the Papal singer Orazio Griffi, set to music the texts which treated of the "gospels and stories from the Holy Scriptures, and the praises of all the saints."[3] In a very significant way Griffi, in his preface to the "Teatro armonico spirituale" of Anerio, apostrophises St. Jerome and Philip Neri, who had now been canonized, in dedicating the book to him: "To thee, St. Jerome, does the honour first belong, since it was in thy house that for thirty-three years the Blessed Philip attained to the greatest heights of sanctity. Thou, too, O Blessed Philip, hast accomplished such heroic labours that the reform of the morals of so many of the faithful was to a great extent begun by thee."[4] Griffi then describes in terms of the highest praise the exercises of the Oratory at San Girolamo and S. Maria in Vallicella, at which he himself had assisted for forty-five years.[5] The new form of musical performances received the

[1] Guido Pasquetti, L'Oratorio musicale in Italia, Florence, 1906. The life of Ancina was written by Bacci, 1671, A. Ferrante, 1856, A. Richard (German translation, Mayence, 1891), C. Bowden (English translation, London, 1891). He was beatified on February 9, 1890.

[2] In his "Teatro armonico spirituale di madrigali a 5, 6, 7 and 8 voci. Concertati con il Basso per l'Organo, Rome, 1619.

[3] Haberl, *loc. cit.* I. (1886), 56.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] The point which has been overlooked by the biographers of Philip, but which is of great importance, runs as follows: "There could not have been an easier or more efficacious means of exciting souls to a perfect love and fear of God than these daily familiar considerations of the hatefulness of sin, of the punishments of hell, of the beauty of holy souls, of eternal happiness; in this way hearts were disposed to penance, urged to the frequent reception of holy communion, and to the performance of works of charity. And this was your work, Blessed Philip, which you carried out

name of Oratorio between the years 1635 and 1640, from the place where it first had been performed.[1] During the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries the musical Oratorio was much in favour with the sons of Philip.[2]

The Congregation of the Oratory was the last of the great institutions which owed their existence to Philip; there then began for him the beautiful sunset of a life that was full of

on behalf of the divine majesty; it was in this way that you founded your Oratory. . . . In order to attain to your zealous ends and to attract sinners by means of sweet recreation to the holy exercises of the Oratory, you made use of music and caused sacred songs to be performed in common; in this way the people were allured by the singing and the sermons to the good of their souls. Some came to the Oratory only for the music, but then became more adaptable and sensible of the spiritual exhortations, and were converted to God with great fervour. As I myself was for 45 years a witness in the two Oratories of Rome of the great effects produced by music, so did I place myself in contact with the celebrated composers I have mentioned so as to make the present collection accessible also for other places where such institutions exist." Griffi became a priest on September 24th, 1594. HABERL, *loc. cit.* (1891), 86.

[1] PASQUETTI, L'Oratorio musicale in Italia, Florence, 1906, Some modern writers contest this application of the name Oratorio. because Philip's places of meeting (Oratories) were quite unsuited for dramatic representations (HERMANN KRETZSCHMAR, Führer durch den Konzertsaal II., 2, Leipzig, 1899, 3). It is, however, admitted by all that Cavalieri composed the Representazione di anima et corpo, written, according to Pasquetti (p. 123), by the Oratorian Agostino Manni, and first produced in the Oratory at the Vallicella in 1600 (KRETZSCHMAR, *loc. cit.*, AMBROS, Gesch. der Musik, IV. [1881], 275-80). Thus it was quite possible that an Oratorio should have been sung at the Vallicella, as an Oratorio has no need of any dramatic setting.

[2] *Cf.* the statistics in *Kirchenmusikal Jahrbuch*, XVI. (1901), 50 *seqq.* The Hamburg Library possesses 22 books of the texts of Oratorios collected by Chrysander, who bears witness to the great activity of the Oratorians during the last thirty years of the XVIIth century. A. SCHERING in *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, for 1903, 10th year (1904), 35.

merit to the highest possible degree. Difficulties, both from within and without, opposition and enemies had not been wanting. He remained for a long time in painful uncertainty whether he would not do better to leave Rome for the Indies, and, following the example of Francis Xavier, devote himself to the missions to the heathen.[1] He had scarcely gone to S. Girolamo when his enemies tried to drive him out, and in the meantime tried to make his life unbearable to him.[2] Under Paul IV., to whom every novelty almost without exception was an object of suspicion, the Cardinal Vicar treated him as an ambitious agitator; for a short time he was forbidden to hear confessions, or to organize his public pilgrimages.[3] This period of painful struggle, of sowing and ploughing was now a thing of the past, and Philip had but to gather in the harvest which he had sown during his years of labour and sorrow. Pius V. had a high opinion of him.[4] Gregory XIII. kissed his hand,[5] as did Charles Borromeo;[6] Gregory XIV. received him with an embrace when he went to pay his respects to the new Pope.[7] Clement VIII., who had been Philip's penitent since his thirtieth year, desired as Pope to see him as often as possible,[8] and at his intercession, and it was by no means the least of the motives which decided him, was persuaded to reconcile Henry IV. to the Church.[9] Leo XI. as Cardinal often visited him, and remained in conversation with him for four or five hours, declaring that his room was to him a Paradise.[10] Among Philip's penitents there were some ten Cardinals,[11] among them Frederic Borro-

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 138 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 117 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 151 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 213.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 276.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 186.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 496.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 511.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 547 *seqq.*
[10] *Ibid.* p. 451.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 465 *seq.*: *cf.* SONZONIO l. 1, c. 21, p. 101 *seqq.*

meo and Cusano, and of the Roman nobility members of the families of the Massimi, Gaetani, Pamphili, Sforza, Crescenzi, Orsini, Odescalchi, Colonna, Frangipani, Vitelleschi and Salviati.[1] How great was his influence among the nobles is shown by the case of Anna Borromeo, sister of the Cardinal and daughter-in-law of the Viceroy of Naples, Marcantonio Colonna. When certain difficulties arose in connexion with the Chiesa Nuova because Cardinal Farnese claimed certain rights over the church, Philip told her that he would not write to her any more nor hear her confessions any longer if she did not take up the matter more warmly than she had hitherto done. Anna showed herself ready to do anything; after her father and mother, she wrote to Cardinal Farnese, she had never experienced any love more deep and sincere than that of Philip; everything of virtue that she possessed she owed to him, and to forfeit his direction would be harder for her than death itself.[2] Among those who were afterwards canonized or beatified, the two founders of Orders, Camillus of Lellis and Giovanni Leonardi of Lucca, were under Philip's direction;[3] Giovenale Ancina was his companion in the Congregation of the Oratory;[4] with Charles Borromeo,[5] the Capuchin, Felix of Cantalice,[6] and the Dominicaness, Catherine de' Ricci,[7] he was united by the closest friendship; the English martyrs were often saluted by Philip, when he met them in the streets, with the words: "Salvete flores martyrum," and sought his blessing before they set out for the bloody scenes of their

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 466 *seq.* SONZONIO, l. 1, c. 22, p. 115 *seqq.*

[2] *Arch. della Soc. Rom. di storia patria*, XXVII. (1904), 488.

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 406 *seqq.*

[4] See *supra*, p.

[5] CAPECELATRO, p. 185 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.* p. 402 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.* p. 181. Her life was written by RAZZI, Lucca, 1894; *cf.* Le lettere di s. Caterina de' Ricci alla famiglia, con la giunta di alcune altre, raccolte da Cesare Guasti, e pubblicate per cura di Al. Gherardi, Florence, 1890; SISTO DA PISA, Lettere inedite di s. Caterina de' Ricci, Florence, 1912. See also REUMONT, Briefe heiliger Italiener, Freiburg, 1877, 251 *seqq.*

labours and trials. Cardinal Cusano declared that he had never known a man who enjoyed such great veneration from both great and small.[1] Until his eightieth year, until his death on May 26th, 1595, he lived, to make use of a beautiful expression of Baronius,[2] not for himself but only for the good of others, for the good of his Romans, and Rome repaid him by giving him her unlimited confidence. As an old man he still remained the apostle of the Eternal City, and his apostolate extended from the Pope down to the smallest urchin in the streets.[3]

No less wonderful than this veneration itself was the fact that, even in the case of those who remained in the closest relationship with Philip for the last ten years, it did not diminish but rather increased until the time of his death. The most surprising examples of this are Baronius and Tarugi: the same was the case with the future Popes, Clement VIII. and Leo XI. His direction of souls, inspired with all the charity and loveableness of his character, had nothing in the least effeminate about it. In the case of those who had but just been converted,[4] he naturally only demanded what was strictly necessary; but if anyone entrusted his direction to him, and had become confirmed in well-doing, he imposed heavy burdens upon him. The brothers of his Oratory disciplined themselves three times a week.[5] When Rome was threatened by Alba in 1556, Francesco Vai, out of fear, did not hesitate to fly from the Eternal City; Philip addressed the severest reproaches to him, in that he who aimed at being a spiritual man, yet feared death instead of seizing upon the

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 456.

[2] 'qui octogenarius nunquam sibi vixit, sed omnium semper utilitati, noctu dieque usaque ad extremum horam." Letter of August 5, 1595, to Giovenale Ancina, in LAEMMER, Diatriba, 82.

[3] Benedict XIII. in 1726 made the feast of St. Philip (May 26) a feast of precept for Rome and its neighbourhood. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1571, n. 173.

[4] CAPECELATRO, p. 107 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 145.

opportunity of dying as a martyr.[1] He spoke in like manner to others.[2] He did not attach great importance to external mortifications;[3] he would have absolutely nothing to do with low spirits,[4] but insisted upon the interior mortification of obstinacy and self-will.[5] This was the explanation of the strange extravagances which he practised himself, and laid upon his disciples, as for example when he went about in the streets of Rome with half his beard shaved off, or smelling a great bunch of broom;[6] when Anna Borromeo knelt down before him in the public street to ask his blessing, he placed his hand upon her head in blessing, but at the same time loosened all her hair,[7] and he ordered Consolini, who had to undergo an examination in order to receive a benefice, to tell the Pope that an examination was not necessary in the case of a man of his education and learning.[8] Similar things in Philip's life are not the expression of eccentricity or of his sense of humour; he wished by these means to destroy in himself and others every trace of human respect and ambition. In this sense he often said: "Anyone who cannot endure the loss of earthly honour for the love of Christ, will never make any progress in the spiritual life."[9]

Baronius, Philip's confessor, bears witness that the saint on his death-bed only regretted that men had esteemed him more than he deserved, for he looked upon himself as a great sinner. When Cardinal Frederic Borromeo brought him viaticum Philip exclaimed aloud: "Lord, I confess that I have never done any good" and for the same reason he pronounced with deep emotion the words: "I am not worthy."[10]

[1] Letter of November 6, 1556, in CAPECELATRO, p. 180 *seq.*
[2] Letter to the nun Maria Tregui, August 30, 1585, *ibid.* p. 557.
[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 234 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 247 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.* p. 237.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 239.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 215.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 503.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 237.
[10] See CALENZIO, 950-1.

In a century so rich in reformers of the Church of every kind and description, Philip holds a place that almost of itself demands that he should be placed in the first rank. Just as, chronologically speaking, he found himself at the end of a long line of reformers in the XVIth century, so, from the spiritual point of view, he forms the very antithesis of that tendency which reached its climax with John Knox ; in his own way he stands alone, as did his Scottish contemporary. He set himself against the "reformers of the north" with a lively realization of the harm that was coming to the Church from that quarter, but at the same time he had the deepest veneration for those primitive Christian times, which they too held up as the prototype of their reform. But with what a differance! Philip Neri never dreamed of undermining the doctrines and institutions of the Church on the pretext of scientific research into Christian antiquity, a thing which at that time was only in its first stages. What he attached importance to was to cultivate in himself and others the spirit of the infant Church, and this spirit, in his opinion, consisted above all in the love of God, which springs from humility and the love of sacrifice, and therefore is capable of being raised to sublime heights. He therefore would have nothing to do with a reform that makes its way like a hurricane, or a storm that launches thunderbolts and blasts the oak trees. He hurled no fiery darts at churches and convents, he poured out no vessels of wrath and indignation upon priests and monks ; the sins of priests did not lead him to despise their office or their state ; on the contrary he thought himself unworthy of the priesthood. When, in the time of Paul IV., public injustice was done him in the Pope's name, it never entered his mind that he might be a prophet sent by God, or that like another Elias he was to go on with his work ; instead of inciting men to rebellion he submitted himself with simple obedience, as docile as a little child. His character and his labours, which, like a bright ray of sunshine, rejoices and warms, were made up of gentleness, goodness, cheerfulness and love which won the hearts of men. He always took humility for his guide, and when his love of God forced him

to take the first steps out of his solitude into the great world, his humility led him in safety through every danger. His public work was begun among the most needy and neglected, and by means which nobody could have called in question. But quite unexpectedly, and almost of itself, the sphere of his activities and his influence continued to grow, until in the time of Gregory XIII. it included the whole of Rome, and at last the whole Church; until Cardinals and Popes, science and art paid him homage,[1] and what is more, thousands venerated

[1] Marble busts of St. Philip Neri are to be seen in Rome, in the atrium of the Hospital of the SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, at S. Girolamo della Carità (by Legros), in the Vallicella Library and at the Villa Albani. The museum at Berlin has a beautiful bust of the saint (n. 277), the work of an unknown sculptor of the XVIth century. Cardinal Bartolini had a bronze bust attributed to Algardi; G. Calenzio afterwards received this from him. For the portrait of Philip, the work of Vecchietto, see Acta Sanct., mai VII., App. 864, n. 38. A painting by Baroccio in the Doria Gallery, Rome, shows Philip Neri as a boy of six (a beautiful reproduction of this in KERR, Pippo Buono). After the death of the saint there was a rivalry among the faithful of all classes to decorate the church where his body rests with paintings and sculptures in marble. In the left-hand aisle the chapel containing the tomb of the "third apostle of Rome" was erected by a noble Florentine, Nero del Nero, in honour of his holy fellow-countryman. The picture over the altar is a mosaic copied from the original painting by Guido Reni preserved in the adjoining house, which was suppressed in 1871; the saint is on his knees before the Madonna. Over the altar in the sacristy was placed the colossal group by Algardi, showing St. Philip with an angel. The pictures on the ceiling, angels with the instruments of the Passion, were executed by Pietro da Cortona. He also painted the beautiful ceiling on the upper floor of the house, St. Philip at the altar. In the inner chapel "altare elegans in elegantiori tabula repraesentat s. Philippum, qui dum ab orationis exercitio oculos retro flectit, Angelum necopinato conspicit in aere, Crucem sibi ostendentem et in Cruce instantes praemonstrantem calamitates. Opus est egregii pictoris, ob oculorum vitio Guercini vulgo appellati." (Acta Sanct., mai VII., App. 864, n. 37).

him as the author of their happiness in time and in eternity. By sacrificing all things, and giving up every thing for the love of God, he reaped his reward a hundredfold. In the eyes of his friends and contemporaries, and in the estimation of posterity he remains an ideal figure, in whom no defect can be discovered.

In the chapel, which once was the room where St. Philip used to say mass " prope aram appensa cernitur alia imago s. Philippi, donum quondam P. Pauli Frigerii, dicere soliti, pictam fuisse a ' Vechietto ' (ita vulgus audit), poenitente olim s. Patris, pictam vero ad vivum e vicino conspectu lineamentorum s. Philippi, ad id patiendum inducti precibus pictoris " (*ibid.* n. 38).

CHAPTER V.

The Jubilee of 1575. The College of Cardinals.

As had been the case with the religious Orders, so too were the lay confraternities favoured by Gregory XIII., who fully realized their beneficial influence.[1] The importance of these bodies, and especially the revival of religious life, were shown in a very impressive way, when the year of Jubilee was celebrated in 1575.

Gregory had been occupied with preparations for the Holy

[1] See in App. n. 30 the *account of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The Bull. Rom., VIII., on p. 50 *seq.* contains the indulgences for the Confraternity of the B. Sacrament; 145 *seq.* for the ancient Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Rome; 177 *seq.* permission for the erection of a confraternity of the B. Sacrament in France; 264 *seq.* the raising of the confraternity at the Campo Santo in Rome to an archconfraternity (*cf.* de Waal, Der Campo Santo der Deutschen in Rom, Freiburg, 1896, 107 *seq.*); 284 *seq.* erection of the archconfraternity for visiting the imprisoned in Rome; privileges for confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the Trastevere; 328 *seq.* erection of the confraternity of St. Catherine of Siena; 365 *seq.* that of the confraternity of St. Joseph at the Pantheon; 369 *seq.* (*cf.* *Avviso di Roma of March 21, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 86, Vatican Library) erection of the confraternity of the SS. Annunziata in the church of the Minerva; 530 *seq.* confirmation of the privileges of the archconfraternity of the SS. Trinità, and 534 *seq.* confirmation of the confraternity of the Bolognese in Rome. For the petition of the confraternity of the Anima see Schmidlin, 402. The confirmation of the "Societas S. Sacramenti in Basilica Vaticana" made by Gregory XIII. in Bull. Vat., III., 117. For the churches of the Roman confraternities at that time see Le cose meravigliose di Roma, Venice, 1575; *cf.* also Forcella, VIII., 217; Lanciani, IV., 62, 66, and Simonetti, Le vie di Roma, Rome, 1898.

Year since 1573, both for Rome and the Papal States, and had restored streets and bridges and accumulated provisions. The price of these was fixed, and any increase of rents was forbidden in Rome.[1] At the same time the authorities were ordered to keep a strict watch over the moral condition of the city.[2] The greater part of these enactments were issued by a special commission of Cardinals appointed in January, 1574.[3] At the consistory of January 8th, 1574, the Pope ordered the priests of Rome and of all Italy to explain the meaning of the year of Jubilee. In what manner this was to be done in the case of the nations outside Italy, and especially in those countries where the schism had taken root, was to be decided by the Cardinals.[4]

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of August 28, September 5 and 11, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 240, 252, 257, Vatican Library; MAFFEI, I., 106; MANNI, 128 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Discorso di Fabio Cancellieri sopra il macinato del a° 1575 se corrisponda alla moltitudine che pare si e convenuta detto anno al Giubileo. Vatic., 9729, p. 110 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* RIERA, 1 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Giov. Batt. Bernerio of January 23, 1574, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See SANTORI, Diario consist., XXV., 217. See the "Trattato delle indulgenze e del giubileo" written by Cosimo Filiarco in Cod. G. 3, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. P. F. LINO, L'anno santo 1575 nel pontif. di N. S. Gregorio XIII. Avvertimenti per ricevere con frutto il Giubileo, Venice, 1574. Numerous guides to Rome were prepared for the use of the pilgrims: L. CONTARINO, Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma, Venice, 1575; the same, L'antichità di Roma, *ibid.* 1575; A. PALLADIO, L'antichità di Roma, *ibid.*, 1575; O. PANVINIO, Le sette chiese principali di Roma, trad. da M. Marco Ant. Lanfranchi, Venice, 1575; M. A. SERRANO, De septem urbis ecclesiis, Rome, 1575; TH. TERTERUS, Roma sancta, Rome, 1575. MANNI (149 *seq.*) enumerates other works of a like nature. Cod. Barb. XXIX. 47 contains: *"De iubilaei institutione eiusque caeremoniis ad Poloniam universam libellus Iulii Roscii Hortini, 1575, Vatican Library." *Ibid.* Vat. 7424, ANGELO CARDUCCI, *La pianta della meta del s. Giubileo et Anno santo 1575 detta di salute

The edict proclaiming the year of Jubilee, which was to begin at Christmas, 1574, is dated May 10th of that year.[1] A plenary indulgence, that is to say remission before God and the Church of the temporal punishment remaining after the pardon of sin and eternal punishment, was promised to all who within a specified time (30 days for the Romans, and 15 for foreigners) visited the four principal churches of Rome, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Mary Major's and the Lateran, and who confessed their sins with true repentance. The promulgation took place on May 20th, the feast of the Ascension, and again on December 19th, 1574, the fourth Sunday of Advent.[2] This promulgation of the Jubilee, which was introduced by Gregory XIII., and has always been observed since then, has a deep symbolical significance. The day that commemorates the Ascension of Our Lord is intended to remind us that by means of the great Jubilee indulgence the gates of Paradise are opened to repentant sinners ; the last Sunday of Advent shows that the Church has taken the place of the Synagogue, and the new year of Jubilee that of the old year.[3] A bull published in November declared that during the Holy Year, with a few exceptions, all other indulgences were suspended.[4] Briefs for the promulgation of the Jubilee were sent to all the bishops of Christendom, and the Catholic princes each re-

eterna, dedicated to Gregory XIII. Cod. F. 32 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, contains : "LAZARUS ABRAE VITERBIENSIS (phisicus hebraeus), *Tractatus de anno iubilaei oblatus Gregorio XIII.

[1] See Arm. 13, caps. 10, n. 1 of the Papal Secret Archives. A printed work of A. Bladus in the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[2] See the *report of Luigi Rogna, dated Rome, May 21, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* ALFANI, 328 *seq.* ; MANNI, 130, and the monograph of MACSWINEY mentioned *infra*, p. 202, n. 1

[3] See NÖTHEN, Gesch. aller Jubeljahre, Ratisbon, 1875, 107 *seq.*

[4] See ALFANI, 331 *seq.* ; MANNI, 131 *seq.* ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, ed. by SCHELLASS, IV., 304, n. 3.

ceived a special letter inviting him to participate in it.[1] The amusements of the Carnival were prohibited during the Holy Year,[2] and the Pope expressed the wish that the money which would have been spent upon these by the Conservatori should be devoted to pious purposes.[3] During the year of Jubilee Rome must prove herself indeed the holy city, and to this end the Cardinals were earnestly exhorted to set a worthy example.[4] It was said in September, 1574, that the foreign Cardinals would be summoned to Rome in order to take counsel for far-reaching measures of reform.[5] Gregory attached great importance to the presence of Charles Borromeo, who, to quiet his scruples of conscience, received special permission to absent himself from his diocese. Before he set out he issued for the instruction of his flock a beautiful pastoral upon the Jubilee indulgence, in which, with quotations from St. John Chrysostom, he extols the tomb of St. Peter. Borromeo left Milan on December 8th, travelling as a simple pilgrim and penitent. In spite of the inconveniences of the journey and the severe weather, he omitted neither his fasts nor his meditations. Even though he had travelled all through the night he offered the sacrifice of the holy mass in the morning. In Rome, which he reached on December 21st, 1574, he lodged with the Carthusians at S. Maria degli Angeli.[6] In addition to his fervent visits to the sanctuaries, he made use of his stay in

[1] See THEINER, I., 269; *Nuntiaturberichte*, ed. by SCHELLASS, IV., 59, n. 3, *cf.* p. cviii.

[2] See Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *report of Cusano of February 5, 1575. State Archives Vienna.

[4] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 249. At the same time the prohibition to the Cardinals to use carriages was renewed. They were to appear on horseback only in a " cavalcata solenne " (see the picture in THURSTON, 89).

[5] Burali, Borromeo and Paleotto were thinking of the most serious reforms, says an *Avviso di Roma of September 25, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 243, Vatican Library.

[6] See SALA, Docum. I., 294 *seq.*, III., 560 *seq.*; SYLVAIN, II., 112 *seq.*

Rome to obtain approval for various important measures of reform.[1]

On the vigil of Christmas, Gregory XIII., with the customary great solemnities, performed the ceremony of the opening of the Holy Door at St. Peter's. A treatise by Gianbattista Cavalieri has preserved for us a picture of the imposing ceremony.[2] Cardinals Morone, Colonna and Sforza carried out the same ceremony at St. Paul's, the Lateran and St. Mary Major's.[3] At the function at St. Peter's, in the midst of so great a concourse of people that six persons were crushed to death, there were present two young German princes: the young Duke Ernest of Bavaria, who had been staying for a long time in Rome,[4] and the hereditary prince of Cleves, Charles Frederick, who had arrived there on December 16th. During the first days of the new year he received the blessed sword and hat from the Pope, a gift of honour which was ordinarily only

[1] See BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 3, p. 67b, l. 4, p. 70a.

[2] Good examples in the Casanatense Library, Rome and in the collection of wood engravings at the Corsini Palace, reproductions in HERMANIN, Die Stadt Rom., 1911, tav. 44. For the coins and medals of the Jubilee see BONANNI, I., 331 *seq.*, and SERAFINI, II., 5, 27.

[3] See Mucantius in ALFANI, 333 *seq.*; RIERA, 4b *seq.*, THURSTON, 88 *seq.* A *letter of Hortensi Tyriacensis to Duke William, dated Rome, December 24, 1574, State Archives, Munich; *report of Cusano of January 1, 1575, State Archives, Vienna, and the description of the journey to Rome by J. Rabus in Cod. Germ. 1280, p. 49, of the Royal Library, Munich. *Cf.* PRINCIVALLI, Gli anni santi, Rome, 1889, 65 *seq.*, and also the remarks of MACSWINEY (21 *seq.*) in the monograph quoted *infra*, p. 202, n. 1; also the *Predica inanzi Gregorio XIII. per l'apertura della porta santa, by TOLEDO, in Cod. 5628, p. 314 *seq.* of the Court Library, Vienna.

[4] For Ernest's journey to Rome, whose flight caused the Curia much anxiety, see MUTINELLI, I., 110 *seq.*; LOSSEN, I., 334 *seq.* *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte* ed. by Schellass, III., LXXII. *seq.*, and the same in *Quellen und Forschungen des Preussischen Instituts*, X., 325 *seq.*

bestowed upon kings and emperors.[1] It was thought that Gregory bestowed these and other honours in order to bring influence to bear, through Charles Frederick, upon the conversion of the Protestant princes.[2] Great results in the interests of the Catholics in Germany were looked for from the piety shown by the hereditary prince of Cleves. The Pope was therefore all the more grieved when this young man, who gave such promise, fell sick of smallpox, and died on February 9th, 1575. Gregory XIII. ordered that he should be buried with every mark of honour, and with the greatest pomp. He expended 3000 ducats for this purpose. Charles Frederick was buried in the German national church of the Anima.[5] In the choir, before the mausoleum of Adrian VI., a richly sculptured monument was erected to him, the work of Gilles van den Vliete and Nicola Pippa, the relief on which represents the Last Judgment with the prince on his knees ; a second relief, originally connected with the former, and representing the conferring of the blessed sword, has recently been placed at the entrance to the sacristy.[4]

[1] See the detailed and beautiful monograph by MacSwiney of Mashanaglass, L'Epée et le Chapeau ducal donnés par Grégoire XIII. en 1575 a Charles Frédéric, Prince de Cléves et Juliers, Rome, 1900.

[2] See the *report of Cusano of January 8, 1575, State Archives, Vienna, and the *Avviso di Roma quoted by Schmidlin, 335. For similar hopes see Vol. XX. chapters on Germany.

[3] See Schmidlin, 335 *seq.* To the authorities quoted there in great detail may be added the *report of Cusano of February 12, 1575, State Archives, Vienna ; the *Avviso di Roma of February 12, 1575, in the reports of A. de' Medici in the State Archives, Florence. Med. 3292 ; *cf.* also the *letter of Hortensi Tyriacensis to Duke William V., dated Rome, February 12, 1575, State Archives, Munich ; J. Rabus, *Romreise 1575, in Cod. 1280, p. 213 *seq.* Court Library, Munich, and the *report of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, dated Rome, February 12, 1575, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. Ferd. 83.

[4] See Bergner, 86 ; Schmidlin, 340 ; Lohninger, S. Mari dell'Anima, 88 ; Forcella, III., 466 ; Grävenitz, 124 ; Noack, Deutsches Rom. (1912), 24.

From the beginning of the Jubilee Gregory XIII. set a shining example by his sincere piety. He made the prescribed pilgrimages to the four basilicas first on January 3rd, again during the Carnival on February 14th, during Holy Week on March 28th, and finally on December 7th, 22nd, and 23rd. It made a deep impression when, in spite of his advanced age, he went up the Scala Santa on his knees, and went on foot from the Porta S. Paolo to the Ostian basilica.[1] Throughout the year he was unwearied in taking part in all the religious solemnities,[2] and especially in giving audiences, to which he often devoted four hours a day. On May 21st he received 600 Augustinians who had come for their general chapter, on September 23rd 300 Capuchins, and on the previous day 800 Franciscan Observants, who had also come to Rome for their general chapter.[3] The Cardinals followed the pious example of the Pope, and among them Montalto and Borromeo especially edified the Romans by their devotion.[4]

All the accounts agree in saying that the number of pilgrims who visited the tombs of the apostles during the Holy Year was extraordinarily great. It was calculated that there were

[1] See the *report of Cusano of January 8, 1575, State Archives, Vienna. *Bull. de l'Instit. Belge a Rome*, Rome, 1919, 299 *seq.* Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives; *Avviso di Roma of January 8, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 332, Vatican Library; MANNI, 135 *seq.*

[2] The effect of the exertion of the procession of Corpus Domini upon him is related by Odescalchi in his *report of June 4, 1575. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. How Gregory XIII. visited St. Peter's on every Friday in March is described by *Rabus, *loc. cit.* p. 215 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of May 7, and 11, 1575, Urb. 1044, pp. 428-436, Vatican Library: Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives; RIERA, 66; *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; P. Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 109; MANNI, 145. According to the *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1575, the Pope himself heard confessions for the absolution of reserved cases. Urb. 1044, p. 428, Vatican Library.

[4] See MANNI, 136 *seq.*; NÖTHEN, Jubeljahre, 108 *seq.*; SYLVAIN II., 120.

altogether more than 400,000.[1] In order to provide for the maintenance of this great number of people, the time for the sojourn of the pilgrims was reduced from thirty days to five.[2] The faithful came, not only from all Italy but also from the other countries of Europe, men and women, rich and poor, while some even came from the East.[3] Especially great were the crowds that came from the diocese of Milan and from the States of the Church, and often the entire population of certain places with their bishop and clergy at their head set out in pilgrimage for the Eternal City.[4] With a long staff in their hand, a broad brimmed hat, and their pilgrim

[1] See the *report in THEINER, II., 449. 150,000 persons, or according to others, 200,000, were present at the closure. *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 300; SANTORI, Diario concist. XXV., 94-95. In 1575 in St. Peter's alone 354,400 communions were given and 47,000 masses said; see CERRATI, T. Alpharani de Basil. Vat. liber. p. 164.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of January 1, 1575, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *" Non paucos Germania et Polonia, multos Gallia, plurimos Hispania misit, nonnullos Graecia, Armenia utraque India," says G. FERRERI in his Vita Gregorii XIII. c. 5, Papal Secret Archives *cf.* App. n. 25.

[4] See the *letter of Hortensii Tyriacensis to Duke William V., dated Rome, December 25, 1574, State Archives, Munich, the *reports of Odescalchi of April 2, 9, 23, 30, and May 14 and 21, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; P. TIEPOLO, 214, and MUTINELLI, I., 109; THEINER, II., 449; RIERA, 18b *seq.*, 70 *seq.*; PIENTINI, 64 *seq.* and the *Avvisi di Roma of March 26, April 2, 23 and 30, May 11, 14 and 28, October 15 and December 24, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 378, 390, 410b, 415, 441b, 452-3, 583b, 653, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 331, where an account is given of the German pilgrims to Rome; THEINER, II., 2 *seq.* For the pilgrims from Bologna *cf.* CANCELLIERI, Notizie d. chiesa S. Maria in Julia, Rome, 1823, 5 *seq.* A German description of the sanctuaries in Rome in the year 1575, by Dr. Jakob Rabus in the account of his *Romreise in Cod. Germ. 1280, of the Court Library, Munich, and Cod. XI., 562, of the monastery of St. Florian. For the pilgrims from Faenza *cf.* Marcello Valgimigli, Notiz. stor., Faenza Library.

shell on their shoulder, those who took part in the Jubilee went along their way in their varied dress, singing and praying, with crosses, banners great and small, and sacred images. Side by side with the Lombards were to be seen the Tuscans, Neapolitans, Romagnoli, Umbrians, and the natives of the Sabine hills and from the Abruzzi. The order observed was always as follows: first came the confraternities, in their penitential dress of sackcloth, with cloaks of white, black, red or blue, with their banners, then the rest of the men according to their parishes, then the clergy, the civic authorities, the leading citizens, and lastly the women. The procession was brought to an end with the carriages and carts, the beasts of burden and the baggage. At the gates of the city the pilgrims were received with music by their friends and acquaintances, and by the Roman confraternities, whom Gregory XIII. had attached to the service of strangers.[1] They were taken first to St. Peter's, and then to their lodgings, where the various confraternities saw to their maintenance. In front of the Roman confraternities there were to be seen for the most part bands of children dressed as angels with olive branches in their hands.[2] In thanksgiving these strangers left to the various churches gifts of chalices, candles, and vestments, and very often banners and standards. The greater number of gifts of this kind were made to the Confraternity of the SS. Trinità. There were to be seen banners from Mantua, Ferrara, Casalmaggiore, Codogno, Sulmona, S. Germano, Pontecorvo, Matelica and Castel Gandolfo.[3]

[1] See the *Avviso di Roma of March 26, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 378, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PIENTINI, 114 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.* 318 *seq.* a list of the foreign confraternities which joined those of Rome during the Holy Year. F. CROSTAROSA, I pellegrini in Rome nei passati giubilei,[2] Rome, 1900, follows Pientini in everything, without giving any new information.

[2] See RIERA, 15b *seq.*, 44b *seq.*, 64 *seq.*

[3] See PIENTINI, 311 *seq.*, 315 *seq.* *Cf.* the *Relazione del recivimento et alloggio fatto dalla ven. archiconfrat. delle s. stimate di S. Francesco di Roma alle compagnie forestiere aggregate alla med^{ma} l'a^{o} del s. giubileo 1575, descrit tada Fr. Ant. Maria Lanciani, Cod. Barb. L. 97, Vatican Library.

A contemporary states that during the month of May every morning there passed through the Strada dei Banchi on their way to St. Peter's from eight to ten thousand members of Italian confraternities, to whom were joined many other pilgrims and strangers.[1] Some of these processions, such as the procession of penance from S. Pietro di Galatina, near Otranto,[2] and that from S. Genesio in the Marches, attracted general attention.[3]

The procession of the pilgrims from S. Genesio, which was met by the celebrated and ancient Confraternity of the Gonfalone, is thus described:[4] the head of the procession was formed by a body of penitents following a large crucifix, and disciplining themselves. To these were attached members of the confraternities of the Blessed Virgin, the SS. Trinità, and the Most Holy Sacrament; all were bare-footed and with ashes sprinkled upon their heads, and wore their white, black and blue habits. Then followed allegorical tableaux of the old and new Testaments, and of the Church. In appropriate costume, and bearing their symbols, were to be seen the archangel Michael in splendid armour, and with the sword and scales in his hands, Adam and Eve with the apple, Noe with the Ark, Isaac with the wood for the sacrifice, Abraham with the knife of sacrifice, Melchisedech in the dress of the high priest, Jacob dressed as an oriental prince with a ladder, Job covered with wounds, Moses dressed in gold with the tables of the law, Aaron dressed as a priest with a thurible, Josue in armour with a representation of the sun, Gedeon in a cuirass with a trumpet, Samson with the bronze gates of the city, David with the head of Goliath, Raphael leading Tobias, Esdras with a white infula and a silver cup in his hand, Isaias dressed all in red, Amos dressed as a shepherd, Judith with

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of May 14, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 441b, Vatican Library.

[2] See ALFANI, 352.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of September 7, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 519b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PIENTINI, 88 *seq.*

[4] See RIERA, 97 *seq.* *Cf.* SALVI, Una processione allegorica di Sangenesini nel 1575, in *Le Marche*, VII., 5-6.

the head of Holofernes, Jeremias in a long red robe, Macchabeus with the head and arm of Nicanor. Ten little children represented the infants slain by Herod, and John the Baptist carried a cross of reed with the inscription: "Behold the Lamb of God." With him were the four Evangelists with books in their hands, accompanied by the Doctors of the Church: Gregory in white pontifical vestments, Jerome in the red robes of a Cardinal, Ambrose and Augustine dressed as bishops. The procession was brought to an end with a car representing the triumph of the Church, which apparently moved by itself. It consisted of the Ark of Noe adorned with allegorical figures and other symbols intended to represent the universal Church. On the summit of the car was to be seen Gregory XIII,. with an orb in his left hand, and the right hand raised in blessing, and at his feet the figure of Prudence, with Justice on one side with the scales in her hand, and Charity on the other with three little children. The pictures on the Ark of Noe represented, on the right Gregory VII. receiving the penitent Henry IV., and on the left Gregory IV. as the restorer of peace. Two angels carried the following inscription from the inhabitants of S. Genesio: "The Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, ruled for many centuries by the holy fathers, enlightened and spread by the doctrine and wonderful virtue of twelve Popes who bore the name of Gregory, and now, under the thirteenth of that name, full of righteousness and blessedness, happy and triumphant." In the children's processions, too, organized by the Brothers of Christian Doctrine in Rome, were to be seen allegorical representations from the New and the Old Testaments.[1] The procession from Faenza attracted much notice, and gave an opportunity to those who took part in it to remove the bad impression given in the days of Pius V.,[2] by the spread there of Protestant principles.[3] In other processions, as for example

[1] See RIERA, 81b. For the allegorical representations by the pilgrims of Terni see *ibid.* 76 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 313.

[3] *Cf.* LANZONI in *Bollett. dioces. di Faenza*, IV. (1917), p. 10, p. 151 *seq.*

those from Perugia, Brescia and Lucca, the great number of the nobility who took part excited general wonder ;[1] all gave much edification by their sincere piety. Great compassion was aroused by the procession of the poor, the beggars, the blind and the cripples of Rome, whose pilgrimage the Pope had reduced to a single day.[2] Among the foreigners the Countess of Arenberg excited admiration by her deep piety.[3] The father of Guido Reni and two celebrated poets, Battista Guarini and Torquato Tasso, also visited the sanctuaries of Rome during 1575.[4]

Several of the pilgrims took back to their own countries as a precious memorial the plan drawn by Antonio Lafreri, which had served as their guide in their visits to the principal churches. In this the sanctuaries were shown in the prescribed order, as they had been visited by the Pope, followed by the citizens, ecclesiastics, members of the court, and armed men. Without the recent additions, there are representations of St. Paul's outside the Walls, St. Peter's, St. Mary Major's, St. John Lateran, St. Sebastian on the Appian Way, Santa Croce and St. Lawrence outside the Walls. In front of each of these basilicas there is a gigantic image of the titular saint whom the pilgrims are venerating on their knees.[5]

The foreign pilgrims wondered, not only at the riches of the Eternal City, in her churches and relics, but also at the great number of the religious and of the pious confraternities. At the solemn processions and at the customary functions they were given an opportunity of realizing how fully the life of the religious Orders and the other ecclesiastical bodies had been

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of May 28, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 453b, Vatican Library ; P. Tiepolo in Mutinelli, I., 110 ; Riera, 114.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 410b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Riera, 85.

[4] See Manni, 140 ; Prinzivalli, T. Tasso a Roma, Rome, 1895, 20 *seq.*

[5] See Hermann, Die Stadt Rom im 15 und 16 Jahrhundert, Leipzig, 1911.

developed in the capital of Christendom. Besides the Benedictines, Augustinians, Carmelites and Trinitarians, there were to be seen Dominicans, Franciscans, Minims, Servites, Hieronimites, and the new Orders, Theatines, Barnabites, Capuchins and Jesuits. An even more impressive spectacle was afforded by the lay confraternities which later on so much astonished Montaigne.[1] They were distinguished by the colour of their sack-like habits. Black was worn by the company della Morte and by that of the SS. Crocifisso, yellow by the Bergamaschi and the brothers of S. Maria del Pianto, red by the confraternity of the SS. Trinità for convalescents, blue by those of S. Giuliano, S. Maria dell' Orto and St. Joseph, white by those of St. Catherine of Siena, S. Maria di Loreto, the confraternity of the Genoese and the Neapolitans of S. Spirito, as well as the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament of S. Lorenzo in Damaso and S. Giacomo in Borgo, and green by those of St. Rocco. The five noble confraternities of S. Maria della Consolazione, S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, S. Angelo in Borgo, S. Maria Annunziata and the Gonfalone had no special dress.[2] Three thousand members of the confraternity of the SS. Trinità were to be seen in the procession on Maundy Thursday.[3]

The generosity of Gregory XIII. as well as his piety was shown in a striking manner during the year of Jubilee. The pilgrims were assisted in every possible way, and the steps that had been taken for the maintenance of many thousands proved so effectual that, in spite of the vast concourse, there was no scarcity.[4] Plentiful provision was also made for the spiritual needs of the pilgrims. In all the churches, especially the parish churches, the Pope had appointed a sufficient

[1] See MONTAIGNE, II., 37 *seq.*, *cf.* 5.

[2] See Mucantius, Diarium, in THEINER, II., 16. *Cf.* also RIERA, 102 *seq.*, and PIENTINI, 230 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi of April 2, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *report of Odescalchi of March 26, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; MANNI, 144.

number of learned and exemplary confessors.[1] Celebrated preachers everywhere proclaimed the word of God, while with burning words they made the city resound with their discourses on virtue and vice, on penance and punishment. The pilgrims also preached, as was the case with the Bishop of Aleria, Alessandro Sauli,[2] who was so highly esteemed by Philip Neri, and who by his self-sacrificing labours had won for himself the name of the Apostle of Corsica.[3]

The efforts of Gregory XIII, which were also continued in the years that followed, to secure the complete submission of the Romans to the truths of the faith, had the result that, under the influence of the Catholic restoration, sacred oratory received a new impulse.[4] The most celebrated preachers were the Jesuit, Francesco de Toledo, the Capuchin, Alfonso Lupo, and the Minorite, Porro Francesco Panigarola; the two first named were Spaniards, while Panigarola was a native of Milan.[5]

[1] At last it was ordered, in order to provide opportunity for confessions, that the churches should be kept open until midnight. See *Avvisi di Roma of December 21, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 648, Vatican Library.

[2] See MANNI, 147 *seq.*; the Franciscan Cornelio Mussi, who had already made his name as a preacher at the Council of Trent, had died in 1574; see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 358. *Report of Odescalchi of January 12, 1574. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; HURTER, I., 31.

[3] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 237.

[4] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 251 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*

[5] *"Continuano li 3 predicatori con la solita dottrina et facondia onde è nato il motto bellessimo da S.S.: Toletus docet, Panicarola delectat et Lupus movet." *Avviso di Roma of March 23, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 256, Vatican Library. An *Avviso di Roma of February 15, 1578, also makes mention of Giovanni di Napoli (S. Spirito) and Marcellino (S. Lorenzo in Damaso) *ibid.* 1046, p. 35, where further details were given of a procession of penance led by A. Lupo. An *Avviso di Roma of December 2, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 436, Vatican Library, tells of the extraordinary crowds at the Advent sermons of Panigarola at the Araceli. For Panigarola himself *cf.* I. NICII ERYTHRAEI Pinacotheca, I., 81 *seq.*;

The zeal of the clergy and the Pope produced abundant fruits, which was to be seen in the clearest way in the careful and frequent attendance of the pilgrims at the sacraments of penance and of the altar.[1] Sixteen confessors were occupied every day at the Araceli ; the Jesuits had to remain in the confessional until night-fall.[2] Contemporaries tell us of the restitution of ill-gotten goods, of the giving up of concubines, of surprising cases of the conversion of heretics and of foreign schismatics,[3] and above all of generous works of charity.

In spite of the arrangements made by the Pope, the extraordinarily large number of the pilgrims afforded a wide field for the generosity of the Romans, and Rome justified her ancient name for hospitality and kindness in a striking way. The work which Philip Neri had prepared with unwearied labour during many years now produced fruit a hundred-fold. Nobles and citizens vied with each other in works of Christian charity. Carlo Muti gratuitously maintained nine hundred peasants from his estates for three days, and he himself accompanied them on their pilgrimage.[4] We are told of a noble Roman lady that every day throughout the Holy Year she lodged ninety women pilgrims, and herself washed their feet.

Freib. Kirchenlex., IX., 1329 *seq.* ; KEPPLER in the *Tüb. Quartalschrift*, 1892, 91, as well as his praises in the *Avviso di Roma of February 15, 1584. Urb. 1052, p. 57, *loc. cit.* The sermons on the indulgence delivered by Dr. J. Rabus on Palm Sunday, 1575, at the German Campo Santo in Rome, was included by him in the *Reisebeschreibung of Cod. Germ. 1280, p. 235 *seq.*, Court Library, Munich. MONTAIGNE too (II., 31) makes mention of the best preachers in Rome, and especially the Jesuits.

[1] See also the testimony of Gregory XIII. in SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 74.

[2] See RIERA, 66 *seq.*

[3] *" Per l'esempio di tante opere sante che si fanno in Roma sono tornati spontaneamente alla fede christiana alcuni Trasmontani ch' erano da quella per loro errori molto lontani," says the *Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 411b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the account in THEINER, II., 451, and RIERA, 25, 59. MANNI gives a list of names, 142 *seq.*

[4] See RIERA, 26.

Other Roman ladies pledged their jewels in order to be able to assist the pilgrims.[1] While the national hospices undertook the care of their countrymen, and the confraternities of the similar associations from outside which were affiliated to them, the confraternity of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini founded by St. Philip received without distinction all who came on pilgrimage to Rome; sometimes it was called upon in a single day to provide for from seven to eight thousand pilgrims,[2] yet there was always perfect order and no scarcity. This was owing above all to the Pope who had told the heads of the confraternity that if they were in need of anything they were to go to him.[3] But the Romans as well, and above all Marcantonio Colonna, Paolo Giordano Orsini and other nobles subsidized the confraternity so generously that the contributions which arrived were always in excess of the demand. In this way the institution, during the year of Jubilee, was enabled to house and maintain in all 144,913 pilgrims, each for three days. To these must be added 21,000 poor convalescents for whom the confraternity also provided.[4]

[1] See ALFANI, 353 *seq.*

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 46, whose account is based upon the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome). The *Avviso di Roma of May 28, 1575, which certainly exaggerates, gives 12,000 for the previous Saturday. Urb. 1044, p. 450, Vatican Library. *Cf. supra* p. 167.

[3] *" Il Papa ha fatto intendere a ministri dell' hospitale della Trinità che mancandogli cosa alcuna per sostentamento de' peregrini mandana a pigliar a Palazzo." Urb. 1044, p. 450, Vatican Library.

[4] See the account in THEINER, II., 449, by which the exaggerated estimate of Manni is amended. *Cf.* Mucantius, *Diarium, March 9, 1575, Papal Secret Archives; see the *Avvisi di Roma of March 26, April 2 and 23, May 11 (between Saturday and to-day, Wednesday, 17,076 persons were fed at the Trinità), May 28, 1575 (since Christmas, 120,000 persons have been entertained at the Trinità, each for three days, the list of whom has been presented to the Pope by the Cardinal Protector Medici, and 40,000 scudi have been expended, not including alms; on Saturday there were consumed 10,446 pounds of bread, 14 casks

A splendid example was given to the members by Cardinal Medici, the Protector, by Duke Alessandro Farnese, Paolo Giordano Orsini and other nobles and prelates, who served the pilgrims in person. A similar service of charity was also rendered by the ladies of the great Roman families, in the case of the women pilgrims who were received in a separate building.[1] "It is a most beautiful and touching spectacle," wrote the representative of the Duke of Mantua from Rome on May 21st, 1575, "to see the leading Romans persevering in this service, feeling that they are serving Christ in the person of these pilgrims, as the Gospel says: I was a stranger, etc."[2]

A book with wood engravings which the pilgrims took back to their own countries, represents the works of faith inspired by charity which were to be seen during the Holy Year in Rome, penetrated as it was by the spirit of St. Philip. In the corner are to be seen the four principal basilicas, with bands of pilgrims gathered from all parts, and in the centre an allegorical figure of "Roma Santa," the chalice with the scared host in her right hand, while under her feet she tramples the symbols of conquered paganism. Twelve vignettes surround this figure; each depicts some special work of charity, temporal or spiritual. Thus there are depicted with an explanatory inscription: preaching, prayer, penance, fasting, alms-giving, the comfort of the afflicted, the washing of feet, Christian instruction, the liberation of prisoners, the visiting of the sick, the assistance of pilgrims and the feeding

of wine and one cask of vinegar), Urb. 1044, p. 378, 390, 410b, 453, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Tiepolo, 214 (the unfortunate printer's error "Trinità dei Monti" has been followed by Hübner, I., 74, and by Thurston, 93) and the *report of Odescalchi of April 23 (so far 80,000 pilgrims have been received at the hospice of the SS. Trinità), May 14 (often there are 4, 5, 6 and 7 thousand persons at the SS. Trinità); also in App. n. 11 the *report of April 2, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 390, Vatican Library, and Riera, 28 *seq.*

[2] *Letter of Odescalchi of May 21, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of the poor. The frame-work that encloses these pictures is a river of seven branches which flows from the Holy Spirit, above Whom is seen the Eternal Father. As an inscription upon the river are the words of the Bible: "The stream of the river rejoices the city of God; the Most High hath sanctified his dwelling-place."[1]

The living Christianity which the city of the Popes thus proclaimed during the Holy Year,[2] was rewarded by the fact that Rome remained untouched by the pestilence which in 1575 visited the greater part of Italy.[3] During this terrible tribulation, which was renewed in the following year, the champions of Catholic reform everywhere set the highest example. The bishops, such as Agostino Valiero of Verona, Nicolò Sfondrato of Cremona, Ippolito Rossi of Pavia, were rivalled by the religious Orders, both new and old, in their works of Christian charity, while here too Charles Borromeo above all stands out as the hero of Christian charity.[4]

A year after the Jubilee the great Spanish canonist, Martino Azpilcueta,[5] gave it as his opinion that of all the cities which he had visited in Spain, France and Italy, Rome more than any other gave the impression of a moral revival. "Our Holy

[1] Ps, 45, 5. A very greatly reduced reproduction of the folio, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, London, in THURSTON, 261. In contrast to this may be placed the vulgar caricature by a Protestant "artist," for greater details of which see JANSSEN-PASTOR, VI.[15-16], 43-44.

[2] On the occasion of the extension of the Jubilee in the following year, it was shown, especially at Cremona, what a great change for the better had been brought about by the work of Catholic reform; see *Historia anni iubilaei Cremonae celebr. 1576, Archives of St. Angelo, Arm. 5, caps. 3, n. 16, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See MANNI, 140. PILOT in *Ateneo Veneto*, XXIII., 1 (1903), contributes some verses on the plague of 1575.

[4] See App. n. 32.

[5] Comment. de datis et promissis, summ. 3: Opera II., Cologne, 1616, 191. Azpilcueta died on June 21, 1586; his tomb with a half bust in S. Antonio de' Portoghesi in Rome; see ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, London, 1910, 200.

Father," he says, "has laboured zealously to keep all evil elements far from his city. He has been greatly helped in this by his Cardinals. For many centuries past no Sacred College has been so eminently distinguished for its blamelessness, piety, prudence, righteousness and continence, as well as for every kind of learning." Gregory XIII. had taken an essential part in bringing this about. The strict principles which he had set for his own guidance were shown in all his relations with the College of Cardinals. He showed himself extraordinarily generous towards the members of the supreme senate of the Church, and honoured them in accordance with their dignity,[1] he settled their revenues with great justice,[2] and was most courteous in his dealings with them,[3] yet always safeguarded his own position as their superior, as well as his own independence.[4] He expressed himself with great frankness at the consistories, yet he never took it amiss when they replied with equal outspokenness.[5]

The great spirit of independence shown by Gregory XIII. was, as can easily be understood, ill received by some of the

[1] Cardinal Galli brings this out in his *Memorie, as does C. Speciani in his *Considerationi (both in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome). Galli remarks that Gregory XIII. always gave immediate audience to the Cardinals, and never kept any member of the Sacred College waiting. Cusano *states on May 24, 1572: "S.S^ta del continuo non cessa d'accarezzar li cardinali con farli tutte le gratie sono domandate cosa non faceva Pio V." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *"Distribueva loro le entrate eccles. con molta giustitia et circumspettione, ne diede mai cosa di momento a li dui nepoti suoi cardinali sin tanto che li pareva honestamente accommodato gli altri cardinali poveri." Galli in his *Memorie, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Non è mai mattina che non habbi a mangiar con esso cardinale si che participera dicono in questa parte di Papa Iulio III. che era buono compagno, il quale si recreava a tavola con li cardinali," says Cusano on May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* Guido Ferreri, *Vita Gregorii XIII., Arm. 11, t. 42, p. 304, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See Santori, Autobiografia XIII., 153.

Cardinals, especially by those who for some special reason had built hopes upon their influence.[1] The long duration of the pontificate increased their discontent, the more so as Gregory had a high opinion of the cardinalitial dignity, and consequently never tired of strongly reminding the Cardinals, over and over again in the consistories, of the duties which their high rank imposed upon them.[2]

These warnings were not needed in the case of the Cardinals of the stricter school. Men of this type, and veritable apostles of a true reform in the Church. were Borromeo, Hosius, Sirleto, Morone, Truchsess, Rebiba, Chiesa, Burali, Aldobrandini, Aquaviva, Alciati, Commendone, Santori, Crivelli, Paleotto and Carafa.[3] The changed tendencies of the times and the influence of the example set by the Pope were also shown in the altered manner of life and behaviour of the rest of the Cardinals. The spiritual exercises which were introduced by such a man as Santori, soon found imitators among his colleagues.[4] It is even reported of Mark Sittich in 1582, who for a long time had abandoned himself to worldliness, that he was now leading a much more pious life, and daily devoted two or three hours to prayer.[5]

The changed tendency of the times was also shown in the manner of life of the two Cardinals who had sprung from princely families, Alessandro Farnese and Ferdinando de' Medici.[6] These, together with Tasso's friend, Ippolito

[1] This view was harshly expressed in the account in the *relatione of Serguidi in 1581, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* Santori, Diario consist., XXIV., 119, 124, 131, 140, 212, 215 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*, 227, 249, 254, XXV. 94, 103, 129, 133.

[3] *Cf.* in App. n. 9, the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 153.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of August 11, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 287, Vatican Library.

[6] *" Il card. Farnese tutto dedito alle opere pie si è sgravato per questo anno della spesa de suoi cani per impiegarla a beneficio de' poveri cresciuti a migliaia " Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 151, Vatican Library. Further accounts in Ciaconius, III., 560 *seq.*

d'Este, who died on December 1st, 1572, the builder of the celebrated[1] villa at Tivoli,[2] with its cascades, staircases, and grottos so often extolled by poets and painters, and Cardinal Gambara, the owner of the sumptuous Villa Lante near Viterbo,[3] were the most wealthy members of the Sacred College, as well as the most interested in art. Farnese's court was composed of 277 persons.[4] It was no insensate luxurious-

[1] *Cf.* the account of Cusano in Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 406.

[2] For the Villa d'Este, which was completed by Ippolito, the son of Luigi, see GNAUTH-PAULUS in the *Allg. Bauzeitung*, 1867; O. BRIOSCHI, Villa d'Este in Tivoli (with some words of introduction by Hülsen), Rome, 1889; SENI, La villa d'Este, Mem. stor. tratte da documenti, Rome, 1902; GOTHEIN, I., 268 *seq.*; PATZAK in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.* N. F. XVII. (1906), 51 *seq.*, 117 *seq.* ASHBY in the London periodical *Archæologia*, LXI. (1906), 1, 219 *seq.* A description of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli in Ottob. 1888, p. 35 *seq.* Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *Descrittione di Tivoli et del giardino del card. di Ferrara in Cod. 6750, p. 429-61, Court Library, Vienna. With regard to Este as the rival of Farnese see the report in *Atti della Soc. Ligure*, XIII., 863. At the funeral of Este the following verses were composed:

Roma tibi debet multum, Ferraria multum;
Sed plus Tiburte debet amata domus.

*Report of Francisco de Mendoza on December 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna; V. PACIFICI in *Atti e Mem. d. Soc. Tiburtina di Storia ed Arte*, I. (1921), 58 *seq.*; Annali e Mem. di Tivoli by Giov. Batt. Zappi edited by V. PACIFICI, Tivoli, (1920), 55 *seq.*; For Cardinal Ipp. d'Este as the Macaenas of scholars see CIAN in *Giornale d. Lett. Ital.*, LXXVIII., 165 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* PERCIER-FONTAINE, Maisons ed plaisance (1809), 55; DURM in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XI. (1876), 292 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, I., 284 *seq.*; STRYGOWSKI in *Strena Helbigiana*, Leipzig, 1900.

[4] See the *Rotolo della famiglia del card. Farnese, Barb. 5366, p. 258 *seq.* Vatican Library. These documents enable us to understand the building at Caprarola with its *"Piano dei prelati, nobili, dei cavalieri, de' staffieri." For A. Farnese as a lover of the arts and his collection of antiquities *cf.* NAVENNE Palais Farnèse, Paris, 1912, 615 *seqq.*, 645 *seqq.*

ness which was displayed by the "great Cardinal" as men called him, who was Dean of the Sacred College from 1578, for he gathered round himself many learned and cultured men, among them the celebrated Fulvio Orsini. One does not know whether to admire more the unlimited generosity of Farnese or his cultured taste in art and letters. To this day he is celebrated by the great church of the Gesû in Rome,[1] and the Farnese Palace which was completed in 1579,[2] besides which the Cardinal in the same year acquired the Farnesina,[3] and the incomparable, imposing and pleasant castle of Caprarola near Viterbo,[4] built by Vignola, the frescoes in which, commemorating the owner of the castle and Paul III., were exe-

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work.

[2] See in App. n. 16 the passage in Mucantius, *Diarium (April 10, 1579), Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* TOMASSETTI, Campagna, II., 476.

[4] *Cf.* L. SEBASTIANI, Descriz. di Caprarola, Rome, 1791; TR. FRANGIPANI, Descriz. del palazzo di Caprarola, Rome, 1869; *Atti Moden.*, III., 362, V., 1 *seq.*; GURLITT, Barockstil, 45 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, I., 290 *seq.*; WÖLFFLIN, Renaissance und Barock, 109; RIEGL, Barockkunst 74 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, II., 174, 374 *seq.*; GERSTFELDT-STEINMANN, Pilgerfahrten in Italien, Leipzig, 1910; F. GAI, Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, Rome, 1895; *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1895, Beil. n. 96; *Kunsthist. Jahrbuch des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXIII., 33 *seq.*; G. BALDUCCI, Il palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, illustr. nella storia e nell'arte, Rome, 1910; SANTE-BARGELLINI, I montidel Cimino, Bergamo, 1914, 78 *seq.*; A. BOSELLI, Il carteggio del card. A. Farnese, Parma, 1921, 66 *seq.* A very beautiful supplement is afforded by the unfortunately little known monograph by the Swedish ambassador in Rome, CARLO, BARONE VON BILDT, who is well versed in the arts, "Caprarola," published in the Swedish review *Ord och Bild*, 1903. The baron possesses a manuscript *La Caprarola d'Ameto Orti, which in 240 latin verses describes the beauties of the Farnese castle. CUGNONI published from Cod. I., V., 191 of the Chigi Library in the *Bollett. d. Soc. filol. Rom.*, X., "191 epigrammi lat. d'autore ignoto che illustrano le opere d'arte del. pal. Farnese in Caprarola." *Cf.* also the poem of LORENZO GAMBARA, Caprarola, Rome, 1581.

cuted by Taddeo Zuccaro according to the designs of Annibale Caro.[1]

Farnese, whom the Pope treated with great consideration,[2] was even surpassed by Ferdinando de' Medici as a lover of the arts. In the city the son of Cosimo lived in the Campo Marzio, in the Palazzo di Firenze, which his father had acquired from the family of Julius III. Ferdinando caused it to be decorated by Giacomo Zucchi with splendid paintings on the ceilings.[3] The Cardinal also set up in the neighbourhood, in compliance with the earnest request of Gregory XIII., the celebrated oriental printing-press.[4] His villa on the Pincio, the garden covered hill of the ancients, where Lucullus had admired the Roman sunsets, was converted by Ferdinando into a museum ; he acquired the property in 1576 from Cardinal Ricci,[5] for whom Annibale Lippi had built this exquisite flower of the Roman villas,[6] and had embellished and enlarged it to a considerable extent. The villa and garden which are still to-day the object of our admiration as a splendid ensemble, may therefore be described as the work of Medici, whose name

[1] See VASARI, VIII., 115 *seq.* ; *cf.* CUGNONI, A. Caro, 162 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*

[2] See the *report in 1581 of Serguidi in the State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Cf.* TESORINI, Il Palazzo di Firenze, Rome, 1889, 67, and H. Voss in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXIV. (1913), 151 *seq.* Zucchi placed the portrait of the Cardinal in his altar-piece the " Mass of St. Gregory " which is still preserved in the Oratory at the SS. Trinità del Pellegrini.

[4] *Cf. infra*, p. 272.

[5] *Cf.* the *information drawn from the Ricci Archives in App. n. 8, which at any rate to some extent clears up the obscurity concerning the history of the construction of the Villa Medici so regretted by Friedlander (Kasino Pius IV., p. 30). For the villa erected on the Coelian by Ciriaco Mattei in 1582 see, beside, GOTHEIN, I., 324 *seq.*, LANCIANI, III., 83 *seq.*, and PERREYVES Souvenir de la villa Mattei à Rome, Paris, 1900. The villa of Cardinal Montalto will be spoken of in the volume dealing with Sixtus V.

[6] BERGNER, Das barocke Rom, Leipzig, 1914, 34 *seq.*

has rightly remained attached to it. The façade of the villa towards the garden, an incomparable example of the serene grandeur of the Renaissance, is entirely covered with classical sculptures; in front on the terrace were placed between the columns the two antique lions which may to-day be seen in the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence.[1] Like the building, so too the garden, which command the most beautiful view over the Eternal City, was destined to receive those statues which the inexhaustible soil of Rome was at that moment producing in such abundance.[2] In the year 1583 Ferdinando de' Medici, who had already bought the Capranica collection for 4000 scudi, acquired the group of the Niobi, which had been discovered on the Esquiline in a vigna belonging to the Villa Altieri.[3] He had it placed in a semi-circular building in the neighbourhood of the existing passeggiata of the Pincio in a small loggia supported by four pilasters, round the horse which had been discovered at the same time. A number of other valuable works of antiquity were placed in the niches of the high wall which supports the terrace towards the south. A graceful loggia built upon the ancient walls of the city was adorned with the sleeping Ariadne.[4] A year after the acquisition of the group of the Niobi the Cardinal further enriched his collection, by buying for the small sum of 4000 ducats the antiquities in the Valle and Capranica palaces, among which was the famous Medici Venus.[5] These priceless works of art

[1] For what follows *cf.* especially GOTHEIN, I., 315 *seq.* See also BALTARD, Villa Medici a Roma, (1847); H. HÜFFER in the "Italia" of Hildebrand (1877); JUSTI, Winckelmann, II., 18.

[2] Besides the work of LANCIANI, IV., *passim*, see also the *Avviso di Roma of May 16, 1582, in App. n. 18, and the *report of Fr. de Mendoza of January 16, 1574 (State Archives, Vienna), App. n. 39. For the taking of antiques out of Rome see the monograph of BERTOLOTTI, Esportazione di oggetti de Belle arti, taken from the *Rivista Europ*, s.a.

[3] *Cf.* STARK, Niobe und Niobiden, Leipzig, 1863.

[4] See GOTHEIN, I., 316.

[5] See MICHAELIS in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäol. Instituts*, VI., 224. On October 27, 1584, an *Avviso di Roma states that

and the splendour of the garden with its fruit trees and flowers explain why the Mantuan ambassador describes the Villa Medici as the most beautiful in all the city of the seven hills.[1]

The exceptional positions held by Cardinals Farnese and Medici in Rome was not only due to their love for art. They were the heads of the two groups of the Sacred College by which the division of the Cardinals in accordance with their relations to the secular princes caused the existence of Spanish and French parties.[2] As the third great Cardinal who was followed by the French there was Luigi d'Este, the successor of his uncle Ippolito. These three Cardinals, who were as rich as they were prodigal, and all lovers of art and letters, were by no means in agreement with each other.[3]

The College of Cardinals was also divided according to the Popes to whom they owed their promotion. The Cardinals of Paul III. looked upon Farnese as their leader; those of Julius III., Fulvio della Corgna; those of Pius V., Bonelli. Among the creations of Pius IV., the outstanding Cardinals were Borromeo and Mark Sittich. The latter held a position of considerable importance because he exerted himself in every way to obtain influence, whereas Borromeo was entirely devoted to religious interests, and thus could hardly be looked upon as a party leader.[4]

the antiques acquired recently had all been taken to the Villa Medici, and are: "di quantità et di bellezza al marcato molto superiore." Urb. 1052, p. 430, Vatican Library.

[1] See in App. n. 17 the *report of Odescalchi of January 7, 1581. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See P. Tiepolo. Relazione of 1578, 223 *seq.*, and in App. n. 14, the *report of O. Scozia, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the *report of Zibramonte of October 24, 1572. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *"Non e dubbio" says an Avviso di Roma of December 12, 1584, "che tre sono, i quali dant lumen in curia: Farnese, Este et Medici, ma perche hi tres unum non sunt, i soggetti portati separamente da ciascuno di loro vanno a gambe levate." Urb. 1052, p. 488, Vatican Library.

[4] See in App. n. 14 the *report of O. Scozia, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *Discorso written in 1580 concerning the election of the Pope, in Cod. 6333, p. 302 *seq.* Court Library, Vienna.

Gregory XIII. behaved with strict impartiality towards all the Cardinals,[1] though he naturally had his confidants, and some personalities were less sympathetic to him than others.[2] The influence exercised by each Cardinal was subject to that constant change which was so characteristic of the curia.[3]

Gregory XIII. held strict views as to the appointment of new members of the Sacred College, as Pius V., had done before him. Like him he was deeply convinced of the responsibility which the renewal of the supreme senate of the Church laid upon the shoulders of the head of Christendom. The men who received the purple must also be the salt of the earth. Like the torch which is placed in a candle-stick, so he said, these men, who were to be the strong pillars of Christendom, must be endowed with extraordinary virtue in order that they may usefully and honourably fill their office, all the more so as the Pope himself is chosen from among their number. A Cardinal who had recently been appointed had with the best intentions shown signs of wishing to express this gratitude to the Pope's nephew and to the family of His Holiness, but Gregory said to him with marks of disapproval: "Be grateful to God and the Holy See." The Pope repeatedly asserted that the dignity of the cardinalate must not be conferred in order to honour a person, but only in order to provide useful

[1] For the confidants of the Pope see *supra*, p. 54. The Cardinals who were not in favour are enumerated in the *report of Scozia (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See App. n. 14. *Cf.* also the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome) in App. n. 9. The reasons for the disfavour of Commendone are unknown; see Tiraboschi, VII., 1, 312. For Montalto see further in Vol. XXI.

[2] See the *Considerationi of C. Speciani. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] Since the departure of Este, says *Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, it would seem that Medici has great influence with the Pope, "ancorche le cose qui siano in continuo moto ne si possi fare una ferma conclusione di chi puo più e di chi meno." *Report of July 16, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. For the changes in the curia see Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 58 *seqq.*

labourers for the Church.[1] He once remarked that the purple must also be conferred with great care for this reason, that he himself had known what it meant to be a poor Cardinal.[2] For this reason, like Pius V., he saw to it that all the Cardinals had revenues suitable to their state.[3] Another reason why Gregory was disinclined to a numerous Sacred College lay in the fact that he had learned by experience that a large number of Cardinals opens the way to intrigues. It followed from the realization of his responsibilities that the Pope was determined not to allow himself to be influenced by external forces in making new appointments, and to confer the dignity under strict limitations and with every care, not because of wealth or worldly advantages, but only in accordance with the needs of the Church.[4]

During the first six years of his pontificate Gregory XIII. only created four Cardinals: in 1572 and 1574 he appointed one of his nephews;[5] on November 19th, 1576, Andrew of Austria, the son of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, who had done so much good work for the Catholic restoration in his territory;[6] at the beginning of March, 1577, Albert of

[1] See the contemporary communication from Cocquelines in the Appendix to MAFFEI, II., 452 *seq.*

[2] An *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1581, reports that Farnese had told the Pope that he ought to satisfy the court by a creation of Cardinals Gregory XIII. replied: "Mons. ill^mo voi non havete provato a esser cardinale povero et sappiate ch'haveremo tempo a fare ogni cosa." Urb. 1049, p. 459, Vatican Library.

[3] See P. TIEPOLO, 222.

[4] *Cf.* the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 30.

[6] See CIACONIUS, IV., 48 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 553 *seq.*, 558, 582; BAUDRILART, Dictionn. d'hist., II., 1634 *seq.*; HIRN, II., 84, 370, 377 *seq.* SCHMIDLIN, 445 *seq.*, where there are further particulars of the journey of Andrew to Rome in 1576, of his stay there for two years and his death in 1600. After the death of Morone Andrew received the protectorate of Austria (see HIRN, II., 402). As viceroy of the Tyrol and Lower Austria

Austria at the recommendation of Philip II.[1] Contemporaries repeatedly inform us how bitterly the expectations of the nomination of new Cardinals were disappointed.[2] When in January, 1576, the Pope had before him a list of candidates, he remarked with a smile that he only intended to nominate a few, because only perfect men were worthy of the purple.[3]

he had favoured the Catholic restoration like his father. From 1591 to 1600 Andrew was prince-bishop of Brixen. His taste for art was shown in the chapel of the castle at Feldthurns (see *Mitteilungen der K.K. österr. Zentralkommission*, 1885, 39). The *Constitutiones Academiae Austriacae D. Augustini Romae institutae [in the time of Gregory XIII.] sub auspiciis Andreae card. de Austria, in Vat. 6284, p. 129 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[1] See GULIK-EUBEL, 50; CIACONIUS, IV., 50 *seq.*; BELTRAMI, Roma, 15. Of the "instanza del re cattolico" for Albert, who was appointed "improviso" we are told by P. Strozzi in his *letter dated Rome, March 4, 1577. According to the *report of Odescalchi of March 9, 1577, the "vota" of 5 "cardinali infirmi" were not taken, so that the French ambassador had no previous information. Both letters in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] An *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1574, states: On Monday Farnese asked the Pope if he would appoint Cardinals. Gregory XIII. replied: "che non solo adesso, ma ne tampoco per un pezzo era per risolversi à questo." Urb. 1044, p. 319. *Ibid.* 352 and 397b. *Avvisi di Roma of February 18 and April 23, 1575, concerning the wagers about the promotion of Cardinals; p. 396 an *Avviso of December 14, 1575: "E piena hoggi la corte di Roma." that the Pope on Friday will create 13 Cardinals, among them the "Prior di Barletta" for the Emperor, a nephew of the Cardinal of Lorraine for France, the President of Segovia for Spain, one for Portugal, one for Venice, "Mons. de Nazaret," a nephew of Sermoneta, a cousin of Cardinal Aquaviva, "Mons. Facchinetto, Thes^re Generale." Vatican Library.

[3] *"Dicesi, che il Papa havendo veduta la lista che correa per la corte delli suggetti cardinabundi, se ne sia riso dicendo, che farà conoscere, quanto si debba essere parco in questa attione, poiche la grandezza di questa dignità e solo per grandi et eccellenti soggetti." Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 14, Vatican Library.

The number of Cardinals, which in the time of Pius IV. had risen to 76, was in 1576 only 54.[1] In 1572 there died Diego Espinosa, Girolamo da Correggio and Ippolito d'Este; in 1573 Otto Truchsess and Giovanni Aldobrandini, both men of great distinction; in 1574 Giovanni Ricci, Antoine de Créquy, Giulio Aquaviva, Alessandro Crivelli and Charles de Guise; in 1575 Gian Paolo Chiesa and Marcantonio Bobba; in 1576 Gaspare Cervantes; in 1577 Scipione Rebiba and Innocenzo del Monte.[2] In order to fill these gaps Gregory XIII. on February 21st, 1578, held his first important creation on the fifth anniversary of his election.[3] It was quite unexpected,[4] because Gregory wished to be completely free in his choice.[5] Of the nine who were invested with the purple seven were foreigners and only two Italians, a clear proof of the determination of the Pope to observe with absolute strictness the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, which had

[1] See P. Tiepolo, 222.

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 109 *seq.* (with some important mistakes); Albèri, II., 4, 208. For the death of Espinosa see Serrano, Liga, II., 205. The necrology of Mucantius on Aquaviva, Rebiba and Monte, see in App. n. 16. For the death of Rebiba and his great qualities see *infra* p. 297, n. 3. For Monte and Gregory XIII. see Lanciani, III., 32 *seq.* A "Lamento di Roma per la morte del card. di Monte" in Salza Abdel Kader, "I lamenti di Pasquino" in the "Scritti in onore di R. Renier, Turin, 1912. Of G. Aldobrandini Cusano says in a *report of December 13, 1572: "È molto esemplare cardinale et di benissima fama," State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* an *Avviso di Roma of December 6, 1572, on the rich legacies left by Este.

[3] See Ciaconius, IV., 50 *seq.*; Gulik-Eubel, 50; Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 363.

[4] "fuori d'ogni opinione" says the *Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 54, Vatican Library.

[5] On May 16, 1576, Giulio Maretti *reports that the Pope had said to Madruzzo "che era hora mai tempo di venire a quel atto et che ella vi veniria con prestezza et secretezza per fuggire l'importunità di mille che dimandavano il capello." State Archives, Modena.

expressly recommended a just consideration of the nations which were not Italian.[1]

A consideration of those who were appointed on February 21st, 1578, shows that Gregory had chosen them with a deep sense of his responsibility, and with careful thought for the needs of the Church. If France had four new representatives in the Sacred College, Gregory had it in mind by this to promote the Catholic restoration in that kingdom.[2] Fully realizing how much depended upon the attitude of Henry III., no only was Louis de Lorraine, the king's cousin, invested with the purple, but the appointment of Réné Birago, who was very influential at the court of France, and whose promotion had been promised a year and a half before, was carried out, in spite of the objections raised at the last moment by Granvelle.[3] The latter Cardinal also vainly opposed the promotion of Louis de Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, and Claude de la Baume, Archbishop of Besançon, who had published the decrees of the Council of Trent in his diocese, and had laboured there to prevent the introduction of the new doctrines.[4] Philip II. was pleased by the promotion of his trusted friend, Pedro Deza, of the distinguished Bishop of Liège, Gerard Groesbeek, and of Ferrante di Toledo. The latter, a holy man, refused the purple, however, and Gregory accordingly gave the red hat in his stead, on December 15th, 1578, to the new Archbishop of Toledo, Gaspare de Quiroga.[5] Of the two

[1] See HERRE, 260.

[2] HERRE brings this out very well, p. 261.

[3] See A. TIEPOLO, 261; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 363. The wishes of France were especially upheld by Cardinal L. d'Este (*cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, VI., 1); see *Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 54, Vatican Library. For Birago who has been estimated so variously, and who is deserving of a special monograph, see ALBÈRI, I., 4, 369 *seq.*, 440, App. 65. POLENZ, IV., 16 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 363 *seq.*

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 55 *seq.* The remarks of Granvelle were obviously biassed. (Corresp. ed. PIOT, VII., 70, 133).

[5] See CIACONIUS, IV., 67 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, 51; *Consistorial acta, July 4, 1578, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 374 *seq.*; *Arch. für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVII., 7 *seq.* For

Italians who were promoted, one, Vincenzo Gonzaga, Prior of Barletta, filled the place of his dead brother Francesco, and the other, Alessandro Riario, Patriarch of Alexandria, was one of that body of men who had been most closely connected with Pius V., and whose tireless labours and self-sacrifice had produced great fruits on behalf of the Catholic restoration.[1]

After the creation of February 1578, several years again elapsed without any further promotions to the cardinalate. In the meantime death continued to make gaps in the ranks of the Sacred College. In 1578 there died Louis de Guise, Paolo Burali, Cristoforo Madruzzo, and Giulio della Rovere ; in 1579 Benedetto Lomellini, the learned defender of the ancient faith against the religious innovators, Stanislaus Hosius,[2] Francesco Pacheco and Gerard Groesbeek ; in 1580 Arcangelo Bianchi, Henry of Portugal, Francesco Alciati and Girolamo Morone ; the last named was undoubtedly the most influential, the cleverest and the most prudent diplomatist

Groesbeek see PIRENNE, IV., 403 *seq.*. BROM, Nederl. Cardinalen, in *De Katholiek*, CXI., 235 *seq.* PASTURE, Invent. du fonds Borghèse, Brussels, 1910, 102. For Quiroga *cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 49 *seq.*, and for his nomination see the *report of Odescalchi, of December 20, and especially *that of Pompeo Strozzi of December 15, 1578, according to which the Pope at first resisted the insistences of the Spanish ambassador ; but his nomination soon followed " non aspettando il detto ambasciatore." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] The opinion of HERRE, p. 261. For V. Gonzaga *cf. Jahrbuch des Kunstsamml. des Oesterr. Kaiserhauses*, XVII., 204 *seq.* ; BOGLINO, La Sicilia, 51 *seq.* Speaking of the way the Emperor had interested himself on behalf of V. Gonzaga in 1573, Cardinal Truchsess in his *letter of February 28, 1573, gives an account of the Cardinals who had previously been promoted at the request of the princes. State Archives, Vienna. Court correspondence 7.

[2] *Cf.* the funeral inscription in FORCELLA, II., 347. Galli in his *letter of September 12 to the nuncio at Venice describes Hosius as " persona di quella dottrina et vita esemplare che ognuno sa." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives.

that the curia had at its disposal. In 1581 there died Alessandro Sforza di Santa Fiora and Flavio Orsini; in 1582 Vincenzo Giustiniani.[1] In February 1580 an increase in the

[1] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 110, where by a strange mistake 1578 is given as the year of the death of Hosius. For his pious death, which took place on August 5, 1579, besides the accounts given by EICHHORN, II., 538, see also Acta consist. in LAEMMER, Analecta, 150 *seq.*; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 366; *Avviso di Roma of August 8, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 263, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 301; *report of Odescalchi of August 7, 1579 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in App. n. 15. The nephew of Hosius and his secretary, St. Rescius, later on the editor of his works, erected to him in S. Maria in Trastevere a simple monument, the only ornament of which consists of a splendid bust of the Cardinal; the beautiful portrait of Hosius to be seen at the Camaldolese convent at Bielany near Cracow is reproduced in Straganz, Gesch der neueren Zeit, Vienna, 1910, 186. To the literature on Hosius' may be added B. ELSNER, St. Hosius als Polemiker, Königsberg, 1911, a work which, however, is not altogether just to the Cardinal. Morone's contemporaries are almost at one in praising him; see, besides the *obituary notice by Mucantius in App. n. 16 (Papal Secret Archives), the *Acta consist. of December 5, 1580 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); the *report of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand dated Rome, December 3, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck; *Avviso di Roma of December 3, 1580. Morone is dead "con dispiacere di tutta questa corte havendo chiuso et sigillato il suo corso con attioni veramente christiane et degne della sua prudenza"; he had forbidden all pomp at his funeral. Urb. 1048, p. 400b, Vatican Library. Commendone wrote on January 21, 1581, to the Bishop of Modena: *"Il dolore che V. S. sente per la morte di mons. ill. Morone è veramente giustissimo et grandissima la perdita che s'è fatta de un signore di tanta virtù in tempi di tanto bisogno." Graziani Archives, Citta di Castello. For the tomb of Morone in the church of the Minerva see FORCELLA, I., 471; BERTHIER, 250 *seq.* A monograph on Morone fulfilling modern requirements would be an extremely valuable work. There is plenty of material for one. Here I will only mention the collection of letters addressed to Morone preserved in Vat. 6406-6410, Vatican Library. C. Madruzzo, who had in 1567 resigned the diocese of Trent, where a remembrance of him is to be

numbers of the Sacred College was vainly expected.[1] Although many persons, especially the French, urged him to appoint more Cardinals, the Pope did not show any inclination to do so.[2] Even the fact that, in the event of his death, his nephews would be left without any support, did not give him any anxiety.[3] It was calculated in the curia at the end of October 1582 that since the election of Gregory XIII. the Sacred College had lost thirty of its members, and had only been given thirteen new ones.[4] Even though by the death of Fulvio della Corgna on March 2nd, 1583, a fresh vacancy had occurred, it still seemed that the Pope had no intention of filling it. In June 1583 he asked one of the members of the Sacred College when there had been fewest Cardinals. He was told that under Alexander VI. and Julius II. the number had been reduced to twenty-four. "So many as that?" replied the Pope. From this it was inferred that he intended to cut down the number of the Cardinals to that enjoined by

seen in S. Maria Maggiore and the castle, a work of the Renaissance, died on July 5, 1578, at Tivoli, the guest of Cardinal d'Este, who was his close friend; *cf.* his Vita in Cod. Mazz. 60 of the Communal Library, Trent, which says: "Il corpo fu sepolto nella chiesa di S. Onofrio in una cappella da lui principiata coll'assistenza del nepote Ludovico cardinale et Giovanni Federico Madruzzo all'hora ambasciatore ordinario per l'imperatore Rudolfo II. appresso il Papa" For the chapel of Madruzzo *cf.* G. Caterbi, La chiesa di S. Onofrio, Rome, 1858, 80 *seq.*, and *Arch. per l'Alto Adige*, IX., 52 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* the Avvisi di Roma of February 24 and 27, 1580, in Beltrami, Roma, 20-21.

[2] See the *report of Sporeno of February 18 and September 23, 1581, to the Archduke Ferdinand, State Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] See the *Discorso on the election of the Pope written in 1580, in Cod. 6333, p. 338, Court Library, Vienna.

[4] See the *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 402b, Vatican Library. According to an *Avviso of December 31, 1580 (*ibid.* p. 426) the various claims put forward by the princes retarded a creation. For the reduced total of the Sacred College see the *report of Sporeno of June 2, 1582, Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck.

the Council of Constance.[1] After the death of Marcantonio Maffei on August 22nd, 1583, and of Réné Birago on November 25th, when the curia had given up all hopes of an increase of the Sacred College, a great creation quite unexpectedly took place.

On December 12th 1583 a consistory was held.[2] After the current business had been dispatched, and the Cardinals were rising to go away, the Pope addressed them in grave words: although by the grace of God his health left nothing to be desired, and he might confidently look forward to several years of life, it had nevertheless been brought to his notice that certain ambitious men in the Sacred College were carrying on the customary intrigues concerning the election of the next Pope.[3] The guilty parties had thereby incurred the ecclesiastical penalties laid down by Pius IV., yet he was willing once more generously to forgive them. In order, however, to provide against such a thing in the future, he had determined upon a new creation, and at once, so that the newly appointed Cardinals might make their public appearance at the coming Christmas festivities. Thereupon, without more ado, Gregory produced a list and read out the following nineteen names: Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gian Battista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, Alessandro de' Medici, Archbishop of Florence, Rodrigo de

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of June 1, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 237b, Vatican Library.

[2] See as to this Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 153 (for 13 read 12 December). Mucantius in Theiner, III., 483 *seq.*; *Avvisi di Roma of December 14 and 17, 1583 (Vatican Library), in App. n. 21, 22; *report of Odescalchi of December 12, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Maffei, II., 364 *seq.*; Ciaconius IV., 69 *seq.*; Gulik-Eubel, 51.

[3] As Santori (Autobiografia, XIII., 156 *seq.*) reports, it was thought that the Pope was alluding to the efforts of Medici on behalf of M. A. Maffei. According to an *Avviso di Roma of December 31, 1583, it was said that the Pope knew of certain measures taken by Delfino for a Papal election, and that Delfino had died of sorrow when he found himself discovered. Urb. 1051, p. 529, Vatican Library.

Castro, Archbishop of Seville, François Joyeuse, Archbishop of Narbonne, Michele, Count della Torre, Bishop of Ceneda, Giulio Canani, Bishop of Adria, Nicolò Sfondrato, Bishop of Cremona, Antonio Maria Salviati, Agostino Valiero, Bishop of Verona, Vincenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovì, Filippo Spinola, Bishop of Nola, Alberto Bolognetti, Bishop of Massa, George Radziwill, Bishop of Vilna, Matteo Contarelli, pro-Datary, Simone Tagliavia d'Aragona, the son of the Duke of Terranueva, Scipione Lancellotti, Auditor of the Rota, Charles de Bourbon-Vendôme and the Marquis Francesco Sforza di Santa Fiora.[1]

Gregory's action had irritated and surprised the Cardinals greatly. The first to protest was Farnese. Speaking as Dean of the Sacred College, he said that although he certainly approved of the existing vacancies being filled, a thing which he himself had frequently urged, nevertheless, out of respect for the supreme senate of the Church, and in conformity with the action of previous Popes, they should have received notice of this intention, so that each one might have an opportunity of expressing his views. Gregory replied that he had not done so in order to avoid long and wearisome discussions. Farnese recognized the right of the Pope to do as he liked, but adhered to what he had said as to the customary observance. Gregory made the concession that the supplementary votes of Cardinals Savelli, Este, Rambouillet, Mark Sittich, Commendone and Simoncelli, who had been prevented by illness from being present at the consistory, might be taken. He adhered, however, to his nominations, even when Cardinals Santori and Gambara, who were members of the Inquisition, pointed out that two of the nominees, Radziwill and Bourbon, were the sons of heretics. "I was well aware of that," replied the Pope, "but both of them are men of distinction in every sense." The desire which was expressed by others on behalf of Fabio

[1] For S. Tagliavia see BOGLINO, 52 *seq.*, for Ch. Bourbon see SAULNIER, 87 *seq.* (with wrong date December 4, 1583). Many congratulatory *letters to M. della Torre in Cod. 1184, I, of the Riccardi Library, Florence, Paolo Alaleone says in his *Diarium concerning the unexpected creation: "Papa peperit cum nesciretur eum gravidum esse." Papal Secret Archives, XII., 41.

Mirto Frangipani, Archbishop of Nazareth and Governor of Bologna, had no other effect than that the Pope promised to keep him in mind for the future. After the meeting had lasted for an hour the Pope brought to an end, with very satisfactory general agreement,[1] this memorable consistory,[2] in which the conditions of the Sacred College had been radically altered.

Considerations of many different kinds had entered into the choice of the new Cardinals, which, as may easily be understood, was severely criticized in the curia.[3] Of the six foreigners, the two Spaniards, Castro and Tagliavia d'Aragona, owed their nomination to the wishes of Philip II. Joyeuse was appointed at the request of Henry III., who would, however, have preferred someone else instead of Bourbon.[4] Contarelli, too, was a Frenchman by birth; his nomination, however, was principally a reward for the services which he had rendered as Datary. The Emperor Rudolph II. had interested himself on behalf of Spinola. The elevation of Radziwill seemed to be fully justified by the wishes of King Báthory, who had worked so hard for the Catholic restoration, as well as by his own merits.[5] In his choice of the thirteen Italians Gregory had been careful not to pass over any part of the peninsula. He had also kept clear of the mistake made by several of his predecessors, of including too many of his own fellow-countrymen.[6] Four of those who received the purple on December 12th, 1583, were afterwards Popes: Facchinetti (Innocent IX.), Castagna (Urban VII.), Medici (Leo XI.), and Sfondrato (Gregory XIV.). With the exception of Sforza, who was obviously promoted on account of his

[1] See in App. n. 23 the *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1583, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Bentivogli, Memorie, Amsterdam, 1648, 73.

[3] See in App. n. 21 the *Avviso di Roma of December 14, 1583, Vatican Library.

[4] See in App. n. 23 the *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1583, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* Bentivogli, Memorie, 73 *seq.*, Maffei, II., 367 *seq.*

[6] Besides Facchinetti and Bolognetti, Alessandro Riario was also a Bolognese.

relationship to the Boncompagni,[1] all the remainder were men of great merit. The praise which Galli bestows upon the appointments of Cardinals by Gregory XIII. is therefore fully justified.[2]

After the creation of December 1583, which was followed on July 4th by the promotion of Andrew Báthory,[3] the Sacred College lost five of its best known members: on December 19th, 1583, there died Zaccaria Delfino,[4] on May 10th, 1584, his fellow countryman Luigi Cornaro; on June 14th, 1584, Claude de la Baume; on November 3rd, Charles Borromeo, and on December 26th, Giovanni Commendone. The death of Borromeo when only forty-six years of age was an irreparable loss to Milan, the Pope, and the whole Church. Gregory XIII. was deeply affected; he ordered that full particulars should be sent to him of all the works of reform and charity of the dead man, for he wished to carry them on according to his holy desires.[5]

[1] See the opinion of Bentivogli concerning him, Memorie, 83-84.

[2] See the *Memorie of Galli in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 105 *seq.* GULIK-EUBEL, 53. *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work. The appointment of Báthory took place, according to the *report of Sporeno of July 14, 1584 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck) "omnibus cardinalibus ignorantibus"; it was connected with the question of the league against the Turks; see BORATYNSKI, St. Bátory i plan Ligi, 334.

[4] "Et è mancato" says an *Avviso di Roma of December 21, 1583, on the death of Delfino: "un cardinal col roverscio et contrapeso di molte sue virtù et belle qualità che a punto adempie il numero di 34 cardinali morti in questo pontificato di Gregorio, il quale tira su la carta per far un resto prima che si levi dal gioco." Urb. 1051, p. 518, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* in App. n. 24 the *Avviso di Roma of November 14, 1584, Vatican Library; the *report of F. Sporeno, dated Rome, November 10, 1584, Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck, and *that of Odescalchi of the same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *Notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. With regard to the beneficent labours of Charles Borromeo at Milan, even in temporal affairs, as well as the favour he showed to scholars, *cf.* the article in the *Riv. Europea*, 1877, II., 455 *seq.*, in which the Archbishop of Milan is justly described as a man "superiore al suo tempo."

CHAPTER VI.

Gregory XIII. and the Society of Jesus.—The Colleges in Rome.

The work of reform and Catholic restoration to which Gregory XIII. devoted all his energies could only be brought about when he had succeeded in educating a blameless clergy and, by means of solid instruction, securing the rising generation of the Church. To this task the Society of Jesus, which, in accordance with the traditions so clearly and firmly laid down for it by its highly gifted founder, had devoted its particular attention to the work of instruction and education under the predecessors of Gregory, seemed to be especially called. Gregory XIII. realized the valuable services which the disciples of Loyola had rendered in this way, as well as in pastoral and missionary work; and that to a great extent the continued renewal of the Church was due to them. He therefore accorded to them his protection and generosity so fully that Cardinal Galli, the Secretary of State, could truly say that of all the Orders, the Society of Jesus was the one best loved by the Pope.[1]

Gregory bestowed a great favour upon them as early as February 28th, 1573, when he revoked the changes introduced by Pius V. On the strength of the representations made to him by P. Nadal,[2] Gregory had appointed a congregation under the presidency of Charles Borromeo, which decided that the Jesuits might recite the canonical hours out of choir, and might receive sacred orders after they had taken the three simple vows, even before their profession. In giving his

[1] "La Compagnia di Gesù fu sua diletta." *Memorie in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See Nadal, Epist., IV., 165 *seq.*

approval to this Gregory once more confirmed the Society and renewed all its privileges.[1] On October 10th, 1573, the General, Francis Borgia, died. The general congregation which assembled after his death asked the Pope that, since the first three Generals had been Spaniards, this time they might turn their attention to another nation. Accordingly, the Netherlander, Everard Mercurian, was elected,[2] under whose generalate the Jesuits were in every way favoured and supported by the Pope.[3] When, on August 1st, 1580, Mercurian in his turn died, the Society consisted of 21 provinces, with 110 houses and more than 5000 members. Under the new General too, Claudio Aquaviva, the author of the celebrated *ratio studiorum* for the Society of Jesus,[4] the Pope continued to show the Order his special favour and protection. Proofs of his affection followed one upon another.[5] Of decisive importance for the constitutions, as well as for the further development of the Order itself, was the fresh confirmation of the Society of Jesus dated May 25th, 1584. In this bull it is stated that the scholastics and coadjutors of the Order, in spite of their simple vows, are true religious, from which it follows that solemn vows are not of the essence of the Order.[6]

In addition to his edicts Gregory XIII. saw to it that at each step forward made by any Jesuit house large sums of money and other subsidies were assigned to them, in spite

[1] Institutum S. J., I., 54 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SACCHINI, IV., 2 *seq.*; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 479 *seq.*

[3] See *Synopsis*, 59 *seq.* *Cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 7 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*, 298 *seq.*, 302 *seq.*; BUSS, 856 *seq.*

[4] See ASTRAIN, IV., 2 *seq.* *Cf.* III., 211 *seq.* for the earlier life of Aquaviva. *Ibid.* IV., 133 *seq.* a perfect, precise and well weighed description of that great man.

[5] See *Synopsis* 116 *seq.*; *cf.* BUSS 1037; see also Bull. Rom., VIII., 390, 391 *seq.*, 397 *seq.*, 406 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*, 499 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.* 457 *seq.* Fazolio brings out the importance of the constitution of May 25, 1584, in his *notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For the "Compendium privilegiorum et gratiarum Soc. Jesu," edited by Aquaviva in 1584, *cf.* DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Morallsreitigkeiten, I., 511 *seq.*

of the fact that for this reason the antipathy felt by the Protestants for the Order of Loyola, also began to make itself felt among the Catholics.[1] Many communications addressed to the nuncios, and letters to bishops, princes, and cathedral chapters, show how much he had taken the Order under his wing. And this he did all the more willingly since the Jesuit colleges were equivalent to seminaries according to the ideas of the Council of Trent.[2] If the Society of Jesus was enabled to obtain a firm footing in various parts of Germany, as at Spires, Fulda, Würzburg, Coblence, Trêves, Graz and Prague, it was no less indebted to the Pope for its houses at Lucerne and at Freiburg in Switzerland.[3]

This concern of Gregory was by no means restricted to Germany and Switzerland, where, owing to the lack of priests, the assistance of the new Order was specially required. Everywhere, in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, the Low Countries, Poland and Transylvania, no less than in the mission fields outside Europe as far as distant Japan, the great labours of the Jesuits were in every way favoured and assisted.[4] At

[1] *Cf.* SCHELLHASS, Nuntiatur Portias, IV., cxi.

[2] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 90.

[3] See DUHR, I., 1, 119, 131, 212, 226, 382, 383, 385, 388. *Cf.* also SCHELLHASS, Nuntiaturberichte, III., lxxviii; IV., cxi; V., cvii.

[4] See *Synopsis* 59-140, where there is a register of no less than 289 acts of Gregory XIII. in favour of the Jesuits among the different Christian nations. Several details in SACCHINI V. See also the *Memorie in Cod. 290, Fondo Gesuitico, p. 25 of the Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome, which are partly based upon documents in the Papal Secret Archives. With regard to the college of the Jesuits at Padua see SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Instituts*, VII., 97 *seq.* For the building of the Jesuit college at Bologna see I. RABUS, *Reise nach Rom, 1575, in Cod. germ. 1280, Royal Library, Munich. By a letter of May 22, 1574, the "Provveditori" of Venice were recommended to support the mission of the Jesuits Tommaso Raggio and Salvatore Siciliano. Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* a *letter of 1575 concerning the progress of the Jesuit mission at Parenzo.

Wilna the Pope attached an academy to their college,[1] and did the same in the case of their university at Pont-à-Mousson, which was established by a bull of December 5th, 1572.[2]

Gregory XIII. displayed his affectionate care and his great generosity in a special way in the case of the Jesuits in Rome.[3] A consideration of the history of the Germanicum in Rome shows better than anything else how true this was.

The idea of that institution, the object of which was the training of good and learned priests for the preservation of the faith, and for the spread and consolidation of Catholic life in Germany, had sprung from the enterprising and vigorous mind of Ignatius of Loyola, who had carried it into effect with great determination, and in spite of the greatest difficulties.[4] His successor, Lainez, had tried to preserve the existence of the institution by receiving many inmates of every nation, even those who did not wish to embrace the ecclesiastical state.[5] Although the college in this new form displayed a very valuable activity, and was one of the leading educational establishments for the Catholic aristocracy, it had nevertheless departed from its special purpose. A further difficulty was the lack of an assured endowment. The question had already been raised whether it would not be advisable that the college, in so far as it was intended for German students, should be given up. Fortunately this proposal came to nothing. The most influential fathers of the Order, including the General, Francis Borgia, inclined rather to the restoration of the original character of the institution.[6] It was of decisive importance

[1] *Cf.* more fully, Vol. XX. of this work.

[2] *Cf.* for this institution, founded by Cardinal Charles de Guise, Hyver, Maldonat et les origines de l'Université a Pont-à-Mousson, Nancy, 1873; Lager, Abtei Gorze, 89 *seq.* and especially E. Martin L'Université de Pont-à-Mousson, 1572-1768, Nancy, 1891.

[3] The account books of Gregory XIII. bear witness to his numerous gifts to the Society of Jesus during the first year of his pontificate. Deposit. generale d. Rev. Camera Apost. 1572 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 229 *seq.*, XIV., p. 249.

[5] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 99.

[6] See Steinhuber, I.[3], 65 *seq.*

when Cardinal Otto Truchsess won over Gregory XIII. to this view. The Cardinal was able to lay before the Pope with such eloquence the importance of this institution of Loyola's for the preservation and restoration of the Catholic religion in Germany, that Gregory resolved not only to restore the college, but also to add to it on a grand scale. Peter Canisius, and all others who understood the state of affairs in Germany, confirmed the Pope in his design, in the preparations for which he caused the German congregation to participate.

At the beginning of August, 1573, the nuncios were instructed to seek in Germany for students suitable for the German college, as the Pope wished to increase the number of students there from 25 to 100.[1] After the Cardinals had been informed of this on August 26th, 1573,[2] and their help had been asked for, in the autumn of the same year, in a bull dated August 6th,[3] the re-establishment of the Germanicum took place,

[1] See SCHWARZ, Gutachten, XLVI., *seq.* SCHELLHASS, Nuntiaturberichte, III., 73 *seq.* *Cf.* the beautiful and exhaustive account of STEINHUBER, I.², 90 *seqq.* Many original acta of the time of Gregory XIII. dealing with the history of the Germanicum in Miscell. Arm. 11, t. 94, De Collegiis Urbis, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 205.

[3] STEINHUBER (I.², 97) had remarked that the bull was first dated and only published later, and that Galli wrote on September 12, 1572, to Portia that the bullt would be published shortly. This is fully in accordance with the statement in an *Avviso di Roma of September 5, 1573: "Si ha da ereggere un collegio nuovo per la nobilità di Germania, al quale N. S. assignara 10,000 scudi d'entrata et si pigliarà il palazzo del Card. di Lorena a pigione." Urb. 1043, p. 298, Vatican Library. That the removal of the externs was begun is stated in an *Avviso di Roma of September 5, 1573: "Gia cominciano a sfrattare questi del Collegio Germanico non senza molta loro confusione per erigere l'altro nella casa del card. Alessandrino a S. Appollinare volendo S.S^ta questo luogo sia assignato solamente per quelli dell'istessa natione et che non ci possono entrare putti." Until the allotment of the fixed annual income of 10,000 scudi, the Cardinals gave 100 scudi a month. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *ibid.* the *Avviso di Roma of October 17, 1573.

and it was endowed with an annual revenue of 10,000 gold scudi. The direction of the institution was left in the experienced hands of the Jesuits, who took the lay scholars into the Roman College. At the Germanicum instruction was henceforth to be given in the ancient languages, in philosophy, theology and canon law, to no less than 100 youths drawn from the whole of Germany and the neighbouring northern countries. The establishment was to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the senator and rector of the Roman University, free from taxes, subject to the immediate protection of the Holy See, and was to participate in all the privileges and rights of the Roman University, especially in that of conferring academic degrees. Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Mark Sittich, Galli and Truchsess were appointed its protectors.[1]

The Palazzo della Valle was taken on lease for the college, and the expenses of the foundation, which amounted to 20,000 ducats, were borne by the Pope, who personally visited the establishment on October 28th. He had appointed as rector the distinguished Father Michele Lauretano: it was the latter who drew up the new statutes, a wonderful testimony to his prudence, his deep wisdom and his enlightened piety.[2]

By 1574 94 students from almost every diocese in Germany had come to the Germanicum. After the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine the Pope gave to the college the large cardinalitial palace of S. Apollinare, close to the adjoining church. He was almost insatiable in conferring favours; above all, he set himself to assure the solid foundation of the institution by giving it great possessions. The grant of the abbey of S. Saba, on the southern slope of the Aventine, was followed by the gift of the vigna of Pariola, the incorporation of the abbey of S. Croce di Fonte Avellana in Umbria, and of Lodivecchio and S. Cristina in the territory of Milan. From these the college received an assured income of more than 11,000

[1] Bull. Rom. VIII., 52 *seq.*; *cf.* 56 *seq.*, 84 *seq*

[2] See STEINHUBER, I.[2], 102 *seq.*, 106.

scudi, which was more than had been declared to be required for the maintenance of 100 students.[1]

Gregory XIII. is therefore rightly looked upon as the second founder of the Germanicum.[2] Without having obtained from the princes of Germany anything more than promises for the future, he had by himself undertaken this work which was so quick to succeed. In the second year from the re-establishment of the German college it numbered 130 students. Under the direction of its distinguished rector, Michele Lauretano, it also prospered within to such a degree that it was very soon looked upon by all as the model of all seminaries. The maintenance of the discipline, the scientific instruction with its periodical disputations, as well as the religious education and the exercises of piety, were all beyond compare. The religious chant, too, was zealously cultivated there. The first musical director was Luigi da Vittoria, Palestrina's closest friend, and he was succeeded by Annibale Stabile. The functions at S. Apollinare were noted for their solemnity and decorum, and the music was considered as the best in the whole city.[3]

The efforts made by Gregory XIII. on behalf of the German College, to which he continued to show special

[1] See *ibid.* 108 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*, 120 *seq.* For the palace and church of S. Apollinare see LANCIANI, IV., 77 *seq.* The inscription about Gregory XIII.: "Collegii Germanici fundator et parens optimus" in S. Croce de Fonte Avellana, in *Nuovo giornale Arcadico*, 3rd ser., II., Milan, 1890, 48.

[2] I. Rabus praises him greatly for this in his *Rom Reise 1575 Cod. Germ. 1280, p. 218 *seq.* Royal Library, Munich. In our own day the colossal bust of the Pope, who issued no fewer than 17 bulls in favour of the Germanicum, has been exposed in the vestibule of its new home in the Via S. Nicolò da Tolentino; it is the work of the Berlin sculptor, Joseph Limburg.

[3] See STEINHUBER, I.[2], 125 *seq.*, 128 *seq.* Musotti says in his *notes (see App. n. 29) that the German College was *"un splendore in Roma di religione e santi costumi." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

kindness,[1] produced abundant fruits. Its share in the Catholic restoration in the countries of the German Empire were very clearly shown even before the end of the century. Its influence, which spread like the ripples on water, was of so great importance that we shall have to speak of it in greater detail when we come to treat of affairs in Germany.[2]

The rapid progress made by the German College[3] decided Gregory to adopt the suggestion made by the Jesuit Stefano Sázntó and by Cardinal Santori in 1578 to erect a college in Rome for Hungary as well. Pius V. had already had this project in mind.[4] Gregory XIII. granted to the new college the church of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Coelian and the church dedicated to St. Stephen the king near St. Peter's, together with the hospice for Hungarian pilgrims attached to it, but which was no longer in use.[5] Since it was impossible to find means for the maintenance of this establishment,[6] Gregory decided to give it solidity and the opportunity of development by uniting it to the German College, which was already well endowed and firmly established. This was done

[1] *Cf.* for the years 1575 and 1576 the Nuntiaturberichte edited by SCHELLHASS, V., cviii. *seq.* *Ibid*, for the necessity of the preference given to the nobility in accepting students, due to the conditions in Germany.

[2] See more fully, Vol. XX. of this work.

[3] "Germanorum adolescentium collegium ita auxit et amplificavit [Gregory XIII.], ut hodie sit numerosissimum magno quidem sumptu, sed maiore profectu" says Guido Ferreri, *Vita Gregorii XIII., c. 4, Papal Secret Archives. See App. n. 25

[4] See FRAKNOI in *Katholikus Szemle*, VII., 181 *seq.*

[5] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 250 *seq.*; STEINHUBER, I.[3], 137 *seq.* SZÁNTÓ, Historia Seminarii Hungarici written in 1579, in Vat. 6205, Vatican Library. *Cf.* FRAKNOI, Ungarns Bezeihungen zum Heiligen Stuhl, III., Budapest, 1903. For the part taken by Santori see his Autobiografia, XII., 364.

[6] Gregory XIII. referred to this subject several times with Cardinal Santori; see his *Audienze of November 20 and December 30, 1578, Papal Secret Archives.

by a bull dated April 13th, 1580,[1] and in the future the two seminaries remained permanently united.[2] On March 29th, 1584, a second bull gave the "Collegium Germanicum et Ungaricum" the rules and laws which are still in force. These, which are based upon the primitive statute drafted by Ignatius of Loyola, and incorporate the experience which had since been acquired, contain precise instructions as to the selection and character of the students, the discipline, the studies, the spiritual exercises, the duties of the rector, and the administration of the property.[3]

The number of the students was fixed at 100; with the exception of Switzerland and Bohemia, they were to be drawn from Upper Germany, the territories of Westphalia, Saxony and the Rhineland, the dioceses of Kulm, Ermland and Kalisch, and from the kingdom of Hungary, according to the requirements of the various dioceses. The students were to attend the lectures at the Roman College. Three years were appointed for the study of philosophy, and four for scholastic theology. A year before they left the college the students, without obtaining dimissorial letters from their own bishops, without title, and without observing the prescriptions of canon law, received priest's orders, and the more brilliant ones the academic degrees as well. This bull leaves them entirely free to enter the religious Orders. A special feature of the German College was the fact that an oath was demanded of the students that they would receive sacred orders in due course, that they would at once return to Germany at the

[1] Bull. Rom., VIII., 250 *seq.* The union was asked for in an anonymous **Memoriale presented to Pope Gregory concerning the Hungarian College, dated August 15, 1579, Barb. LVI.-129, p. 187-191, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Fontes rer. Hungaricarum, II., 2. Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum 1; Matricula ed. A. VERESS, Budapest, 1917, viii. *seq.*

[3] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 447 *seq.*; *cf.* STEINHUBER, I.[3], 155 *seq.*; the ordinance of 1573 which only remained in force for a short time, and was published for the first time by SCHELLHASS (Nuntiaturberichte III., 415 *seq.*).

command of their superiors, that they would not devote themselves explicitly to the study of civil law and medicine, which were not compatible with the ecclesiastical state, and that they would not accept any office at the court.[1] In order to reform the aristocratic cathedral chapters of Germany, Gregory laid it down that only those were to be received into the Germanicum who were distinguished either by nobility of birth or by some special intellectual qualification.

Even more than in Germany England was threatened with the dying out of the clergy. The terrible state into which the Catholics had fallen on account of the bloody persecution of Queen Elizabeth, had moved William Allen, who had taken refuge on the continent from that reign of terror, to found in 1568 at Douai a seminary for English missionary priests.[2] In 1575 Gregory XIII. granted to this establishment, which had done so much good, an annual subsidy of 12,000 gold scudi.[3] Not satisfied with this, he decided to found a similar college in the Eternal City. As, after 1578, some students from Allen's seminary had been transferred to Rome to the ancient hospice of the English pilgrims at S. Tommaso in the Via Monserrato, the Pope, by a bull of April 23rd, 1579, appointed that hospice as the place of residence of the new college, and assigned to it an annual revenue of 3600 gold scudi, also granting to it the abbey of S. Sabina near Piacenza, which carried with it another 3000 ducats annually. He also ordained, together with giving it exemption from all taxes, that the college should be placed under the immediate care of the Holy See. Cardinal Morone was chosen as Protector.[4] On July 22nd, 1579, the Pope visited

[1] STEINHUBER, I², 165 *seq*

[2] See more fully, *infra*, 377 *seqq*.

[3] See DODD-TIERNEY, Church History, II., App. n. 411; the original of the *brief of April 15, 1575, in the State Archives, Rome.

[4] The date of the bull of foundation, 1578, in the Turin edition of the Bull. Rom., VIII., 208 *seq*. is wrong; the right date is in the earlier editions, e.g. that of CHERUBINI, II., 422 *seq*. The history of the foundation was written by Robert Persons, afterwards rector, see POLLEN in *Cathol. Record Society Miscell.*,

the establishment, where he was received with a Latin oration and a graceful poem.[1]

The first rector of the English College, the students of which rose in the time of Gregory XIII. from 40 to 70, was Maurice Clenock, who had hitherto been the warden of the ancient hospice ; two Jesuits were charged with the internal direction of the establishment. Soon, however, difficulties arose between the Welshmen, who were favoured by Clenock, and the students of English birth, which very nearly led to the complete destruction of the college. The result of this was the removal of Clenock and the appointment of the Jesuit Agazzari as his successor. Later on, fresh disputes in the college led to the intervention of the Pope. It was claimed that the reason for these was the exaggeration of the educational system of the Jesuits,[2] whereas in reality it was only a case of mistakes which had been made by certain fathers. Even the enemies of the Jesuit system admit that the students of the English College accomplished great things, and that their preparation for the martyrdom which awaited them in their own country, was carried out by the Jesuits in a brilliant way ; they deserve the greatest credit for the English heroes educated in Rome, " who kissed their instruments of torture, blessed the executioner and embraced the ladder which was to take them to the gibbet."[3]

II. (1906, 83 *seq.*), and F. Sega in his reports of the visitation in FOLEY, VI., 5 *seqq.* ; MEYER, I., 428 *seq.* ; KNOX, Douai Diaries, LVII., *seq.* ; BELLESHEIM, Allen, 110 *seq.* ; LANCIANI, IV., 75 *seq.* ; GASQUET, History of the English College of Rome, London, 1920, 68 *seqq.*, 69 *seqq.* ; P. GUILDAY, The English Catholic refugees on the Continent, 1538 to 1795, I., London, 1914 ; POLLEN, The English Catholics, 271 *seq.*

[1] See *report of Odescalchi of July 25, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] MEYER, I., 87 *seq.*, who if he had known of the account by Bellesheim (ALLEN, 114 *seq.*) which escaped his notice, would certainly have altered his opinion. *Cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*

[3] MEYER, I., 92. Gregory XIII. issued on January 21, 1582, an exhortation to make donations to the seminary at Douai,

In England the establishment of local seminaries was altogether out of the question on account of the bloody laws of Queen Elizabeth. The contrary was the case in Germany, where Catholic districts were still numerous. Those who were acquainted with conditions in that country had planned, on the occasion of the foundation of the Germanicum, to employ the means appointed for the growth of that institution by educating youths in the various Jesuit establishments in Germany.[1] Without in any way limiting the German College, Gregory gave his consent to the carrying out of this plan. There thus arose during his pontificate pontifical schools directed by the Jesuits; for Austria at Vienna, Prague and Gratz; for the north and east at Olmütz and Braunsberg; at Fulda for western Germany and at Dillingen for Upper Germany.[2] The bull of erection of the pontifical seminary at Dillingen was signed by the trembling hand of Gregory on April 9th, 1585, on the eve of his death. The object of the institution was, here as elsewhere, the preservation and spread of the Catholic faith.[3] For this purpose no sacrifice was too great for the large-hearted Pope. His own experience had confirmed him in his opinion that to

which had been transferred to Rheims on account of the disturbances in the Netherlands (Bull. Rom., VIII., 383 *seq.*). He also subsidized the Scottish college at Pont-à-Mousson; see MAFFEI, II., 228; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, X., 1928.

[1] See STEINHUBER, I.[3], 94. As early as December 24, 1573, an *Avviso di Roma speaks of the intention of Gregory to erect at the expense of the Holy See a college for students in Germany. Urb. 1043, p. 348, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* DUHR, I., 301 *seq.* Donations for the seminary at Prague during the years 1575-81 are mentioned in the *Nunziatura di Germania, 93, p. 7, Papal Secret Archives. See also MAFFEI, I., 137, 157, 282; II., 380. DU CHESNE, Hist. des Papes, Paris, 1653, 439 *seq.* THEINER, Schweden, I., 525 *seq.*, 538 *seq.*, A *Catalogus alumnorum collegii Olmucensis (from Gregory XIII. down to 1624) in *Visite*, 1, p. 17 *seq.*, Propaganda Archives, Rome. For Olmütz and Braunsberg see more fully *infra*, Chapter

[3] See SPECHT, Geschichte der Universität Dillingen, 426 *seq.*

compensate for the losses of the Church there was no more efficacious means than those establishments which aimed at the training of a pious, moral and learned clergy. To Possevino, who was charged with the foundation of the seminary at Olmütz he said: "At the request of the princes we have sent large sums of money to every kind of place, and what have we obtained in return? Very little. But what we have expended on the seminaries no one can take away from us. The return for what we have expended for the salvation of immortal souls is indeed, fully assured to us."[1]

Filled with this idea Gregory also subsidized the erection of seminaries in Italy, among which those at Naples and Venice especially owe much to him,[2] as well as that for Dalmatia and Illyria which was established at Loreto.[3] In the capital of Lombardy he founded in 1579, at the request of Borromeo, the Swiss College, which gave excellent priests to Catholic Switzerland, in so far as it formed part of the diocese of Milan, and thus opposed a safe barrier against the penetration of the religious innovations.[4]

The paternal care of Gregory XIII. for Catholic education was not limited to the west alone. His vigilant pastoral eye

[1] See STEINHUBER, I.[3], 137.

[2] See THEINER, Bildungsanstalten, 127, 149; PIERLING, St. Siège, II., 33 *seq.* A *brief of Gregory XIII. to the nuncio at Venice, dated Rome, April 23, 1579, instructs him to see to the endowment of the "in domo SS. Philippi et Jacobi [existing] Seminarium puerorum Venetorum collegium Gregorianum nuncupandum." Original in the State Archives, Venice. For the seminary at Naples, where the archbishop also called upon the bishops of his province to found seminaries, see SPARANO, Mem. d. Napolit. chiesa, I., Naples, 1768, 248 *seq.*

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 18; MORONI, XXXIX., 243; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, VIII., 151. At first this college as well was to have been erected in Rome; see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 364. *Audienze, December 30, 1578, July 30 and November 5, 1579, Arm. 52, t. 17, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Bull. Rom., VIII., 269 *seq.* *Cf. supra* p. 89; SALA, Docum, I., 219, 317, 374.

included the whole world, and even in Japan he founded several Jesuit houses.[1] In 1575 the Jesuits had planned the foundation of a Greek College in Rome in the interests of the Greek Catholic inhabitants of eastern Mediterranean countries.[2] At first difficulties stood in the way of the realization of this project, which was especially supported by Cardinal Santori,[3] but when a congregation of Cardinals which had been set up by the Pope,[4] as well as Gaspare Viviani, Bishop of Sithia, warmly supported the establishment of such an institution, it was decided upon in a bull of January 13th, 1577.[5] In this college there were to be educated not only able ecclesiastics belonging to the Greek Catholic rite, but also laymen, by whose means it was hoped to bring influence to bear for the reunion of the Greek schismatics. Generous as ever, Gregory assigned to the college an annual revenue of 1200 gold scudi and for 15 years the revenues of the vacant bishopric of Chissano in Crete. Later on he added other endowments, especially the full possession of the Benedictine abbey of the

[1] See CIACONIUS, IV., 20 ; MAFFEI, II., 351 *seq.*

[2] This hitherto unknown fact I found in an *Avviso di Roma of December 10, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 634, Vatican Library.

[3] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 119.

[4] *Cf.* HETEREN, in *Bessarione*, VII., 3 (1902), 174 *seq.*

[5] Bull. Rom., VIII., 159 *seq.* G. Viviani received the diocese of Anagni. An *Avviso di Roma of August 1, 1579, praises him as " huomo singolare nella latina e greca lingua." Urb. 1047, p. 257, Vatican Library. Pietro Arcudio wrote about the beginnings of the Greek College : see LEGRAND, Bibliographie Hellénique, Paris, 1895, 492 *seq.* ; *cf.* also RODOTA, Dell'origine ecc. del rito greco in Italia, III., 153 *seq.* ; BATIFFOL in *Revue des quest. histor.*, XLV., 179 *seq.* *Cf.* 187 for G. Viviani ; the *Historia collegii Graecorum de Urbe*, which was at one time to be found in the archives of the Greek College, is unfortunately no longer there. P. de Meester makes use of many other documents in the archives : Le college pontifical grec de Rome, Rome, 1910. *Cf.* also NETZHAMMER, Das griechische Kolleg in Rom, Salzburg, 1905, and *Revue des quest. histor.*, XLV., 1889, 179 *seq.*

SS. Trinità di Mileto, in Calabria.[1] Cardinals Savelli, Sirleto, Santori and Carafa were appointed Protectors. The college, which was at first placed in a house in the Via Ripetta which was taken on lease, later on received through the munificence of Gregory XIII. a large residence in the Via del Babuino, together with a church of its own, dedicated to St. Athanasius,[2] where divine worship was carried on in accordance with the Uniat Greek rite. The rules of the institution, of which a Greek was appointed rector, were drafted by Cardinal Santori, who, together with Sirleto, took a special interest in it.[3] The greater number of the students came from the Venetian possessions in the Levant. They wore a Greek caftan and the Venetian biretta.

Gregory XIII. interested himself greatly in the Greek College, and often proved his interest by paying it visits;[4] he hoped in this way to be able to assist in the maintenance of the Christians belonging to the Catholic Church who were scattered throughout the East, but who were in communion with Rome, and also to bring back once more to the Church the schismatic Greeks of the East,[5] as well as those in Poland

[1] The documents of this abbey came into the archives of the Greek College in Rome. See the index in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, II., 217 *seq.* A summary drawn from these archives on the generosity of Gregory XIII. in *Revue des. quest. histor.*, XLV., 181.

[2] For these buildings see further Vol. XX. of this work.

[3] See De Meester, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of September 3, 1578, and May 5, 1582, Urb. 1046, p. 303b; 1050 p. 145, Vatican Library. The *notes of Santori upon his audiences bear special witness to the great interest taken by the Pope. Arm. 52, t. 17 and 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See also A. Tiepolo, 265 (*cf.* Ranke, Päpste., I., 276 note) and the letter of Cardinal Galli of May 25, 1577, in Schmurlew, Russland und Italien, I., Petersburg, 1908, 188 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of April 8, 1581, states that Gregory XIII. caused youths to come to the Greek College with the consent of their parents, by means of the bishops. Urb. 1049, p. 152b, Vatican Library.

and Russia. In order to promote these efforts the Pope caused 12,000 copies of the catechism to be printed in Greek.[1]

In Rome Gregory also founded in the Rione of Trevi a college for the Maronites of Mount Lebanon,[2] and another for the Armenians.[3] A college for the youths who had entered the Church from Judaism or Islam was established in Rome by the Pope at the advice of Philip Neri on September 1st, 1577, in the house where St. Catherine of Siena had died.[4]

Gregory XIII. gladly spoke of the establishments for education and instruction which he had founded both in and out of Rome. When he had, on one occasion, been speaking, in the presence of the Datary, Cardinal Matteo Contarelli, of the great development of religion which he looked for from these establishments, he received the reply: "Indeed, Holy Father, you have set up a splendid statue, but it is like

[1] So reports the "Epistola ex romana urbe in Germaniam missa," Ingolstadt, 1577. Matteo de Bari was entrusted with the translation of the catechism; see *Miscell., XI., t. 93, p. 30, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 475 *seq.*; *cf.* 438 *seq.* concerning the erection of a hospice in Rome for the Maronites, which had already been decided upon. See, besides PICHLER, II., 548, CIACONIUS, IV., 18; LANCIANI, IV., 76 *seq.* and especially ANAISSI, Bull. Maronit., 81 *seq.*, 84 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 98 *seq.* The *Constitutiones collegii Maronitarum with the Acta of Propaganda of 1634 in Vat. 7262, p. 21 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[3] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 492 *seq.* *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 162; CIACONIUS, IV., 17; PICHLER, I., 511; II., 462, and the *report of Odescalchi of August 25, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The building was not brought to completion, see LANCIANI, IV., 76.

[4] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 188 *seq.*; *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 250; LANCIANI, IV., 73. Musotti states in his notes on the college of the Neophytes: *"Era tanto il concorso d'Ebrei et Turchi fatti christiani che il luogo non era bastante essendosene convertiti nel suo pontificato più che non ha fatto in molti pontificati insieme." Boncompagni Archives, Rome. A list of the neophytes who had been baptized on April 18, 1579, in Cod. Ottob. 2452, Vatican Library.

that which Nabuchadonosor saw in his dream." "What do you mean by that?" asked the Pope in surprise. "Behold," replied the Cardinal, "of the colleges established by your Holiness, the Germanicum, which is so richly endowed, may be compared to the head of gold; the English College, which has not been provided for with the same generosity, is the breast of silver; the Maronite College is the legs of iron; but they all rest upon feet of clay, on a fragile foundation which, if it be not supported, will fall to the ground." "And these feet?" Gregory interrupted. "The feet," said the Cardinal, "I see in the Roman College, which, being the establishment for training and instruction common to all, surpasses them all. But at present it is in a dwelling place so confined and ruinous, and is moreover so insufficiently endowed and so deeply in debt, that it cannot last for long." The Pope, who had already assisted the Roman College, recognized the justice of Contarelli's complaint, and resolved to come to its assistance with the needful help.[1] The plan formed by Ignatius of Loyola now was realized in the fullest way: a central college, not only for Rome, but for the whole world, in the centre of unity of the Church. The debts of the Roman College were condoned, it was given an assured endowment, so that Gregory also became the second founder of this most important institution.

"The college, which hitherto had lived on air," said Cardinal Galli, "now possessed the means for the maintenance of 200 students."[2] But not content with this the Pope caused to be built for the institution, on a truly gigantic scale, a new building, the work of Bartolomeo Ammanati. On October 28th, 1584, he himself performed the ceremony of blessing it.[3]

[1] See SACCHINI, V., 1, 50-51. RINALDI, 87 *seq.*; *cf.* 82 *seq* for earlier subsidies.

[2] *"Et quel che più importa l'istesso collegio de Giesuiti qual prima era fondato in aria senza certo sostenimento S.S^{tà} l'ha in maniera dotato che per ora pasce et mantiene 200 bocchi." *Memorie in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* SACCHINI, V., 10; MAFFEI, II., 228; MORONI, XIV., 187 *seq.* *Cf.* *"Gratiarum actio ad Gregorium XIII. P.M. pro

In a suggestive way the huge building was everywhere adorned with poems in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean, and with coats-of-arms of every kind. The learned Jesuit, Stefano Tucci, the celebrated author of many scholastic Latin dramas, saluted Gregory in a Latin discourse. He thanked him for the honour he had paid them by his personal presence, and extolled the great services which His Holiness had rendered for the spread of the Society of Jesus throughout the world, to which the Pope modestly replied: "To God alone does the honour and glory belong"; he then inspected the new building in detail.[1] Above all the orator had expressed his gratitude for the fact that Gregory had entrusted to his Order the scientific instruction and education of youth of all nations. On the occasion of the laying of the first stone twenty-five theses had been composed in as many languages in token of the world-wide destinies of the Roman College, which, under the direction of the Jesuits, was to become an establishment for the teaching of philosophy and theology for all the nations of the world. Like the inscription on the first stone, so too the coins that were struck as a memorial of the new building expressed the idea that it, as the universal college of the Society of Jesus, was to become a seminary for all nations, a world-wide institution of the Catholic Church.[2]

collegii Rom. amplificatione initio huius anni a Franc. Bentio rhetoricae doctore auditoribus suis tradita A° 1581," Fondo Gesuitico 26, n. 1, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of October 31, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 432, Vatican Library; *Litt. ann. 1584, p. 13, and the *report of Odescalchi of November 3, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* RINALDI, 104; *"Laudationes habitae in adventum Gregorii XIII. ad colleg. Romanum" in Cod. D. 46, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; *"Collegii Romani carmina Gregorio XIII. fundatori," Vatic. 8923, Vatican Library. For S. Tucci see SOMMERVOGEL, VIII., 263, TACCHI VENTURI, I., 65, 488 *seq.* For the dramas of Tucci see SOLDATI, Il Collegio Mamertino [at Messina] e le origini del Teatro Gesuitico, Turin, 1908.

[2] See VENUTI, 147 *seq.*; BONANNI, I., 353; Memorie intorno al Collegio Romano, Rome, 1870, 6 *seq.*; SCORRAILLE, I., 170; RINALDI, 101 *seq.* *Cf.* also *infra*, p. 256, n. 1, the memorial there mentioned from the Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

On the outer wall of the building which in 1870 was forcibly diverted from its purpose, may still be read the simple inscription: "Pope Gregory XIII. for religion and learning"; (Religioni ac bonis artibus).[1]

In the entrance hall there was erected in a niche a large marble statue of the Pope who had founded it, raising his right hand in the act of blessing. The inscription extolls him as the founder and father of the Roman College. The interest he took in the institution is shown by the fact that he assisted in person at the first lectures of the young Francesco Suarez.[2] A choice library, and afterwards a valuable museum and a celebrated observatory,[3] completed the foundation of the "Universitas Gregoriana," which received the right to grant academic degrees in philosophy and theology. On December 5th, 1584, the Congregation of Mary of the students of the Roman College, which has become the prototype and model for the foundation of similar unions outside Rome, was raised by the Pope to the rank of an arch-congregation under the title of the Annunciation of Mary, and was placed

[1] Further details of the building *infra*, Vol. XX. of this work.

[2] See SCORRAILLE, I., 171 *seq.*

[3] The library, museum and observatory as well as the college were seized in 1870, in spite of the law of guarantees which, in par 13, ensured the preservation of Catholic institutions. The college could not be regarded as the property of the annexed Papal States or of the city of Rome. It belonged like, for example, "Propaganda Fide" to the universal Church (*cf.* the Memorie cited p. 256, n. 1). The precious library (see as to this LAZZERI, Miscell. Bibl. coll. Rom., Rome, 1754) at that moment much diminished by unknown persons was transferred to the new Vittorio Emanuele Library. The Kircherian Museum (see MORONI, XIV., 200), although it deserved to remain as a whole on account of its special character, was dispersed in 1913. The "Universitas Gregoriana," driven forcibly from its ancient seat, took refuge in 1870 in the buildings of the "Germanicum" where both institutions dwelt together for about 20 years. On account of the increase in the students, the "Germanicum" left its old home in order to take up suitable quarters in the old Hotel Costanzi.

permanently under the direction of the General of the Jesuits ; to this was added the privilege of erecting scholastic congregations in all the colleges and churches of the Order, of affiliating them to the original congregation in Rome, of revising their statutes and inspecting them.[1]

The number of those attending the Gregorian University grew rapidly. Besides the students belonging to the Jesuit Order, who came from many different nations, instruction was also given there to the students of the German-Hungarian College and the English College, as well as those from the Roman seminary. Among the professors there were already such men as Toledo, Bellarmine, Ledesma, Pereira, Clavius, Orlandini and Suarez, who in days to come were succeeded by Cornelius a Lapide, de Lugo, Pallavicini, Segneri, Zaccaria, Taparelli, Patrizi, Tarquini, Ballerini, Franzelin, Kleutgen and Palmieri. In order to form an idea how solid was the instruction at the Roman College, one example is enough : from the lectures which Bellarmine delivered there after 1576, before huge crowds, there sprang his celebrated masterpiece, the Disputations upon controverted points of the Catholic faith against the religious innovators of our times.[2] No less than ten Popes have received instruction at the Roman College : Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Innocent X., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent XII., Clement XI., Innocent XIII., Clement XII., and Leo XIII. Far greater is the number of Cardinals, bishops and other dignitaries of the Church who have there received their scientific training. Countless preachers of the Gospel have gone courageously thence to all parts of the world to face martyrdom.[3] Of

[1] Bull. Rom., VIII., 499 *seq.* *Cf.* for the Marian Congregation THEINER, III., 8 *seq.* ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 137 ; DUHR, I., 357 *seq.*, 365 *seq.*, 478 ; II., 2, 81 ; MORONI, XIV., 189 *seq.* ; BERINGER, De congregat. Marianis. Docum. et leges, Graccii, 1909 ; ELDER MULLAN, La congregazione Mariana studiata nei documenti, Rome, 1911.

[2] See more fully as to this later, under Clement VIII.

[3] Cardinal Galli especially brings out this activity in his *Memorie Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

the spirit of the institution no less eloquent testimony is borne by the names of the saints and blessed who have been its students: Aloysius Gonzaga, John Berchmans, Camillus of Lellis, Leonard of Port Maurice, John Baptist de Rossi, Antony Baldinucci and Rodolfo Aquaviva.[1]

The truly regal generosity with which the Pope interested himself in the Gregorian University as in other establishments of learning,[2] was celebrated by contemporaries in prose and verse.[3] His educational establishments, wrote Cesare Speciani, extend to the extreme north of Europe and the east of Asia.[4] Musotti was fully justified in saying that Gregory XIII. had devoted all his energies towards promoting everywhere, by means of the colleges, the restoration, spread and consolidation of the Catholic faith.[5]

Gregory, who loved his colleges as the apple of his eye,[6] and during the summer of 1579 personally visited all those in Rome,[7] had consolidated them by endowing them, and by

[1] See GRISAR in *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III.[2], 610 *seqq.*

[2] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 125, where, however, the sum of two millions is based upon an exaggeration.

[3] See the inscriptions and the poems in CIACONIUS, IV., 17 *seq.*, 41 *seq.* *Cf.* also A. QUERENGUS, De novo Soc. Iesu Collegii quod Gregorii XIII. P.M. liberalitate extrui coeptum est Romae anno 1582 carmen, Rome, 1582; the *report of Odescalchi of July 25, 1579, and July 28, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Notes of C. Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For the colleges in Japan see further Vol. XX. of this work.

[5] *Notes in Boncompagni Archives, Rome; *cf.* App. n. 29.

[6] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of November 6, 1582, concerning a brief to Borromeo: "che tutti quelli che farano buona riuscita nelli suoi seminarii non possino andare nelli Teatini o Gesuiti." Urb. 1050, p. 409, Vatican Library. This brief of Gregory XIII. is unknown to me; on the other hand, Borromeo received another in the sense already expressed by Pius V.; see SYLVAIN, III., 67.

[7] See Mucantius, *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 16. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of July 18, 1579: "Il papa e stato a visitare il Seminario Romano nel palazzo di Siena et tratta di comprarlo per 24,000 scudi a persuasione del card. Savelli,

assigning to them for that purpose the revenues of abbeys that had fallen into decay or died out.[1] It is not surprising that this use of ecclesiastical benefices was displeasing to some in the curia. Therefore attacks were not wanting. The Pope, however, did not let himself be diverted from his purpose and to the end of his pontificate continued to make further plans for establishments of ecclesiastical education. Thus, during the last years of his life he planned the foundation of a Jesuit house with a seminary at Luxembourg,[2] the establishment of a college for the reception of German students in canon and civil law at Bologna,[3] the foundation of an Irish college in Rome,[4] and the establishment of a similar institution at Lecce or Bari for the use of the natives of Albania and the Serbs.[5] The Pope also projected the foundation of a seminary for Poland on the model of the Germanicum.[6]

che n'è protettore, per commodo de' studenti, et mercordi visito il Collegio Germanico et farà il medesimo di tutti gli altri delle nationi." Urb. 1047, p. 235, Vatican Library. See also Maffei II., 75 *seq.*

[1] Bernerio *reports on May 20, 1581, that it is thought that a great part of the benefices of Cardinal Sforza will after his death be assigned to the Greek, English and Swiss Colleges, " accio habbino da sustentarsi in tutti i tempi senza haver bisogno d'esser sumministrati de danari della Camera come al presente convien fare." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *report of the ambassador of the Netherlands, Lauro Dubliul, dated Rome, March 26, 1584. Negeciat. de Rome, I., State Archives, Brussels.

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi, dated Rome, April 22, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and SCHMIDLIN 537 *seq.*

[4] See *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III., 635. For the Irish College founded in Paris in 1577 see *American Cath. Quarterly Review*, XXIII. (1898), 273 *seq.*

[5] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 161. The subsidy for a seminary of the Franciscans for the Dalmatians, etc., is recorded in the Epistola ex Romana urbe in Germaniam missa, Ingolstadt, 1577.

[6] See the *Memorie in the Fondo Gesuitico 290, p. 25 *seq.* Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

The defence of the Pope against the attacks which were repeatedly made in the curia upon his labours on behalf of the colleges, was undertaken by a friend of the Catholic revival in a special memorial addressed to the College of Cardinals.[1] The writer, who held a post in one of the colleges, and who had also visited Germany, was in a position to form a judgment with full knowledge of the case. The hostility to the work which the Pope had done for the colleges, which sprang to a great extent from ignorance and selfishness, he refuted with great detail; on the contrary, he assigns to the colleges the first place among the pious institutions of Rome. That which the charitable institutions, which were so generally admired, were doing in temporal matters, was being done by the colleges in spiritual matters; to be zealous on their behalf was a duty that lay upon the Pope, and their great number was the glory of Gregory XIII.; they were in complete accordance with his duty and with the spirit of the Catholic Church; above all does he insist upon the justice of employing ecclesiastical benefices for these institutions, since their object is the preservation of the faith by means of exemplary pastors, a matter which the great Popes of antiquity had always had very much at heart.[2]

From the remarks made by this writer one learns with surprise how great was the prejudice which the establishment of the colleges had to encounter in Rome. To the accusation

[1] *" Raggioni dati a diversi sig^ri cardinali in favore de' collegi e seminarii instituiti dalla S^tà di Gregorio XIII." t. 362 of the Propaganda Archives, Rome. This writing belongs to the last years of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.; the apostasy of Gebhard Truchsess is mentioned in it.

[2] The incontestible canonical principle that the Pope as the administrator of all the goods of the Church can transfer the possession of one Order to another, and that when a convent has for a long time had no inmates or has entirely fallen into ruin, he can assign it to other religious who have no connexion with the said possessions, was unjustly called in question or openly denied by certain fanatical members of the older religious Orders. *Cf.* Duhr, I., 372 *seq.*, II., 157.

that these institutions were only intended for the poor, the author replies by calling attention to the German College, where, as a result of a careful estimate of conditions in Germany a preference was given to members of the aristocracy. That these institutions should have been entrusted for the most part to the Society of Jesus, is, it is maintained, absolutely justified. For more than twenty years, the author says, I have known the Jesuits as learned and holy men. The work that they have accomplished throughout Europe and in the countries beyond the seas, has had the result that the heretics fear them as much as all good Catholics esteem them. No weight must be attached to the gossip of those who envy them, for their activity is large-hearted, and their self-sacrifice wonderful. Attention is drawn in specially forcible terms to the practical results of the colleges ; in them men who have dedicated themselves to the service of the Church are educated in the true faith and the Christian life ; from them have come forth learned and virtuous pastors for the defence of religion in lands overrun by error, and for the reawakening of Catholics who are in such danger in those lands. If the Lord had not sent the Society of Jesus, and its colleges, in many countries there would now remain no trace of the Catholic faith. The heretics realize fully that in these two things their principal adversaries are to be found ; in many districts the students from the colleges are the only representatives and defenders of the ancient religion, while in others they have brought back many wanderers to the Church. With justifiable satisfaction the author points to the results obtained in the conversion of the heathen. Face to face with such facts, there are no reasonable grounds for the accusations of those who describe the buildings of some of the colleges, and especially the Roman College, as too splendid for religious. If the Pope had built a palace for his nephews there might indeed be reason for remark, but not because he has built in the Roman College an establishment for the general good.

The objections that were raised against the fact that these colleges had been established in Rome itself are also fully refuted. Among other things, it is pointed out in this

connexion that persons educated in the capital of Christendom are enabled from their own experience to show, among the nations under the domination of heresy, how much good is to be found in Rome. It is with great satisfaction that the author, at the end of his monograph, states that the Pope, in his labours on behalf of the colleges, had met with the full consent and the strong support of the College of Cardinals. "Let us therefore give thanks to God," he writes, "that in these days and by means of these institutions, from east to west, and from north to south, so many have returned to the faith and to their obedience to the vicar of Christ, and that in this respect we may look for even greater things in the future."[1]

A few years later Giovanni Botero expressed the view that the truly apostolic labours of Gregory XIII. for the establishment of these colleges could never be sufficiently praised.[2]

[1] The hope expressed in the memorial, that the example set by Gregory in the foundation of the colleges and seminaries would fire others to follow it, was by no means a vain one; especially among the Italian bishops there arose quite a rivalry in establishing such institutions. Details here and there in UGHELLI. In the case of some of the seminaries there are special works, e.g. LANZONI, La fundazione del seminario di Faenza, Faenza, 1896; A. LAURICELLA, Notizie stor. d. seminario di Girgenti [at the end of 1577], Girgenti, 1897; *Ordini che si devono servare nel seminario di Piacenza fatti dall'ill. Msgr. Paolo d'Arezzo, vesc. di Piacenza, in Cod. 16 of the Library of the Certosa di S. Martino at Naples; *Decreti per il seminario di Piacenza fatti da Filippo Sega 1585, in Ottob. 2473, p. 233 of the Vatican Library. What difficulties were often met with in connexion with the establishment of the seminaries through the want of means are shown by the history of the seminary of Reggio Emilia which had been projected in the time of Pius V., and described by COTTAFAVI (Il seminario di Reggio nell'Emilia, Reggio Emilia, 1907, 1 *seq.*). For Spain, where Gregory XIII. himself intervened (MAFFEI, I., 365) see THEINER, Bildungsanstalten, 154 *seq.*

[2] BOTERO, Relationi, III., 28.

CHAPTER VII.

Patronage of Learning.—The Catacombs.—New Editions of Canon Law and the Martyrology.

Gregory XIII., who was himself a scholar of distinction, and even in his old age devoted to study, in spite of the burdens of the pontificate,[1] saw a powerful means of restoring to the Church her ancient splendour in the promotion and revival of learning. He supported the great scholars of the day in the most generous manner, by conferring ecclesiastical dignities upon them or gifts of money. Although he was by preference a jurist, he took under his protection the representatives of every branch of learning, and for this purpose almost always sought the advice of Cardinals Sirleto, Antonio Carafa and Contarelli. The number of scholars and writers of Italian birth who shared in the munificence of the Pope was extraordinarily large. Maffei, the biographer of Gregory XIII., names the following: Vincenzo Laureo, Cesare Baronius, Ignazio Danti, Antonio Agelli, Fulvio Orsini, Antonio Boccapaduli, Silvio Antoniano, Ascanio Valentino, Gian Battista and Attilio Amalteo, Alessandro Petronio, Paulus Manutius, Carlo Sigonio, Flaminio de Nobili, Fabio Benvoglienti, Giacomo Mazzoni, Girolamo Mercuriale, Pietro Magno d'Arpino, Uberto Folieta, Lorenzo Frizolio, Lorenzo Gambara, Antonio Querengo, and Giovanni Carga.[2]

[1] The *Inventarium librorum et scripturarum in scrinio et studio Gregorii XIII. a C. Vastavillano S.R.E. camerario repertorum" in Cod. 671, p. 171 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome. The inventory would be even more interesting if the description had not been for the most part restricted only to generalities.

[2] Maffei, II., 459 *seq.* For the decisive influence of Sirleto with Gregory XIII. in scientific matters see the expressions used by Bellarmine in his *letter of July 19, 1584, in Lett. et miscell. Cod. 71, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 41.

This list is by no means complete ; for example, two famous names, Ulisse Aldrovandi and Andrea Mercati, are missing.[1] Mercati, a friend of Philip Neri, was numbered among the Pope's intimates, and was ordered to found a museum of the natural sciences at the Vatican ; he has described the collection in his " Metalloteca."[2]

But Gregory XIII., always having before his eyes the whole Catholic world, equally helped foreign scholars, among them men of such great name as the Frenchmen, Marc Antoine Muret and Pierre Morin; the Spaniards Francisco de Torres, Pedro Maldonado, Francisco Peña, Alfonso and Pedro Chacon ; the Portuguese Jeronymo Osorio and Achille Stazio. Of the German scholars upon whom he bestowed his favour, the best known are Peter Canisius, Christopher Clavius and Georg Eder. Among the English Allen and Nicholas Sanders stand out, among the Scots Ninian Winzet, and among the Netherlanders Wilhelm Lindanus and Gerhard Voss.[3] Gregory XIII. especially took under his protection the celebrated exegetist, Juan Maldonado [Maldonatus], threatening with

[1] U. Aldrovandi had founded in 1567 the botonical garden in his own country, Bologna, the third after Paris and Pisa to be established in Europe. On the occasion of the third centenary of his death MATTIROLO published a series of valuable works : L'opera botanica di U.A., Bologna, 1897 ; Erbario di U.A., Genoa, 1899. *Cf.* L. FRATI, Catalogo dei Mss. di U.A., Bologna, 1907 ; Intorno alla vita ed alle opere di U.A., Bologna, 1907 ; DE TONI, Spigolature Aldrovandine in *Atti Mod.*, 1920.

[2] Published for the first time by the advice of Clement XI. in 1717 ; see RENAZZI, II., 210.

[3] *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 460, who here follows a manuscript of G. Voss (see App. n. 26). For the scholars of Spain see NIC. ANTONIUS, Bibl. Hisp. nova, Madrid, 1783, I., 459 *seq.*, 487 *seq.*, II., 179 ; HURTER, I., 27, 104, 105, 188, 200 ; TRIPEPI, Papato, II., 49 *seq.*, III., 56 *seq.* For Eder see PAULUS in *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CXV., 13 *seq.*, 85 *seq.*, and CARD SCHRAUF, Der Reichshofrat Dr. Georg Eder, I. : 1573-78, Vienna, 1904 ; for Allen, Sanders, and Lindanus see further *infra* Chapter X. ; for N. WINZET see *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CVII., 704 *seq.* ; for G. Voss see FOPPENS, Bibl. Belgica, I., Brussels, 1739, 362 *seq.*

severe excommunications the adversaries who were persecuting him, and summoning the deserving scholar to Rome to take part in the work upon the new edition of the Septuagint.[1] The learned canonist, Martin Azpilcueta,[2] and Pedro de Fonseca, who bore the name of the "Portuguese Aristotle,"[3] were also highly esteemed by the Pope. The equally learned and pious exegetist, Angelo del Pas, of the Order of Minors, also enjoyed the special favour of the Pope.[4]

In the autumn of 1578 Gregory summoned to Rome the celebrated humanist, archeologist and historian, Carlo Sigonio; there he was assigned a residence in the palace of Giacomo Boncompagni, who took a lively interest in the learned writer of Italian medieval history.[5] Sigonio, who had already given proof of his severely objective treatment of history, was, in accordance to the wishes of the Pope, to write a history of the Church, in strict conformity with the truth, a task connected with the work of refuting the Centuries of Magdeburg,

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, Maldonat et l'université de Paris au XVI.me siècle, Paris, 1856, and RAICH in the introduction to the Commentarii in 4 evangelia of Maldonado, Mayence, 1874.

[2] See *supra* p. 54. The tomb of M. Azpilcueta with the splendid bust which shows in a wonderful way the characteristic head of the scholar in S. Antonio dei Portoghesi. The epitaph in FORCELLA, III., 538.

[3] For Fonseca *cf. Katholik*, 1864, I., 602.

[4] See NIC. ANTONIUS, *loc. cit.* I., 91 *seq.*

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of September 20, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 340b, Vatican Library. For Sigonio *cf.* his life in MURATORI, Sigonii Opera omnia, I., Milan, 1732; TIRABOSCHI, Bibl. Mod;, V.; WACHLER, I., 100 *seq.*; FUETER, 131 *seq.*; KREBS, C. Sigonius, einer der grössten Humanisten der 16 Jahrhunderts, Frankfort, 1840; FRANZIOSI, Della vita di C.S., Modena, 1872; P. Vettori et Sigonio, Corresp. avec F. Orsini, publ. par P. DE NOLHAC, Rome, 1890; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 100; PATETTA, *Atti e Mem. Mod.*, 5 ser., VI. (1912); HESSEL, De regno Italiae libri viginti by C. Sigonio. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung. Berlin, 1900. For the difficulties of Sigonio concerning the censorship see REUSCH, Index, II., 1223.

for which Philip Neri found the one capable man in Baronius.[1]

While Baronius was making use of the manuscript treasures of the Eternal City for his great work, a discovery was made in Rome, which was to be of epoch-making importance for the primitive history of the Church and for Christian archeology. In June, 1578,[2] some labourers who were quarrying pozzolana two miles outside the gate near the Via Salaria Nova, in the vigna of the Spaniard Bartolomeo Sanchez, came upon important traces of subterranean Rome, which, with its extensive and intricate net-work of the tombs of the early Christians, forms, in a manner all its own, a special archivium of that wonderful city round which for more than two thousand years the history of the world turns as its axis.

The Roman catacombs, which until the IXth century had been the object of veneration to pilgrims, had after that time fallen almost entirely into oblivion, and had become to a great extent filled up with earth and debris. Until the XVth

[1] For the advice given by Lindanus to the Pope in February, 1585, to establish a Catholic international college for defence against the attacks of the Protestants see BROM, Archivalia, I., 306.

[2] BOSIO (Roma sotterranea, Rome, 1632, 511) places the discovery on May 31, 1578. He refers to the accounts of Alfonso Chacon, but says frankly that he was only three years old at the time. Therefore De Rossi (I., 12) and all subsequent writers have placed the discovery on that date. But this is wrong, because the *Avvisi di Roma, which are in every way reliable and exact, say on June 28, 1578: "A Porta Salara si e scoperto il cimiterio di S. Priscilla, matrona Romana, dove, mentre visse, raggiuno molti corpi santi, fra quali Leonida, padre d'Origine et uno degli apostoli di Cristo, et per ricognoscere il luogo il Papa n'ha mandato il card. Savello, il generale de Giesuiti et Mons. Marc'Antonio Mureto" Urb. 1046, p. 232, Vatican Library. This is the earliest notice so far discovered. Hitherto the notice published by SAUERLAND in *Röm. Quartelschrift*, II., 210, which is dated "the dog-days" had been looked upon as the earliest. DE ROSSI, *loc. cit.* 216 has already drawn attention to the fact that the notice, though very valuable, is not contemporary with the discovery.

century almost all that was known of this buried world were the narrow sepulchral chambers under some of the ancient basilicas, such as St. Sebastian and S. Pancrazio. With the return to a normal state of affairs the flocking of pilgrims to Rome again began; besides the above named cemeteries they sometimes also visited the catacombs of S. Callisto. The earliest inscription found there dates from the year 1432. From that time the number of visitors increased; the greater number of them were the pious Friars Minor of Rome, and with them also some foreigners. All these visited these sacred tombs from motives of piety.[1] On the other hand it was zeal for pagan antiquities as well as curiosity, which in the time of Paul II. led the humanists and the members of the Accademia Romana of Pomponio Leto to the catacombs of S. Callisto, S. Pretextato, S. Priscilla and SS. Pietro e Marcellino. With the exception of a dry notice of Platina, none of these scholars thought it worth while to speak of places of such importance, or to pay any attention to the Christian inscriptions which were to be found there. It is characteristic of the outlook of "these modern pagans" that they even attached frivolous inscriptions to their own names in these venerable underground places where the very stones preach the Gospel.[2]

While during the Renaissance period excavations were eagerly carried out everywhere in the search for pagan antiquities, the catacombs remained entirely untouched; only those attached to the basilica of St. Sebastian, S. Pancrazio and S. Agnese, which had always remained accessible, were visited at that time by pilgrims and foreigners,[3] but the writings of the humanists are silent in their regard. Among the numerous collections of inscriptions in Rome, and among the many drawings of its monuments, one looks in vain for a single trace of the ancient Christian monuments.[4] After

[1] See De Rossi, I., 2 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work. p. 63.

[3] *Cf.* Vols. VIII., 137, and XIII., 414, of this work, which corrects De Rossi, (I., 9), who only mentions S. Pancrazio.

[4] *Cf.* de Rossi, I., 7 *seq.*, and *Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1876, 129 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*

the indifference with which the Renaissance period, which cared only for antiquity, had treated the subject, the epoch of Catholic restoration was destined to bring about an important change. The day of resurrection was at hand for the cemeteries of the early Christians, hitherto unexplored and almost forgotten, because now the spirit of the times was ripe for such a thing. After the Apostle of Rome, Philip Neri, had, for purely religious purposes, directed the attention of a wide circle towards the catacombs,[1] their scientific exploration soon followed. The attacks of the religious innovators forced men to the study of the history of the primitive Church. Face to face with the great work of Flacius Illyricus, which between the years 1559 and 1574, unfolded in the so-called Centuries of Magdeburg, published in thirteen volumes, "the origins, progress and evil machinations of Antichrist, or of the Popes,"[2] learned Catholics of the various nations of Christendom had immediately come forward with refutations. Thus, among the Germans, there was first Conrad Braun, and Wilhelm Eisengrein, and then Canisius and Surius; with them were the Englishman, Nicholas Harpsfield and the Italian, Onofrio Panvinio, who, however, never published his work.[3] Besides him other distinguished Italian scholars devoted themselves to research among Christian antiquities, like Antonio Agostino and Ottavio Pantagato.[4] Aldus Manutius, in his collection of classical inscriptions, also takes Christian ones into account; namely those upon the pavements of the basilicas. Like Antonio Agostino he too once made his way into an underground cemetery, in order to copy certain inscriptions there.[5] Cardinals Vitelli, Mula, Santori and Sirleto applied their talents as well as their interest to the study of ecclesiastical history.

[1] See *supra* p. 185.

[2] In greater detail in JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 346 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.* VII. 15-16, 316, where there is also given special literature. For Panvinio see PERINI, 126 *seq.*

[4] DE ROSSI (I., 11) A. Agostino and his epistolary, published by Andres (Parma, 1804) and Pantagato (*cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 244) was the first to draw special attention to them.

[5] *Cf.* DE ROSSI, Inscript christ., I., xvi* and Roma sott. I., 11 *seq.*

Like Pius V.,[1] Gregory XIII. took an active part in the efforts being made to refute the historical falsehoods perpetrated by the Centuriators of Magdeburg; together with the Cardinals of the German Congregation he wished for a refutation on similar lines, especially with reference to the affairs of Germany.[2] Many in Rome were of the opinion that such a work was beyond the powers of a single man.[3]

While the discussions were still going on the inspired zeal of Philip Neri had chosen the man who by himself was to carry out the great work: Cesare Baronius. On May 16th, 1577, the latter wrote to Sirleto that with the help of God and the favour of the Pope he hoped to be able once more to revise his ecclesiastical history from the beginning and to give it the finishing touches. In 1578 Baronius wrote to his father of the important help being given him by Sirleto in obtaining the necessary materials from the treasures of the Vatican Library.[4] On April 25th, 1579, he was able to announce that he had completed the first volume of his great Annals, which, however, he wished to correct and polish.[5] This work, together with the other tasks entrusted to him, delayed the publication so long that Gregory XIII. did not live to see the appearance of that monumental work, the "Annals of the Church."

Besides the refutation of the "fables against the Papacy"[6] spread by the religious innovators, it seemed to be specially necessary to answer the inventions of the Protestants against the veneration and invocation of the saints, and the cultus of their relics and images. In 1575 Martin Eisengrein devoted a "polemic discourse" to the defence of the veneration of

[1] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 129.

[2] See THEINER, Annales, I., 201, 318, 410; Nuntiaturberichte edit. by SCHELLHASS, III., 258 n.; SCHMID in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVII., 84 *seq.*; *ibid.* XXXI., 89, and *supra*, p. 261 for Sigonio.

[3] See SCHMID, *loc. cit.*

[4] See LAEMMER in *Analecta iuris pontif.*, 1860, 273. *Cf.* MERCATI Bibl. Vatic., Baronio bibliotecario, 88.

[5] See LAEMMER, Melet., 353 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 349 *seqq.*

the Madonna, and in 1577 Canisius devoted the second part of his great work of positive dogmatics on the falsification of the inspired word to the same subject.[1] The question of the veneration of the saints led to the study of hagiography and Christian archeology. Two men were deserving of special merit in this regard: the Italian, Luigi Lippomano, the successor of Ghiberti in the see of Verona, and the German Carthusian, Laurentius Surius. The works of Lippomano marked a great advance in historical criticism. The scientific and versatile labours of the Augustinian, Onofrio Panvinio, were of great value both to the Roman churches and Christian archeology.[2] In 1568 this indefatigable man published a special work upon the manner of burial in use among the early Christians and their cemeteries. He gives the names of forty-three of these, but says that only three, namely, those of St. Sebastian, St. Lawrence and St. Valentine, were still in existence.[3]

In addition to this revival of Christian literature, it was of decisive importance for the appreciation of the monuments of Christian antiquity that there should also have been a spiritual change which brought about a reawakening of religious life in every class of society. Above all Philip Neri, the saintly founder of the Oratorians, saw the necessity of instilling into his disciples a burning love for the Acts of the Martyrs and the holy places.[4] All these circumstances

[1] *Cf.* WERNER, IV., 526 n.; RIESS, Canisius, 420 *seq.*; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 109 *seq.*; Surius dedicated to Gregory XIII. the IVth volume of his lives of the saints; *cf.* THEINER, I., 96 *seq.*; SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIV., 292 *seq.*, 308.

[2] *Cf.* PERINI, 120 *seq.*, 180 *seq.*

[3] PERINI (Panvinio 168 *seq.*) tries to show against De Rossi that Panvinio knew of other catacombs besides the three named, but leaves the final judgment to archeologists.

[4] That this circumstance must be taken into account has already been brought out by de Rossi (I. 12), and then one need no longer wonder at the impression made by the discovery of 1578, as does Nik. Müller in his otherwise excellent article on the cemeteries in HERZOGS *Real-Enzyklopädie*, X., 796.

explain the extraordinary sensation made by the ancient Christian cemetery which was discovered in the Via Salaria Nuova, near the pozzolana quarries. The marvellous arrangement of that system of corridors crossing each other, and divided into several levels, the tombs in the form of niches, the little chambers and chapels, the fragments of the sarcophagi and the touching simplicity of the inscriptions excited as great interest as the rich fresco decorations. Men saw with devout wonder the pictures of the Good Shepherd, of Daniel in the lions' den, at first thought to be St. Ignatius of Antioch, Moses making the water flow from the rock with his rod, the three children in the fiery furnace and many pictures of the saints, all bearing eloquent witness to the antiquity of the doctrines of the Church, which the religious nnovators were calling in question.

Gregory XIII. at once realized the importance of the new discovery which was at first thought to be the catacomb of S. Priscilla. He sent the Cardinal Vicar, Savelli, the General of the Jesuits, and the learned Muret to make an exact survey.[1] The news of the wonderful discovery was soon spread throughout Rome, where the population was in a state of enthusiasm similar to that roused on April 15th, 1485, by the discovery of the body of a girl on the Via Appia.[2] In spite of the oppressive heat of the summer, the Romans flocked in great numbers to the Via Salaria Nova and broke down the barricade which the Cardinal Vicar had had erected round the excavations.[3] Among the visitors were to be seen representatives of every class, and Cardinals and prelates mingled with the scholars. "The place," so states an account of August, 1578, "is so venerable by reason of its antiquity,

[1] This hitherto unknown fact is made known to us by the earliest notice of the excavations referred to on p. 262, n. 2.

[2] See Vol. V. of this work, p. 331.

[3] *" Vicino al cimitero di S. Priscilla trovato di passato si sono scoperte sotto terra alquante cappellette et oratorii di stucco ornati con vaghissimi lavori, dove concerre tutta Roma rompendo li steccati fatti li attorno per ordine del card. Savello." *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1578, p. 272, Vatican Library.

its religion and sanctity, as to excite emotion, even to tears, in all who go there and contemplate it on the spot. There men can picture to themselves the persecutions, the sufferings and the piety of the saintly members of the primitive church, and it is obviously a further confirmation of our Catholic religion. One can now see with one's own eyes, how, in the days of the pagan idolators, those holy and pious friends of Our Lord, when they were forbidden public assemblies, painted and worshipped their sacred images in these caves and subterranean places; those images which blinded Christians to-day seek; with sacrilegious zeal, to remove from the churches.'[1]

Amid the general enthusiasm aroused in Rome by the discovery of the catacombs of the Giordani, for that is the true name of the cemetery which had been found,[2] the only man to dissociate himself was an Englishman, a secret agent of Queen Elizabeth of England. His wrath at the important apologetic authority for the Catholics which had been discovered found expression in the bitter terms in which he mocked at the pious joy and credulity of the Romans, who, as he said, thought that they had found the relics of a martyr in every tomb.[3]

Among the scholars who were filled with enthusiasm by the new discovery, an outstanding figure was Baronius. The way in which he speaks of it in various places in his Annals shows that he fully realized its value, and what capital could be made out of it for the history of the primitive church. He describes the prevalent idea of that time in glowing words: "It is with wonder that we have seen and several times visited the cemetery of Priscilla, as soon as it was discovered and excavated. We can find no better words to describe its extent and its many corridors than to call it a subterranean city. All Rome was filled with wonder, for it had had no idea

[1] See SAUERLAND in *Röm. Quartalschrift.*, II., 211 *seq.*

[2] See DE ROSSI, *Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1873, 6 *seq.*

[3] See A. MUNDAY, English Roman Life, London, 1581, new edition in *Harleian Miscellanies*, II., 194. *Cf. Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1876, 130, n. 2.

that in its neighbourhood there was a hidden city, filled with tombs of the days of the persecutions of the Christians. That which we knew before from written accounts and from a few cemeteries which were only partially opened out, we can now realize fully, and, filled with wonder, see with our own eyes the confirmation of the accounts of St. Jerome and Prudentius."[1]

Baronius, occupied as he was with so many other tasks, had to leave to others the detailed examination of the new discovery. Such were the three foreigners: the Spaniard Alfonso Chacon [Ciaconius] and the Netherlanders Philip de Winghe and Jean l'Heureux (Macarius), who were the first to trace out the passage ways of the catacombs. They explored, not only the cemetery of the Giordani, but very soon others as well, and first of all the catacombs of S. Priscilla, which were discovered at ten minutes' distance from the Ponte Salaria, and made drawings of the pictures there. De Winghe was not satisfied with this, for he also prepared a detailed explanation of the pictures in the catacombs. In the midst of his work, however, he was overtaken by death at Florence in 1592, whither he had gone for further studies. His loss was a severe blow to the infant science, which was just taking its first steps.[2] In the meantime, a year later, Bosio, the "Columbus of the Catacombs," began his researches, for which these men had prepared the way by their labours, however imperfect. The catacombs of the Giordani had already disappeared; they had been closed again, no doubt in order to prevent abuses in visiting them. But the Cardinal Vicar had taken efficacious steps to save the inscriptions and relics.[3]

[1] BARONIUS, Annales ad a. 130, n. 2; *cf.* ad a. 57, n. 112, a. 226, n. 8, 12.

[2] See besides DE ROSSI, I., 14 *seq.*, the beautiful work of WILPERT, Die Katakombengemälde und ihre alten Kopien, Freiburg, 1891, 1 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*

[3] See the account published by SAUERLAND in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, II., 212. The inscription of Felix II. "discovered" in 1582 (*cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 151; MAFFEI, II., 275

Gregory XIII. gladly recalled the years he had passed as a professor at Bologna, and as Pope he devoted his special attention to that university. The institution owed to him the appointment of many learned men, among others the jurist Giacomo Menocchio, the philosopher Federico Pendasio and the Dominican Ignazio Danti. By means of a particular privilege the Pope made an effort to recall to Bologna the German students who had ceased to attend there, and the foundation of the Gregorian College was a subject for gratitude to the Pope.[1] The attention which the Pope devoted to the university at Perugia was also of great value to the progress of learning.[2] It was the defence of the faith which specially prompted him to show favour to the universities of Louvain, Bescançon and Würzburg.[3]

In Rome Gregory furthered the building of the Sapienza[4] and increased the number of the professors,[5] among whom the jurist Camillo Planzio owed his appointment to him.[6]

seq.), and hailed by Boisius (Roman sotterr., II., 13) as a marvel was a false one; see CARD. THOMASIUS, Opera, IV., Rome, 1749, 104. At the end of 1921 the catacombs of the Giordani were again opened out.

[1] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 202; CAVAZZA, Le scuole dell'antico studio di Bologna, Milan, 1896, 279 *seq.*; Acta nationis Germanicae universit. Bonon., Berlin, 1887, 28; La fondazione del Collegio Gregoriano, in *Studi e Mem. p. la storia dell'univ. di Bologna*, III., Bologna, 1912.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 62; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 112.

[3] *Cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 505 *seq.*; CRAMER, Gesch. der Erziehung und des Unterrichts in den Niederlanden, Stralsund, 1843, 329; THEINER, III., 365; WEGELE, Universität Würzburg, 52, 523 *seq.* DE RAM, Considerat. sur L'hist. de l'université de Louvain, Brussels, 1854, 92.

[4] Giampaolo Maggi was "architetto dello studio" under Gregory XIV.; see *Borghese, II., 27-28, p. 44, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] The number of professors was increased in 1576 to 35; in 1582 to 39; see Carlo Cartari, *report to Alexander VIII. on February 1, 1658, in Cod. H., III., 62, of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf.* also RENAZZI, II., 149 *seq.*

[6] See RENAZZI, II., 185.

Cardinal Santori recommended the Greek scholar, Federico Metio,[1] and the celebrated jurist Gian Angelo Papio was summoned from Bologna to Rome, where he was given an appointment at the Consulta and the Segnatura.[2] The Pope also tried to obtain for the university the eminent physician Girolamo Mercuriale.[3]

The most illustrious of all the professors of the Sapienza was the Frenchman Marc Antoine Muret.[4] This celebrated master of latinity taught at the Roman University from 1563, where he first lectured in philosophy, then in civil law, and lastly in rhetoric. When, in 1576, Stephen Báthory tried to obtain the services of the illustrious professor, the Pope and the senate succeeded in keeping him in Rome. When Muret resigned his chair, Gregory XIII. gave him an annual pension. Muret, who died on June 4th, 1585, had received sacred orders nine years before. During the last years of his life he devoted himself exclusively to ecclesiastical studies and to works of charity, and when he was buried, in the church of the SS. Trinità al Pincio, his pupil, the Jesuit Benzi, delivered the funeral oration. The funeral was made the occasion of an impressive demonstration by the scholars of Rome.[5]

Gregory XIII. formed the idea of establishing in Rome a

[1] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 157.

[2] This is reported by Odescalchi in a *letter of June 28, 1583. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 139.

[3] See THEINER, I., 317, for the invitation to Costanzo Barolo (died 1575) as professor of medicine, see *Bibliografia Romana*, I. (1880), 239 *seqq.*

[4] " eximium nostri temporis decus " he is called by Mucantius, *Diarium, June 19, 1576, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] With regard to Muret see the beautiful monograph by DEJOB, Paris, 1881 ; DE NOLHAC in *Mél. dediés a la mém. de Ch. Graux*, Paris, 1883, BERTOLOTTI, Lettres inéd. de M. A. M., Limoges, 1888. *Cf.* also MARÉES, De M. A. Mureti in rem scholasticam meritis, Berlin, 1849 ; DE NOLHAC in *Mél. d'archéol.*, III., 202 *seq.* ; DELAGE in *Bull. de la Soc. hist. du Limousin*, LV.-LVI. (1906-07). The *Motuproprio on the pension of Muret in RENAZZI, II., 274 *seq.*

university for all classes, which was to be staffed by professors from the various Catholic nations;[1] his death, however, prevented him from carrying out this design. On the other hand, he devoted himself successfully to the publication of ecclesiastical works in the Latin tongue, as well as of other works, especially catechisms, in the various Eastern languages. The notes of Cardinal Santori upon his audiences bear witness to the great interest which he took in this undertaking, which was of such great importance for the missions.[2] Gregory had in view nothing less than the establishment of a universal printing press, an undertaking for which he set aside 100,000 ducats.[3] These efforts obtained a solid foundation as well as a special direction in 1584 with the Oriental press which was set up by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici under the direction of Gian Battista Raimondi, and enriched with wide privileges by Gregory XIII.; its first production was an

[1] See the *report of Odescalchi, dated Rome, April 21, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] To complete the dry work of MAFFEI, II., 477 *seq.*, see the *Avviso di Roma of May 17, 1578 ("Nella nuova stampa, che elfa in casa di mons. Cotta, vescovo di Novara, sarano sei deputati della Sede Apost. per stampare libri pertinenti alla S. Scrittura et gli ufficii si venderano al più offerente"), Urb. 1046, p. 156, Vatican Library. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 366; *Audienze del card. Santori, 1578, novembre 13: "Della stampa arabica, ch'e in poter de' Gesuiti"; 1578, novembre 20: "Della stampa arabica, havuto e quella ch'è in Venezia che si consegni a Domenico Rosa stampatore, subito che potra servire": 1579, maggio 14: "Della stampa armenica che li piace"; 1580, novembre 9: a "Della stampa arabica nuova finita e che si è gettata per 100,000 lettere, sopra la quale S. S^tà presto 200 sc. d'oro"; (b) "Della stampa illyrica"; (c) "Del catechismo e dottrina christiana in lingua schiavonica." LII. 17 and 18, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The publication "Concilio Florentino per uso del collegio" is mentioned by the *Avviso di Roma of January 28, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 25, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* R. MOLITOR, Die Nachtridentinische Choralreform, I., 37, 41 *seq.*

Arabic translation of the Gospels printed in an edition of 4,000 copies.[1]

With the setting up of a pontifical printing press in Rome there coincided the first plans for the reform of the books used in choir, or a new edition of the melodies of the liturgical chant. The first step was taken in a brief of October 25th, 1577, which charged Pierluigi da Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo to revise the books of liturgical chant, taking into account the changes in the Missal and Breviary which had been introduced by the Council of Trent, and to remove the musical errors which had crept into them. The two artists set themselves first to the reform of the Gradual, Palestrina the Proprium de Tempore, and Zoilo the rest. In the short space of a year, at the end of 1578, the manuscript was ready for the press, and the publication might have been proceeded with. This, however, was not done. The two musicians, instead of adhering exactly to their instructions, had produced an entire rearrangement of the Gradual, which was not so much a reform as a revolution, and to such a work, which was by no means in accordance with his intentions, Gregory refused his approval and protection. The Pope, who showed his favour to the Academy of St. Cecilia, did not wish for any innovations in liturgy.[2] A proof of his severely conservative

[1] *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 160; SALTINI in *Giornale degli Archivi Toscani*, IV., 259 *seqq.*; MOLITOR, I., 43 *seq.*; *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Le tipografie orientali e gli orientalisti a Roma, Florence, 1878. The Jesuit P. Eliano took to Venice in 1578 " polsoni e madri di caratteri de la stampa arabica, che è de la Camera Apostolica, per farli nettare e rinfrascare. Galli in his *letter of December 6 to the nuncio in Venice presses for their return. A *letter of Galli of April 19, 1578, had authorized the nuncio to pay as much as 150 ducats for the " stampa arabica." *Nunziatur. di Venezia*, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] According to the profound researches of MOLITOR, I., 47 *seqq.*, 236 *seqq.*, 250 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*, already mentioned. An *Avviso di Roma of May 17, 1578, states, after mentioning the " nuova stampa " of the Pope, that the latter had given Palestrina the charge " di riformare il canto fermo et levare via la longhezza et parti estreme di quello." Urb. 1046, p. 157b, Vatican Library.

intentions is afforded by the brief of January 25th, 1575, which confirmed "for ever" the rite of the Church of Milan.[1]

It is with special joy that the historian remembers the efforts of Gregory XIII. for the restoration of the pontifical Acta from Avignon and Anagni,[2] and his attempts to recover the correspondence of Adrian VI.[3] The losses in the matter of archives, against which preceding Popes had already struggled, are described to us by Giovanni Carga in a memorial of 1574. The changes which he suggested naturally remained without result,[4] but nevertheless so great attention was directed to the preservation of contemporary Acta that the registers of the secretariate of State of the time of Gregory XIII. are preserved far more perfectly than had ever been the case in any earlier epoch.[5]

Gregory gave to the Vatican Library not only his own collection of precious books,[6] but he also sought to enrich it in many other ways.[7] The administration of this institution, under the learned and distinguished Cardinal Sirleto, left nothing to be desired.[8] With him was associated his faithful secretary, Federigo Ranaldi, who had been custos of the

The often repeated statement (*cf.* WICHMANN, Gesch. Aufsätze, II., Leipzig, 1887, 2 *seq.*) that Gregory XIII. was the founder of the Congregation of St. Cecilia is wrong; see A. DE SANTI in *Civ. catt.*, 1919, I., 111 *seq.*

[1] See MAGISTRETTI, Cenni sul rito Ambros., Milan, 1895, 55; MOLITOR, I., 57 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Studi e documenti*, VIII., 12 *seq.*; *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Gesch.*, XIV. (1889), 350.

[3] See Vol. IX. of this work, p. 226.

[4] See SICKEL in *Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad.*, CXXXIII., 14 *seq.*

[5] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., v.; *cf. Rev. d'hist. eccles.*, X., 527. See also KARTUNNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 78.

[6] See *Archiv. für ältere deutsche Gesch.*, XII., 213 *seq.*; CARINI, Bibl. Vaticana, Rome, 1873, 63.

[7] See CIAPPI (ed. 1596), 44. For the manuscripts which were brought from Anagni to Rome see BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., XXXI.

[8] See PANSA, 29; *Rev. d. Bibl.*, XXIII. (1913), 369 *seq.*

Vatican Library since 1559.[1] One of the most learned book-lovers of his time, Fulvio Orsini, was appointed as corrector for Greek in 1581.[2] Giuseppe Capobianco worked for a long time in the library on the restoration of ancient manuscripts.[3] The Vatican Library was easily accessible; printed books were lent and the use of the catalogue of manuscripts allowed to scholars.[4] Montaigne says that the library was at that time open almost every day; he describes the rarities of the collection, divided into five halls, the codex of Virgil of the fifth century, the manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles given to Innocent VIII. by the Queen of Cyprus, the scarcely legible notes of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the work of Henry VIII. on the holy sacraments against Luther.[5]

The great reputation enjoyed by Gregory XIII. among scholars and men of letters appears in the very large number of works dedicated to him. The greater number of these are works of theology.[6] Besides these there are many books

[1] See MERCATI in the commemorative publication *Per Baronio*, 159 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter of Steph. Arator to F. Ranaldi of September 21, 1581, which VERESS has published in *Fontes Rerum Transilv.*, I., 199.

[2] See *Studi e documenti*, V., 260 n.; *cf.* DE NOLHAC, F. Orsini, 113.

[3] *Cf.* the *letter of Galli to the nuncio at Venice, May 4, 1582, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See MERCATI, *loc. cit.* 135, 139, 145.

[5] MONTAIGNE, II., 9 *seq.*; *cf.* MÜNTZ, La Bibl. du Vatican, Paris, 1886, 131 *seq.*

[6] See the list in Ciaconius (IV., 34), which however is not complete; thus there are missing the editions by Sirleto of the ten homilies of Chrysostom (Rome, 1581, *cf.* PASCHINI, Gugl. Sirleto, Naples, 1918, 62) and the Vita S. Gregorii Nazianzeni by C. Baronius, original manuscript in Cod. B, 3 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. In the Vatican Library I have noted: (1) Vat. 5470: *" Allegationes iuris pro ecclesia Lateran. per Ioh. Bapt. Pontanum eius advocat. in s. Rotae auditorio "; (2) Vat. 5497: *" Hieronymi Manfredi [see HURTER, I., 122] De maiestate Rom. Ecclesiae et victoriis contra omnes mundi haereses "; (3) Vat. 5672: *" Nic. Ammiani (Ord. erem. S. Aug.) Expositio

on other sciences,[1] and some which owe their origin to special

in psalmum LXXV." ; (4) Vat. 5009-11 : *" Christoph. Cabrerae Evangelicae Bibliothecae seu meditat. evangelicae " ; (5) Vat. 6121-27 : *" G. Eisengrein, Harmonia Ecclesiae historica adversus centurias Magdeburg. et omnes et singulos S. R. Eccl. apostatas " (since the work, from Spires in 1576, was dedicated to Gregory XIII. and was continued until 1572, the author cannot have been dead in 1570, as is generally asserted [see PFLEGER in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXV., 791], indeed his epitaph, which has not been noticed, but which still exists, assigns 1584 as the year of his death, see FORCELLA, III., 386) ; (6) Vat. 6432 : Gerardi Vossii [see HURTER I., 203] *Epistola ad Gregorium XIII. cui offert comment. in evang. s. Ioan. Chrysostomi ab ipso latinate donari coeptum iussu card. Sirleti ; (7) Vat. 6280, p. 44 f : *Ioannis Dei Epistola ad Gregorium XIII., about a second " Auctarium " written by him for the Index librorum prohib. ; (8) Vat. 6217 : *Andr. Fabritii Leodica [see HURTER I. 64] Epistola ad Greg. XIII. in libros de Eucharistiae participatione ; (9) Ottob. 582 : *Assertiones catholicae contra praecipuos aliquot haereticorum errores a fratre Didaco Valades, written at the suggestion of Sirleto ; (10) Barb. XXII., 38 : *De Graecorum recentiorum haeresibus ad Greg. XIII. Ant. Cauci patritii Veneti et archiepisc. Corcyrae liber.—The Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele in Rome contains in Cod. 75 : Flaminius nobilis Lucensis, *De peccato originali liber ad Gregorium XIII. Bonif. Stephanus Ragusinus, Ord. Mn., episc. Stagni, dedicated to the Pope his Liber de perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae ac de fructuosa peregrinatione, Venetiis, 1573 (*cf* Marcellino da Civezza, Bibliografia 483). —Lor. Belo *Enchiridion sacri Conc. Trid. ex his quae ad curam animarum et morum reformationem atque ad potest. et officia praelatorum pertinent dedicated to the Pope on 10 September, 1574), which Marini (Lettera al M. Muti Papazurri, Roma, 1797) quotes from the Albani Library in Rome (p. 55) has perished with that library. The work of Antonio Transcosa on the Mass among the Chaldeans, dedicated to Gregory XIII. in Cod. S. h. 107, of the Alessandrina Library, Rome ; Alpharanus *de Basilic. Vatic. liber. p. 1 *seqq*. dedication of this work to Gregory XIII. In BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., 463, the dedication to Gregory of the *" Censura ecclesiae orientalis " by Sokolowski " (Cracow, 1582).

[1] Thus it can be understood how some jurists such as Franc. Ioannettus, *Consilia legalia germanica, Cod. H. 12 Boncompagni

questions of the moment, such as the war against the Turks, the Jubilee of 1575, and the reform of the Calendar ;[1] lastly, there are a number of poetical works.[2] Many of these writings

Archives Rome; Vat. 5678: *Agapeti Diaconi Praecepta ad Iustinianum imp. graece reddita per Christ. Laurenbergum Germanum ad Greg. XIII.; Vat. 5471: *Ioh. Bapt. Pontani De elections summi pontif. libri 3; Vat. 5675: *Aug. Fivizani (Ord. erem. S. Aug.) De consuetudine s. Corpus Christi deferendo ante Rom. Pontif. iter agentem; Ottob. 387: *Iosephi Stevani Valentini De adoratione pedum Rom. Pontif.; Barb. XX., 16: *Franc. Mucantii De s. apost. Petri et Pauli imaginibus (Vatic Bibliotheq); Cod. A. 9 Boncompagni Archives, Rome: *Flaminii Nobilii Liber de christiana republica. Urb. 836, p. 381 *seq.* contains: *Io Bapt. Leoni, Relazione di Malta a Gregorio XIII., 1582; the "Transilvania" of Possevino ed. 1584, was dedicated to the Pope (ed. VERESS, Budapesth, 1913). Also the "Moscovia" of Possevino was dedicated to Gregory XIII. (see CIAMPI, II., 291); the learned Jesuit was on this account called the discoverer of Russia (see BRÜCKNER, I., 404). Some printed copies bound in red and given to Gregory XIII. are still preserved in the Vatican Library; I would call attention to the Hist. de' principi d'Este, Florence, 1570, by G. B. Pigna, since in this copy the quotations from the authorities were added in manuscript by the author.

[1] With regard to the works on the Jubilee see *supra* p. 198, n. 4, for the war against the Turks, App. n. 33. The works on the reform of the Calendar are dealt with more fully in the two works already cited by Kaltenbrunner and Schmid. Mention may also be made here of: *"Tractatus de peste seu febri pestilenti ad Gregorium XIII.," by Pietro Simone, Cod. I., 53, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; Vat. 6198, p. 33 *seq.*; *"Marci Antonii Georgii Bonon. Epist. duae ad Greg. XIII. de statua d. Pauli ad Petri dexteram posita non removenda"; Vat. 6280, p. 84 *seq.*; *"Fratris Io Bapt. Braveschi (Ord. Pr.), Symbola quaedam de dracone selecta ad nomen et insignia Gregorii XIII.," Vatican Library.

[2] G. GAUGETII, Ad Greg. XIII. P.M. panegyricus, Bologna, 1572. CES. SACCHETTI, Per la nuova creat. del P. Gregorio XIII., Bologna, 1572. HIPP. CAPILUPI, Ad Greg. XIII. versus, Rome, 1574. Vat. 6212, p. 58: *"Epigramma ad Greg. XIII. de S.

remained unpublished; the important work of Tiberio Alfarano on the church of St. Peter has been published recently.[1] The authors belong to many different nations and conditions of life. Even the College of Cardinals is represented by Hosius who dedicated to the Pope the collection of his works,[2] and Montalto, his edition of St. Ambrose.[3] The new edition of the Collations of John Cassian, prepared by the Spaniard, Pedro Chacon, was due to the initiative of Gregory XIII.[4] Gregory also interested himself in an edition of the Greek[5] and Latin Fathers and a new edition of the Roman Ritual.[6] The noble enterprise of Philip II., which had given rise to the

Greg. Nazianz." ; p. 114 *seq.* ; " Fabiani (linguae hebr. praeceptor) *Versus hebraici in laudem Greg. XIII. collegii Neophit. fundatoris " ; Vat. 5682 : *" Marci Titi Vespani poetae laur., Carmen panegyricum ad Greg. XIII. " ; Barb. XXIX., 202 : *" Italian poems, by Giacomo Fabri, on the election of Gregory XIII. (Vatican Library). See also the 3rd vol. of the Carmina ill. poet. Italor., Florence, 1726, and ARTAUD DE MONTOR, Hist. des Souverains Pontifes, IV., Paris, 1847.

[1] T. Alpharani, De basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura liber, ed. M. CERRATI, Rome, 1915.

[2] See EICHHORN, II., 461.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 76. For the correspondence of Montalto with Charles Borromeo with reference to the edition of St. Ambrose see the periodical : XV Centenario della morte id sant' Ambrogio, p. 2 (1895-7) n. 4 and 6.

[4] See MAFFEI, II., 159. *Cf.* I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., 191. The epitaph of Chacon (died 1581) in FORCELLA, III., 238 ; *cf.* also MERCATI in *Studii Rom.* vol. II. The *Avviso di Roma of February 17, 1580, mentions in connexion with the edition of St. Ambrose by Montalto a work of Cassian published at the suggestion of Cardinal Carafa. Urb. 1048, p. 22, Vatican Library.

[5] See THEINER, II., 342 ; MAFFEI, II., 76 *seq.* ; SERASSI, J. Mazzoni, 49 *seq.*

[6] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 154 *seq.*, 157 ; *cf.* the *Audienze of Santori, November 13, 1578, Papal Secret Archives, LII-17. The work by Santori, printed in 1584, but not published (see ZACCARIA, Bibl. Ritualis, I., Rome, 1776, 145 ; MOLITOR, I., 45) was taken into consideration in the time of Paul V.

polyglot of Antwerp, was praised in a special brief.[1] The Pope also was responsible for the continuation of the work on a new edition of the Septuagint, the commission for which included, among others, Antonio Caraffa, Franceso de Torres, Pedro Chacon, Fulvio Orsini, Bellarmine, Toledo and J. Maldonatus.[2]

In the time of Pius V., as a Cardinal, Gregory XIII. had worked upon a critical revision of the Decretals of Gratian.[3] As Pope, he did all he could to bring this work to a speedy conclusion. Bishops and scholars, not only in Italy, but also in France, Spain, Holland and Germany were asked to give their assistance in promoting the edition of a good text of this important collection of documents bearing upon the Canon Law.[4] A brief of July 1st, 1580, announced the publiation of a new edition of the whole *Corpus iuris canonici*, forbade any change in text now prepared, and granted to the printing press of the Popolo Romano, where the work was to be published, editorial privileges for ten years. Two years later the promised work appeared, but without the general title, and only with the particular titles of the various parts of the canonical text and the glossary. Besides the above mentioned brief, a second one was printed on June 2nd, 1582,

[1] In THEINER (I., 80) is to be found the brief of thanks to Philip II., October 25, 1572, for having sent the polyglot of Antwerp, which was brought by the director of the institute himself, the celebrated Benedict Arias Montanus. Still unpublished is the brief of thanks of August 23, 1572, which refers to the Polyglot, Papal Secret Archives; see the text in App. n. 2. *Cf.* HOPST, Beiträge, 102 *seqq.*, 309 *seqq.*

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 373; HURTER, I., 200. Maldonatus, who died in January, 1583, enjoyed a great reputation in Rome; see *Avviso di Roma of January 8, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 11, Vatican Library.

[3] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 199.

[4] See the letter in THEINER, I., 81 *seq.*, 200 *seq.*, which de Nolhac has omitted in Mél. d'archéol., V., 285 *seq.*, and THEINER, Disquisit. criticae in praecip. canon. et decret. collectiones, Rome, 1836, App. I., p. 11 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 33 *seq.* For the share taken by L. Latini see RENAZZI, II., 220.

which, however, only referred to the Decretals of Gratian, in the case of which the prohibition of any change was renewed. Although this Roman edition gives a text that is emended in many important respects, it nevertheless, in spite of all the diligence applied to its preparation, has several defects which naturally enough were inevitable in the state of learning which had then been attained.[1]

The lack of subsidies for scientific purposes also rendered difficult another no less opportune design of Gregory's, the systematic collection and arrangement of all the pontifical constitutions which, since the appearance of the Clementine collection of 1317, now numbered several thousand,[2] as well as an improved edition of the Roman Martyrology. Cardinal Sirleto was entrusted with the last named task. He appointed a commission of ten distinguished authorities, Silvio Antoniano, Cesare Baronius, Luigi Giglio, Curzio Franco, Antonio Agelli, Ludovico de Torres, Pedro Chacon, Gerhard Vossius, Latino Latini and Antonio Geronio; the Spanish Minorite Giovanni Salon was also employed by Sirleto.[3]

[1] See PHILLIPS, IV., 202 *seq.*, 206, 344, 373; SCHERER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.* III.[2], 1121; Corpus iuris canonici, ed. Lips. secunda, Leipzig, 1879, I., xc, II., xlii. The brief of June 2, 1582, also in THEINER, III., 380.

[2] He charged with this Cardinals Alciati, Orsini and A. Carafa, who, however, did not complete their task during the lifetime of Gregory XIII., in spite of the fact that the Pope personally shared in the work; see SENTIS, Clementis P. VIII. Decretales., Freiburg, 1870, Proleg. viii. and LAEMMER, Kodification, 8; *cf.* the *report of Odescalchi of July 28, 1582, in App. n. 19, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *Avvisi di Roma of July 13 and September 24, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 297, 418, Vatican Library.

[3] See the exhaustive study by LAEMMER, De Martyrologio Romano, Ratisbon, 1878, 10 *seq.*, 15 *seq.*; LAEMMER, Diatriba, 55 *seq.*, and BÄUMER, Gesch. des Breviers, 475 *seq.*; *cf.* also MERCATI, Giambatt. Bandini e le correzioni del Martirologio Rom. sotto Gregorio XIII. in *Rassegna Gregor.*, IV., 256 *seq.*; Idem, Un voto di A. Agellio per la correzione del Martirologio Rom., *ibid.* 1914, n. 1. See also LE BACHELET, Auctuar. Bellarm.,

In its labours the commission relied especially upon the highly esteemed Martyrology of the Benedictine Usuard, the Martyrology of S. Ciriaco alle Terme in Rome, and the works of Bede, Florus and Ado. It also made use of the Greek and Latin Menologies translated by Sirleto, the Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great, the Italian calendars, and various manuscript authorities.[1] In 1582 the work seemed to be so far advanced that it was thought that it might be handed over to the printers. However, both the editions of 1583 contained so many errors that it had to be withdrawn.[2] In January 1584 a better edition appeared with a brief of Gregory XIII., which ordered that this edition alone should be employed.[3] Persuaded that this task had been undertaken with insufficient data, during the summer of 1583 Sirleto charged the learned Baronius to emend it with explanatory notes and corrections. Gregory XIII. wished to give Baronius pecuniary help, but the latter refused it on the ground of a vow of poverty; then the Pope assigned him at his own

544 *seq.* The work of IOH. SALON, *Martyrologium Rom., iussu Gregorii XIII. collectum, locuplet. ac castigatum per fr. Ioh. Salon, Rome, 1578, with a preface by Gregory XIII., in Regin. 373, p. 28 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* DEJOB, 384.

[1] See LAEMMER, De Martyrol. Rom., 18 *seq.*

[2] See I. VEITH, Die Kirchlichen Martyrologien in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXVII., 471 *seq.* *Cf.* LAEMMER, *loc. cit.*, 24 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, III., 618. The copy of the Martyrology offered to the Pope bound in red velvet, is to be found in the possession of the princely family of the Boncompagni. Baumer (*loc. cit.* 468 *seqq.*) rightly calls attention to the fact that the work of the commission must be judged in accordance with the state of learning at that time. See as to that also Matagne in DE SMEDT, Introd. ad hist. eccles., Ghent, 1876, 142. This history of heortology tells of the arrangements made by Gregory XIII. concerning the Feast of the Rosary (see Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 423, 444) and the bull of May 1, 1584 (Bull. Rom., VIII., 454 *seq.*) which orders the annual celebration on July of the Feast of St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin; *cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 458; *Avviso di Roma of May 19, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 196, Vatican Library.

expense a secretary ;[1] the tireless scholar was still at work upon his task when Gregory XIII. died.[2]

[1] See P. Pateri in CALENZIO, 175.

[2] See LAEMMER, *loc. cit.* 25 *seq.*, 29 *seq.*, by whose profound researches into manuscripts the opinion of Döllinger (Janus, 412 *seq.*) is corrected.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reform of the Calendar.—The Roman Inquisition.—The Index.

In conjunction with the work on the Martyrology there was another undertaking, the result of which has rendered the name of Gregory XIII. immortal. For a long time past theologians and mathematicians had realised how necessary it was to improve the Julian calendar, according to which the solar year was reckoned at 11 minutes and 14 seconds too long. The surplus thus obtained amounted to a complete day in every 128 years, and owing to the continued mounting up of this surplus the calendar of the feasts of the Church had been thrown into disorder. Easter, which by the decrees of the Council of Nicea, was to be celebrated on the first Sunday after the full moon of spring,[1] had in course of time got further and further away from the true spring full moon.

Extrinsic circumstances as well as internal difficulties had combined to shipwreck all attempts to correct the calendar.[2] In the XIIIth century Joannes Campanus and the Franciscan, Roger Bacon, had laid their suggestions for a reform before the Holy See. In 1344 Clement VI. had the question examined by a body of scientists. Pierre d'Ailly and Nicholas of Cusa brought it before the Councils of Constance and Basle, but the matter did not then seem to be ripe

[1] Namely the full moon occurring on March 21 or immediately after.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows Kaltenbrunner, Die Vorgeschichte der Gregorianischen Kalenderreform in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, Hist. K 1, LXXXII., 289 *seq.*, and Schmid, Gregorianische Kalenderreform, V., 52 *seq.* See also Marzi in *Atti d. congresso internaz. di scienze stor.*, III., Rome, 1906, 645 *seq.*

for decision. The plans of Sixtus IV., who summoned to Rome the celebrated Johann Müller (Regiomontanus) for the reform of the calendar, unfortunately came to nothing owing to the premature death of that scholar (1476).[1] Again in the time of Leo X., who energetically reopened the question, no decision was arrived at.[2] The fathers of the Council of Trent, who had to deal with more important questions, left the matter to the Holy See at their last session. Neither Pius IV., in spite of requests which came from many quarters,[3] nor Pius V., arrived at any solution of this difficult question.

With all the greater energy, therefore, did Gregory XIII. take up the matter of a reform which was daily becoming more necessary. He first charged the mathematician Carlo Ottaviano Lauro, to lay before him his ideas as to the reform of the calendar; it is not altogether clear why his work, which was completed in 1575, met with no consideration.[4] The matter was only carried forward when Antonio Giglio presented to the Pope the corrected calendar, drawn up by his brother Luigi, who had died in 1576.[5] Gregory XIII. consigned this work for examination to a commission at the head of which he placed his fellow-countryman Tommaso

[1] See Vol. IV. of this work, p. 441. For Clement VI. see also *Mél. d'archéol.*, IX., 135 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 399

[3] See KALTENBRUNNER, *loc. cit.* 403 *seq.*, and SCHMID, *loc. cit.* 55 *seq.*

[4] See KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 13 *seq.* An *order for payment to "Carlo Lauro per le fatiche circa la reforma del Calendario" of July 3, 1575, in Cod. Vat. 6697, Vatican Library. The epitaph of Lauro in FORCELLA, XIII., 429.

[5] *Cf.* for what follows, besides KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 13 *seq.*, the important supplements and corrections of SCHMID, III., 390 *seq.*, V., 57 *seq.* See also FERRARI, Il Calendario Gregoriano, Rome, 1882; BOCCARDINI, L. Giglio e la riforma del Calendario, in *Riv. stor. Calabrese*, 1893; I. G. HAGEN, Die Gregorianische Kalenderreform in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXXXVII. (1914), 47 *seq.* With regard to L. Giglio *cf.* ANT. MARIA DI LORENZO, I Calabresi e la correzione del Calendario, Rome, 1879.

Giglio, Bishop of Sara. But the latter was not a man who was competent for so difficult a task; therefore, in 1577, at the request of the commission, he was replaced by Cardinal Sirleto. Sirleto was assisted, as his legal adviser, by the Frenchman, Seraphinus Olivarius, Auditor of the Rota; his theological adviser was Vicenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovi. On the commission there were, besides Antonio Giglio and Giovanni Battista Gabio, the celebrated mathematician, Ignazio Danti, of the Dominican Order, the German Jesuit, Christopher Clavio, the Spaniard, Pedro Chacon, and Ignatius, the Patriarch of Antioch.[1]

If this commission, thus constituted, had an international character, corresponding to that of the Church, no less did it avail itself of inquiries addressed to scholars and the universities. To these, as well as to the Catholic princes, letters were sent on January 5th, 1578, in which their support for the proposed reform was asked for.[2] As a basis for the opinions of mathematicians and astronomers there were sent a summary of the plan of Giglio, written by Chacon, as to which the commission had arrived at an agreement. In order to correct the Julian leap-year, this suggested a cycle of four hundred years, leaving open, however, the question of the date of the equinoxes. Suggestions from scholars arrived in great numbers from France, Hungary, Spain and Portugal, and above all from Italy. The most important came from the pen of the auxiliary bishop of Siena, Alessandro Piccolomini, who had published in 1578 a special work upon the reform of the

[1] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 435 *seq.*; KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 12 *seq.*; SCHMID, *loc. cit.* III., 391 *seq.*, V., 58 *seq.*; ANT. MARIA DI LORENZO, *loc. cit.* For the tomb of Chacon (now in S. Maria di Monserrato) see FORCELLA, III., 238. According to SERASSI (Mazzoni, 50) Giacomo Mazzoni also took part in the work.

[2] The brief to the Emperor in THEINER, III., 444, and in *Arch. für Oesterr. Gesch.*, XV., 210 (for the autograph minutes of Sirleto see SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, III., 593, n. 2) is in exact agreement with the letter to the Doge of Venice. Original in State Archives, Venice. The brief to the University of Cologne in BIANCO, Die Alte Universität Köln, I., 699.

calendar. In many points Piccolomini adopted different views from those of Giglio, and insisted upon the utter impossibility of adapting any ecclesiastical calendar to celestial phenomena. After about two thousand years, he thought, men would once again have to turn their attention to the reform of the calendar. Opinions of every kind were revealed in the proposals which were sent by the universities of Paris, Vienna, Padua, Louvain, Cologne, Alcalà and Salamanca. Every kind of correction of the calendar which could be imagined found its place among these replies, the examination of which became a very wearisome task for the commission; the only thing that was not touched by any one was the retention of the week of seven days.[1] It even happened that the scholars of the same university could not agree, as occurred in the case of Louvain. Only the opinion of the university of Alcalà was entirely favourable, while that of the Sorbonne was completely adverse. The Paris theologians imagined that the Church, by a reform of the calendar, would become subject to and the slave of the will of astronomers; if she intended to carry out this suggestion it would have to be admitted that the ancient Church had been mistaken on the subject of Easter, and the consequences which that would involve were painted in the most gloomy colours. These groundless fears were not shared in Rome, and it is to the credit of Gregory XIII. and his collaborators that they did not allow themselves to be frightened by these narrow-minded remarks, and calmly carried their useful work to a successful issue.[2]

[1] See KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 22 *seq.*, 30 *seq.*; SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 396 *seq.*, V., 60 *seq.*; HAGEN, Kalenderreform, *loc. cit.* 48 *seq.* In many cases the replies were sent very late; a *letter from Galli of October 21, 1578, begs them for the last time to send a reply (Nunziat. di Venezia, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives).

[2] The opinion of KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 40. The Sienese Teofilo, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino, also reproved the commission for a love of novelties, and a want of reverence for the Council of Nicea.

The various opinions and contradictory views which were expressed in the observations sent to them, left the commission no other choice than to proceed independently. It was encouraged in this course by the replies of the Catholic princes, who hailed with pleasure the carrying out of the reform.[1] The final draft was apparently the work of the Jesuit Clavio, who afterwards defended it in detail in several works.[2] The commission, which had decided an all important point on March 17th, by fixing the spring equinox for March 21st, completed its final report for the Pope on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14th, 1580.[3] Gregory was in favour of proceeding immediately, and the commission shared his view.[4] Various circumstances, among others a long illness of Cardinal Sirleto, led to an unfortunate delay. The original plan of introducing the reform of the calendar in 1581, had, therefore, to be abandoned, and it seemed, moreover, that the wish to treat first with the Patriarch of Constantinople on the subject of the acceptance of the calendar, would lead to yet further delay; fortunately, the commission would not agree to this.[5]

[1] See SCHMID, III., 394, V., 67.

[2] With regard to Clavius, *cf.* DE BACKER, I., 1291 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, VII., 13-14 329; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, IV., 298 *seq.*; CANTOR, Geschichte der Mathematik, II., Leipzig, 1892, 512 *seq.*; VALENSISE, Nella terza ricorrenza (see *infra* p. 296, n. 2), 20 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 611. Clement VIII. in his bull of March 17, 1603 (HAGEN, *loc. cit.*, 50) describes Clavio as the principal author of the reform. For the Padua professor, Moleto, who was an adversary of the reform represented by Giglio and Clavio, see DUCHESSE, Un document rélatif à la reforme du calendrier, Paris, 1911.

[3] Published in KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 48-54.

[4] See *Audienze of Cardinal Santori, April 28, 1580, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 21; SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 407, V., 71. *Cf.* also P. Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 133 *seq.* On October 10, 1580, Odescalchi *reported from Rome the acceptance on the part of the princes of the "nuovo lunario con la riforma dell' anno"; the accceptance had again been postponed

In February 1582, Antonio Giglio, by the command of Sirleto, went to the Pope, who was staying at Mondragone,[1] and the latter, on the 24th of the same month, signed the bull concerning the reform of the calendar.[2] In this document,[3] which was drawn up by Sirleto,[4] and published on March 3rd,[5] Gregory gave a survey of the development of the question up to that time, and together with the suppression of the old calendar, ordered the general acceptance of a new and corrected one, which, by omitting ten days in October, 1582—the 5th was to become the 15th—restored the agreement between the civil and ecclesiastical chronology and the real date; by a new rule for leap-years fresh errors in the future were provided against, and a more exact lunar equation (the cycle of the Epacts) was introduced.[6] Consequently Easter could never come before the spring full moon, nor upon it.

because the replies of *all* the princes was desired, and it was hoped that even the "infedeli" would accept it; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. By the word "infedeli" the Japanese are certainly meant. Seb. Werro warned the Pope in May, 1581, of the necessity of an early correction of the calendar; *cf. supra*, p. 43.

[1] See SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, III., 407.

[2] The signing was known on the same day in Rome; an *Avviso di Roma of February 24, 1582, states: "Presto vi vedrà in luce una bolla risolutione per la riforma et brevità del anno" Urb. 1050, p. 65, Vatican Library.

[3] Published in CLAVIUS, Calend. Gregor., Rome, 1603, 15 *seq.*, and in Bull. Rom., VIII., 386 *seq.*, but with an error in the date (see NISIUS in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.*, 1901, 14 *seq.*). In Bull. Rom., III., 390 *seq.* See also dated November 7, 1582: "Declaratio super observatione calend. nuper editi pro illis qui de mense octobris 1582 illud servare non coeperunt." *Cf.* ARETIN, Max, I., 310 *seqq.*

[4] The minute in *Cod. Vat. 7093, p. 432, Vatican Library.

[5] The remarks concerning publication which are wanting in Bull. Taurin. are to be found in Bull. Rom. (Lyons, 1692, II., 455). The sending of the first printed copies of the new calendar to the nuncios and governments began at the end of May; see the *letter of Galli to the nuncio in Venice, dated May 26 and June 6, 1582, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See GROTEFEND, Handbuch der historischen Chronologie,

The improvement which the Pope, with great caution and conscientiousness, had introduced after mature examination by a commission composed of the representatives of the various nations, is so important and advantageous that the defects which still remain have entirely fallen into the background.[1] The Pope had every reason to expect that this work, which had been waited for for centuries, which was of such general and great utility, and had now happily been brought into existence, would meet with acceptance without any particular opposition. The privilege of publishing the new calendar was given to Antonio Giglio, in recognition of the services which had been afforded to the commission by the work of his brother Luigi. As seven months had to elapse before the bull came into force, it might be hoped that that would allow ample time for the preparation of a sufficient number of copies of the new calendar. Its immediate carrying into effect in the States of the Church goes without saying.[2] The greater number of the Italian states also accepted it at once,[3] as did Philip II. for his dominions, and Báthory for Poland. Difficulties and delays only occurred in those nations

Hanover, 1872, 48 *seq.*; F. K. Ginzel, Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, III., Leipzig, 1914, 257 *seqq.* For the cycle of the epacts discovered by Giglio and corrected by the commission; *cf.* also Kaltenbrunner in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad.*, Hist. K. 1, LXXXVII., 500 *seq.*, and Rühl, Chronologie, Berlin, 1897, 225 *seq.*

[1] The precision is so great that an error of one day would only occur after 3333 1/3 years. For the defects of the Gregorian calendar see L'art de verifier les dates, I., 85 *seq.*; Rühl, Chronologie, 234 *seq.*; Lersch, Einleitung in die Chronologie, Freiburg, 1899, 158 *seq.*; Ginzel, Handbuch, 217 *seqq.*

[2] For its introduction in Rome see Mucantius in Theiner, II., 379.

[3] For Venice see the information from the archives in G. dalla Santa in the periodical *La Scintilla*, 1898, n. 11 and 15. With regard to Florence see Schmid, Kalenderreform, III., 415, n. 1. For a pictorial representation of the reform of the calendar see Paoli, Le tavolette dipinte della Biccherna e della Gabella nell' Archivio di Stato di Siena, Siena, 1891.

in so far as owing to the negligence of the Roman printer and slowness in the means of communication, copies of the new calendar were lacking at the appointed time. Philip II. met this inconvenience by means of manuscript copies, and the Primate of Poland by copies published by himself. Some editions were produced in France, where, however, the royal decree of introduction was partly not made known at all, and partly came too late, which led to a certain amount of confusion. Giglio's privilege was at length withdrawn on account of his delays, and it was enacted that anyone might reprint the new calendar so long as he did so correctly.[1]

Violent opposition to the new calendar was raised by the schismatic Greeks. The reasons adduced by the schismatic Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Armenia, as to the errors of the Gregorian computation, were unfortunate in the extreme. "It is enough only to read their observations in order to understand and realize the ignorance

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 271 *seq.*, who follows the *notes of Cardinal Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome), part of which were printed in the *Voce della Verità*, 1883, n. 129. *Cf.* SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 412 *seq.*, V., 82. With regard to Spain and France see the information from the State Archives, Venice, published by G. DELLA SANTA, *loc. cit.* n. 14. See also SERRANO, Archivio de la Embajada de España cerca la S. Sede, I., Rome, 1915, 52. As to Poland see SPANNOCCHI, 283; *Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst.*, VI., 626 *seq.*; SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 560 *seq.*; RÜHL, 263, n. 2. For the opposition by the schismatics in Poland see THEINER, III., 737. For the disturbances at Riga on account of the calendar (1585-90) *cf.* the monographs by BERGMANN (Leipzig, 1806) and DFIRNE (Riga, 1867), as well as REICHENBERGER, I., 350. For the introduction of the Gregorian calendar at Dorpat in 1617, and its fresh rejection by Gustavus Adolphus in 1625, *cf.* FEUEREISEN in *Sitzungsberichte der Gel. Estnischen Gesellschaft*, of March 13, 1902, 69 *seq.* With regard to France see the Lettres de P. de Foix, 623 *seq.* The decree of acceptance by Henry III., which assigned the beginning of the new style to December 9, 1582, as well as the calendar for October-December, 1582, in the rare work: Calendrier perpetuel de N.S. Père le Pape Grégoire XIII. traduit de latin en françois, Lyons, 1583.

of these supreme heads of the Eastern Church, and the low level to which culture in the East had sunk. But for this very reason all the more eagerly did they hurl their anathemas at Rome."[1]

In the German Empire Duke William of Bavaria and many of the ecclesiastical princes introduced the corrected calendar without delay.[2] The Emperor Rudolph II., although the Pope, by means of the Cardinal Legate, Madruzzo, had repeatedly pressed him, at first maintained an attitude of hesitation, before he at length decided (on September 4th, 1583) upon the publication of the reform. One by one the other Catholic states followed his example.[3]

Out of consideration for the Protestants, Rudolph II., on the 4th (September 14th, 1583), had published his ordinance on the strength of the Imperial authority, without making any mention of the Pope, and avoiding anything at which the innovators could in any way take scandal.[4] Since Luther had in his day expressly asserted that the question of the reform of the calendar was not a religious question, but pertained solely to the civil authority, there was every reason to expect

[1] The opinion of W. Milkowicz in the *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1896, Beil. n. 67.

[2] See Riezler, VI., 279; Wiedemann, I., 430 *seq.*; *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLII., 135 *seq.* For Salzburg see *Mitteilungen des Oesterr. Inst.*, 1899, 107 *seq.*; for the diocese of Münster see the *Festgabe für H. Finke*, 371 *seq.*

[3] See Theiner, III., 377 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*; Hansen, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 422, 457, 465, 504, 507, 517 *seq.*, 532, 548, 550, 553, 562 *seq.*, 566 *seq.*, 570, 571; Kaltenbrunner, Polemik, 504 *seq.*; *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLII., 128 *seq.*; Stieve, Der Kalenderstreit, in the dissertations of the Academy of Munich, Hist. K 1, XV., 3, 21 *seq.*; Hirn, I., 459 *seq.*; G. dalla Santa in the periodical *La Scintilla*, 1898, n. 15. That the new calendar was introduced in the marquisate of Baden on November 17 (old style), 1583, and not on October 16, is shown by Krieger in the *Zeitschrift für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F. XXIV. (1909), 365 *seq.* In Hungary the introduction only took place in 1587; see Mitteilungen des Oesterr. Inst., III., 628 *seq.*

[4] See Kaltenbrunner, Polemik, 505.

that the Protestants would adapt themselves to this so necessary change, thus promulgated by the head of the Empire, and which fully satisfied all the most obvious requirements, and marked an important step forward. Some Protestant voices, indeed, as for example the theologian Martin Chemnitz, and the Patrician of Gorlitz, Bartholomaeus Scultetus, were raised in favour of the acceptance of the new calendar, but they were entirely drowned by a fierce agitation which, altogether brushing aside the matter itself, was directed solely against its author, the Pope, who was overwhelmed with vulgar insults as the incarnate Antichrist.[1] The Protestant theologians of southern Germany especially distinguished themselves. The object of the calendar, so declared Lucas Osiander, the court preacher of the Duke of Wurtemberg, is the destruction of religious peace. From the Pope's coat of arms, the dragon, this doctor of Holy Scripture deduced that Gregory wished to prepare for Germany a bath of blood. Jakob Heerbrand, a professor of theology at Tübingen, declared that Satan was lurking behind the calendar; Antichrist had constructed it in order to promote idolatry, and therefore no attention must be paid to the civil authority when it enjoined its observance. Other preachers opposed it on the ground that the date of the end of the world was clearly at hand.[2] A dialogue in

[1] *Cf.* for what follows, besides KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 514 *seq.*, 518 *seq.*, 523 *seq.*, and STIEVE, KALENDERSTREIT, *loc. cit.* n. 24 *seq.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V. 15-16, 138 *seq.* and SCHUSTER, Kepler, 41 *seq.* For the question of the responsibility for the struggles about the calendar, STIEVE, *loc. cit.* in his zeal as an old Catholic, has allowed himself to be led into making assertions which are quite untenable. To their complete refutation by SCHMID, Kalenderreform, V., 83 *seq.*, Stieve has not dared to reply. For the way in which in Transylvania the Calvinists fought against the Gregorian calendar, and tried to prove that the Pope was Antichrist, *cf.* the account in VERESS, Epistolae et Acta Iesuitarum Transilvaniae, II., Budapesth, 1913, 92.

[2] This argument had already been made use of by Mark Volmar, a former preacher, in his remonstrance to the deputies of Lower Austria, Niklas von Puchheim, Wolf von Liechtenstein, Achaz von Mämming and Franz von Gera, dated Vienna, December 16,

verse against the Gregorian calendar, probably written at Augsburg, and printed in 1584, explains the reform of Gregory XIII. as a rebellion against the divine arrangement of the universe.[1] The Protestant theologians, by means of this agitation, induced their princes to follow their lead, and thus new disputes broke out in Germany, in addition to those already existing. Not satisfied with rejecting the corrected calendar for their own fellow religionists, in some places the Protestant magistrates forcibly prevented the Catholic clergy from adopting the new computation.[2] More and more did the opinion gain ground that the Pope "with the mind of a serpent and the cunning of a wolf" was stealthily seeking once again to introduce his ascendency by means of the calendar. Even astronomers and learned bodies, such as the University of Tübingen, expressed themselves against it in the most violent terms, saying that by accepting the Papal calendar men would be reconciling themselves with Antichrist. The popular excitement, which was fanned, not only from the pulpits, but also by means of pamphlets, soon bore fruit, and in many places the Protestant population fell into grave excesses and serious disturbances.[3]

Some people expected that a defence of the new calendar

1583. Manuscript in the possession of the antiquarian Gilhofer and Ranschburg in Vienna (Auktionskatalog, XV., 1904). Another similar remonstrance of 1585 by seven Protestant preachers, written in Lower Austria, in WIEDEMANN, I., 438 *seq.*

[1] See the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, XXIII. (1913), 81 *seq.*

[2] See KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 536 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR V. [15-16], 390 *seq.* To the literature there cited must be added: *Archiv für Oberfraken*, XV., 2, 17; *Zeitschrift für Schwaben und Neuburg*, VII. (1889), 157 *seq.* On the opinion of the university of Tübingen sent to Duke Louis of Wurtemburg against the introduction of the calendar of Gregory XIII., BREITSCHWERT (Keplerbiographie, Stuttgart, 1831, 27) whom nobody could suspect of any Catholic prejudices, remarks: "how cunningly this academic senate knew how to frighten the pious Duke Louis with the devil who ruled over the Catholic Church, so as to be able to rule over the Duke by means of the devil!"

would be issued by Rome, but at first this was not the case. All the attacks and insults were ignored with noble serenity, and it was only when real opposition broke out that this reserve was cast aside.[1] Christopher Clavio, who, as the leading spirit of the whole reform, and the author of the new calendar, was undoubtedly the best fitted to do so, answered all the accusations exhaustively. After various apologies, this he did in his *Explicatio* or "declaration concerning the Gregorian calendar," which was published by command of Clement VIII., and in which he, like the Pope in his brief of March 7th, 1603, expressly admits that the new work contains several defects, the inevitable result of the calculation of the cycle.[2] Two great Protestant astronomers, the Dane, Tycho Brahe, and the German, Johann Kepler,[3] declared their concurrence with the reasons set forth by Clavius and the other Catholic champions of the Gregorian calendar. Above all, Kepler, in word and writing, took up the cause of the reform, by means of which Gregory had only met a pressing need. The new calendar, he said, is by no means altogether free from errors, but is nevertheless far more accurate than an old Julian calendar and the errors which it still contains are insignificant, and purposely retained from motives of utility, and therefore even strict science may rest content with it. The religious motives which have been adduced against it are without foundation, both in their nature and in their practical effects; political motives are not only not opposed to it, but favourable to the introduction of the new calendar. The greater number of the nations have already accepted it, and it is a disgrace to the Germans that they, who produced the scientific skill for the correction of the calendar, should still be opposed to the reform.[4]

[1] See KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 530 *seq.*; *cf.* also SCHMID, Kalenderreform, V., 74.

[2] For the writings of Clavio, and especially his Explicatio Romani calendari a Gregorio XIII. P.M. restituti, Rome, 1603, *cf.* KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 568 *seq.*, and SCHUSTER, Kepler, 51 *seq.*

[3] See KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 573 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SCHUSTER, Kepler, 55 *seq.*

The words of Kepler at first led to no result, and it was only in 1700 that the Protestant states of the German Empire and Denmark, with the greater part of Protestant Switzerland and Holland, abandoned their opposition to the advance represented in the new style. A discrepancy which still remained in the reckoning of festivals was removed in 1775 at the instance of Frederick II. of Prussia by means of the *Corpus evangelicorum*. In England the new calendar was adopted in 1752, and in Sweden in 1753.[1] Thenceforward all Christian peoples have adhered to the Gregorian calendar, with the exception of those states which belong to the Greek schism, especially Russia, for which reason they have been, since March 1st, 1900, thirteen days behind the true chronology.[2] During the world war, Bulgaria, first among the

[1] *Cf.* IDELER, Handbuch der Chronologie, II., 321 *seq.*; RÜHL, Chronologie, 236 *seq.*; GROTEFEND, Chronologie, 50, and MEISTER, Grundriss, I., 307 *seq.*; MENZEL, Neuere Gesch, der Deutschen, IX., 260 *seq.* The prince elector of Brandenburg in 1611, in order to obtain the investiture and duchy of Prussia from Poland, had had to promise to introduce the Gregorian calendar, which he did in 1612. This was done in the Palatinate in 1615 (see MENZEL, VI., 68, 115). In Switzerland the Catholic cantons accepted it in 1584, the other subject territories accepted it in 1585-6, while the remaining Protestant districts only did so in 1700. A few small valleys in the Grisons only gave up their opposition to the new "Zyt" at the beginning of the XIXth century. *Cf.* BOTT, Die Einführung des neuen Kalenders in Graubünden, Leipzig, 1863; MOOR, Gesch. von Graubünden, II., 233 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 355; THOMMEN in the *Festschrift zur* 49. *Versammlung deutscher Philologen*, Basle, 1907, 279. In the Low Countries some provinces had already adopted the new calendar in 1582, subject to the superior ecclesiastical authority of the Pope (see STIEVE, 64). *Cf.* also GOLDSCHEIDER, Ueber die Einführung des neuen Kalenders in Danemark und Schweden (Progr.), Berlin, 1898.

[2] For the fruitless negotiations with the Eastern Church concerning the acceptance of the reform, see SCHMID, III., 545 *seq.*; V., 76 *seq.*; PIERLING, Le St. Siège, II., 224 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, VII., 196.

Orthodox Greek peoples, introduced the Gregorian calendar, and the Greek-Catholic dioceses of Galicia and part of Turkey have followed her example.

A recognition of the service rendered by Gregory XIII. by his reform of the calendar[1] is to-day no longer withheld by any civilized person. This achievement is generally extolled as an historical and educational fact of the greatest importance.[2] Even the bitterest enemies of the Papacy admit that the correction of European chronology introduced by Gregory is one of his most glorious titles to fame.[3]

Although under his predecessors, Paul IV. and Pius IV., Gregory XIII. had been a Consultor of the Inquisition,[4] he did not attach such great importance as Pius V. had done to the influence of that body for the renewal of ecclesiastical

[1] Two contemporary inscriptions in praise of the calendar in CIACONIUS, IV., 22. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 368 *seq.* for the commemorative medals. How modestly Gregory XIII. disclaimed the praises he had deserved is seen in his brief to Piero Vettori contained in the Epist. ad P. Victorium, ed. A. M. Bandinius, Florence, 1758, lxxix. *seq.*

[2] See SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 388. *Cf.* CARD. ALIMONDA, L'aureola della scienza nella riforma del Calendario, Rome, 1883; VALENSISE, Nella terza ricorrenza della riforma del calendario, Reggio-Emilia, 1883. See also *Etudes religieuses*, XLVIII. (1889), 480 *seq.*

[3] See BROSCH, I., 265 *seqq.*, who says: "The Gregorian reform of the calendar may be overrated as to its value, but nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties inherent in the subject itself, and in spite of the opposition which it encountered from a narrow-minded Protestantism, blinded to its true mission of progress, it has been to the common advantage of all civilized peoples. To have given it to humanity is a service which must not be denied to this Pope [Gregory XIII.]

[4] See the *Vita di Gregorio XIII. in Barb. 4749, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 163. The *"inventarium librorum et scripturarum in scrinio et studio Gregorii XIII. a C. Vastavillani S.R.E. camerario repertarum." (Cod. 671, p. 171 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome) contains many notices of the Holy Office.

discipline. Of the edicts of the Holy Office, the composition of which remained unchanged,[1] few appeared in his name, and it may be looked upon as characteristic that of these ordinances the most important concerned the economic administration of the Inquisition, and was obviously aimed at bringing out the disinterestedness of the officials of the Holy Office, and safeguarding them from suspicion.[2] Certain other enactments of the Cardinals of the Inquisition are framed on the same lines.[3] On the other hand Gregory took care that the In-

[1] See the *report of Fr. Gerini of May 30, 1572, State Archives, Florence.

[2] The money belonging to the Holy Office was to be in the hands of trustworthy bankers, but was to be administered according to the wishes of the Inquisitors. Edicts of January 7, 1574, March 10, 1575, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 32 *seq.*

[3] Decrees of May 28, 1578, February 15, 1581, January 4 and December 19, 1584, *ibid.* 34, 37 *seq.*, 39. See also the *Memoriale fiscalis S. Officii ad Greg. XIII. super locatione tenementi Conchae 1576" with two briefs from the Pope in Arm. 3, caps. 2, n. 59, of the Papal Secret Archives. At the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. the Inquisitors General were Cardinals Rebiba, Pacheco and Gambara; *cf.* Synopsis, 60. Rebiba died on July 23, 1577 "con estremo dolore della corte" says the *Avviso di Roma of July 24, 1577 (Urb. 1045, p. 440). Mucantius also says of Rebiba: "vir doctrina et experimento rerum celebris et vitae integritate universae curiae gratus" (Vatican Library). *Cf.* also SANTORI, Autobiografia, I., 329 *seq.* Cardinal G. Savelli then took the place of Rebiba; see AMABILE, I., 329. According to the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome, see App. n. 9). Chiesa and Madruzzo also belonged to the Inquisition at that time; *cf.* in App. n. 38, the *list of the Cardinal Inquisitors in 1566. Montalto and Santori were also added on account of the affair of Carranza. At the death of Gregory XIII., according to the bull of Sixtus V. of January 22, 1588, the Cardinals of the Inquisition were Madruzzo, Santori, Deza, Facchinetti, Castagna, Bernieri and Sarnano. We are told by Serguidi in 1581 of the high esteem in which Santori was held: *"S. Severino è tenuto il primo cardinale del collegio e di vita esemplare." State Archives, Florence. Med. 3605, p. 112. "Commissarii S. Ufficii" under Gregory XIII. were the Dominicans Antonio Balducci

quisition of Portugal should be endowed with sufficient revenues,[1] and that proper respect for the representatives of the most important ecclesiastical tribunal should be maintained;[2] against usurpations on the part of the other tribunals,[3] as well as of the civil authorities,[4] the Holy Office was able to protect its own rights, and only the strained relations with the Inquisition of Spain seemed to call for any intervention in the name of the Pope.[5] Two other ordinances of the Cardinal Inquisitors received the special approval and confirmation of the Pope; one of these forbade or restricted correspondence between those imprisoned by the tribunal of the faith,[6] the other ordered the consignment to the flames of the great accumulation of books of necromancy, which, as the result of so many trials, choked the archives of the Holy Office.[7] Moreover, the course of time brought

(1572-6), Tommaso Zobbio (1576-82), and after 1582 Lattanzio Ransoldi; see FONTANA, S. Theatrum Dominican., Rome, 1667, 542 *seq.*; TAURISANO, Hierarchia ord. Praedic., Rome, 1916, 71 *seq.* According to his biographer SERASSI (53 *seq.*) Giacomo Mazzoni was also employed in various ways by the Inquisition.

[1] Brief of June 28, 1583, Bull., VIII., 426 *seq.*

[2] Decrees of February 18 and 26, 1579, and January 12, 1581, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 35, 36 *seq.*

[3] Decrees of April 4, 1582, and October 24, 1584, *ibid.* 37 *seq.*, 39. *Cf.* decree of October 5, 1583, *ibid.* 38.

[4] Decree of January 28, 1579, for Piacenza, *ibid.* 34 *seq.*

[5] Decree of June 19, 1578, *ibid.* 34. For a dispute between the Roman Inquisition and that of Spain (a Spaniard who had been tried in Rome, was arrested while on a journey to Naples, and handed over to the Spanish Inquisition) see the brief of June 25, 1582, in THEINER, Annales, 1582, n. 51 (III., 361). Of special importance for Spain was a *" Breve declarationis, quod in vim privilegiorum Cruciatae sanctae concessorum nemo poterit a crimine haeresis absolvi." Barb. 1502, p. 223 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[6] Decree of October 3, 1573, and November 5, 1573, in PASTOR, 32.

[7] Decree of February 11, 1573, and on November 25, 1574, *ibid.* 32, 33.

it about in the Inquisition as elsewhere that greater attention was paid to the rearrangement of its archives, to a great extent owing to the labours of Borromeo.[1]

On the other hand, a concession to the spirit of the times was seen in the fact that torture still retained its place, and that considerable liberty was allowed to the inferior officials in its use.[2] As against this it was considered a mitigation when, at anyrate at the public promulgation of sentence, the condemned were no longer obliged to wear the customary dress, which, as a mark of disgrace, or to suggest violent death, was painted with flames and the like.[3] As far as the Pope himself was concerned, it showed a sincere good will when, in the first year of his pontificate, he personally visited the prisons of the Inquisition and inquired of each prisoner concerning the duration and reason of his detention.[4]

On the whole Gregory XIII. left a free hand to the tribunal of the faith, and he fully appreciated its necessity for the

[1] Decrees of May 1 and November 22, 1573, December 22, 1578, September 18, 1581, January 4, 1584, *ibid.* 33 *seq.*, 37 *seq.*

[2] Decree of September 4, 1577, *ibid.* 33.

[3] Decree of February 15, 1583, *ibid.* 38. The penalty inflicted on September 20, 1572, by the Inquisitor of Milan, Angelo da Forlì, at the trial of the monk, Ambrogio da Lodi, was mitigated in Rome after the acta of the trial had been sent thither, " attenta eius gravi aetate et longa carcerum maceratione " (A. BATTISTELLA in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, XXIX. [1902], 134 *seq*). The self-accusation of Torquato Tasso, already deranged in mind, made before the Inquisition, and which had no consequences for him, see in A. BAUMGARTNER, Gesch. der Weltliteratur, VI. (1911), 337, 379. A great impression was made by the trial of Paul de Foix, who came to Rome as a candidate for one of the French dioceses, was there accused of heresy, but acquitted. *Avvisi di Roma of May 15, 1574, April 23, 1575, March 26 and April 2, 1580, Urb. 1043, p. 105; 1044, pp. 397, 411; 1048, pp. 65, 67, Vatican Library; Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, VII., 257; THEINER, Annales, I., 116; RICHARD in Annales de St. Louis, II. (1898), 422, n. 2.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of November 15, 1572, sent to Vienna by Cusano, State Archives, Vienna.

destruction of heresy and the maintenance of the purity of the faith,[1] and in some cases encouraged its intervention. Like his predecessor, he was especially vigilant that Lutheran doctrines should not make their way into Italy by way of Venice and Padua.[2] The report which was made to him at the beginning of his pontificate by the nuncio in Venice, Facchinetti, as to the views held by the most influential persons in the city of the lagoons, was certainly satisfactory; the government of Venice, this report states, favours the Inquisition just as the other princes of Italy do; with some of them their motive is zeal for the faith, and with others the interests of the state, for they clearly recognize that nothing is so dangerous as innovations in matters of faith.[3] Gregory

[1] See the *letter to the nuncio at Venice of February 11, 1576, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the *Instruttione al vescovo di Mondovì, nuncio in Savoy, Barb. 3744, p. 91. See also AMABILE, I., 317 *seq.* and *ibid.* 321 *seq.* the furtherance of the Inquisition in Malta.

[2] In the instructions for the nuncio at Venice, Campeggio, dated April 12, 1581, it is stated: *" Vi e bisogno di buona vigilanza per esser la città di Venezia tanto grande et aperta et dove si da così facil receto a futte le nationi particolarmente di Germania." It is further stated that in Padua too is " più pericolosa ad infettarsi per la vicinanza di paesi heretici et per il concorso de le nationi allo studio." Barb. 5744, p. 144 *seq.* Vatican Library. The nuncio Bolognetti had reported concerning the Protestant students at Venice on March 12, 1580; see *Nunziat. di Venezia* XXI., 65, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Et quanto al favorire le cose del S^to^ Offitio, trovai quelli Sig^ri^ cosi saldi et confermati che S.S^tà^ si può promettere che le favoriranno al pari di qualsivoglia prencipe d'Italia. Molti si muoveno per la pietà et debito, altri per interesse di stato, che veggiono chiaramente che nessuna peste è tanto contagiosa et pericolosa come è questa della heresia. Report of Facchinetti to Galli, dated Venice, July 5, 1572, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, XII., 25, Papal Secret Archives. In 1578 Gregory XIII. demanded the handing over of the heretic Cornelio Socino, who was imprisoned at Venice. See the *letters of Galli of November 15 and December 20, 1578, *ibid.* in the year 1578.

wished that the "Sacramentarians" should be condemned to the galleys.[1] Magicians who sought for treasure by means of enchantments, or made use of them for other purposes, were, as long as the Pope should live, to feel the whole weight of his anger.[2] He succeeded in obtaining from Philip II., in October, 1584, that the Prince of Scalea at Naples, who was suspected of heresy, should be thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition.[3]

Although not so frequently as in the time of his predecessor, trials before the Inquisition, and condemnations of heretics and magicians, repeatedly took place under Gregory XIII. Such was the case on May 24th, 1573; eleven men and two women had to make their abjuration; one of these was condemned to death, four to imprisonment, and the others to the galleys.[4] Two monks and several magicians, nine in all, had to appear on October 29th in the following year before the tribunal of the Inquisition at St. Peter's; one of them was condemned to the stake, but on the following day he was converted at the sight of the gibbet and begged for a delay, and a mitigation of his sentence; he was hanged and his body was burned.[5] In the November of the following year, however, an obstinate heretic actually ended his days at the stake.[6] On Sunday, November 17th, 1577, there was another

[1] *Letter of Camillo Capilupi of February 10, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] For the case of Tiberio Crispi, who had to make his abjuration at the Holy Office on August 13 (Avvisi Caetani, 106), and who was condemned to 10 years in the galleys, see *Avvisi di Roma of January 15, April 3, August 14 and 21, 1574, Urb. 1044, pp. 2, 69b, 203-25, Vatican Library; Bertolotti, Martiri, 63. *Cf.* also *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XLIII., 201.

[3] Card. d'Ossat, Lettres, I., 11 (November 5, 1584); see Pastor, Dekrete 39.

[4] Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1573, in Bertolotti, 62.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 285, 287b, Vatican Library.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of November 20, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 296, Vatican Library; *cf.* Orano 54.

abjuration by ten heretics at St. Peter's ; a canon of the Pace aged sixty-five years was condemned to imprisonment, while a sorcerer of Genoa, who had in writing sold his soul to the devil, and had erected an altar to him, was only sentenced to be whipped through the city.[1] Eight Lutherans had to make their abjuration on June 8th, 1579 ; two of them, a Sienese and a Bolognese, had relapsed, but as they showed themselves repentant, only their dead bodies were consigned to the flames on June 13th.[2]

A greater stir was caused by an autodafè of February 13th, 1583, at the church of the Minerva, when sixteen accused men received their sentence,[3] among them two Portuguese, who

[1] *Avviso di Roma of November 23, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 638b, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of June 10 and 13, 1579, Urb. 1047, pp. 188, 193, Vatican Library ; *cf.* ORANO, 63 *seq.* Of the many names which Orano mentions at the same time, we are only taking into consideration those few who were really concerned with heresy. According to MAFFEI (II., 11), about twenty were handed over to the secular arm in 1579.

[3] *On Sunday 17 heretics were brought to trial at the Minerva, among them two guards of the Palace : Il Paleologo Sciotto, che prese l'habito di S. Domenico in Genova insieme col card. Justiniano dato al Papa dall'Imperatore, et che da Massimiliano (del quale era consigliero) non volse essere dato a Pio V. mai per molte instanze, che ne facesse, hebbe il voto, che vivus comburatur per ostinato Trinitario et per pertinace di infinite falsissime sue opinioni et ladrone del cognome de Paleologhi, essendo egli della famiglia Masselara detto Jacomo ; 2 Portughesi Marani, che iudaizzavano in Ferrara et circoncidevano de gli altri battezzati con un frate Siciliano dell' ordine Carmelitano, saranno abbrugiati morti ; Bartol. signore de Castelli macchiato di heresie con 2 Hebrei Spagnuoli et un frate Senese, il quale essercitava l' episcopale autorità havuta dal Patriarca de Greci, et secondo lui uguale à quella del Papa, sono condennati à carc. perp. The others, searchers for hidden treasure and sorcerers, were condemned to the galleys, or to a whipping or to banishment (Avviso di Roma of February 16, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 52, Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Alaleone, February 13, 1583 (Barb. 2814, *ibid.*) : " Multi haeretici abiurarunt in Ecclesia S.V. s. Minerva, quorum quatuor relapsi,

had had themselves circumcised and had propagated Judaism at Ferrara, a Sicilian Carmelite, Bartolomeo Lord of Castelli, two Spanish Jews, and a Sienese monk who had exercised the functions of a bishop, because he had been recognized as such by the Greek Patriarch, who claimed to be equal to the Pope. More important than any of these was the Dominican, Giacomo Massilara, known as Paleologus, a native of Chios, who, after being several times condemned as a heretic, had saved himself by taking to flight ;[1] he then wandered through Germany and France, and had preached as an anti-Trinitarian in Poland and Transylvania, but had at length been sent back to Rome in 1582 by Rupolph II.[2] On February 19th, Paleologus, who had himself adopted this distinctive name, was taken, together with the two Portuguese

fuerunt consignati curiae saeculari et statim ducti ad carceres Turris Nonae." See also the reports of Odescalchi of February 11 and 19, 1583, in BERTOLOTTI, 69 *seqq.* ; ORANO, 68 ; MUTINELLI, I., 139. The sentence on Castelli in BERTOLOTTI, 72-6. It is signed by Cardinals Savelli, Gambara, Lodovico Madruzzo and Santori as "inquisitori generali." Savelli was head of the Inquisition from 1577 (*Odescalchi, July 27, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua ; Lettres de Paul de Foix, 20 aout 1582) ; Madruzzo had been called to the Inquisition at the beginning of 1573 (*Aurelio Zibramonti, January 13, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] He was one of those who was released from the prisons of the Inquisition after the death of Paul IV. See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 319.

[2] With regard to Paleologus *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 251 *seq.* ; QUÉTIF-ÉCHARD, II., 340 ; REUSCH, I., 437 ; GILLET, Crato von Krafftheim, II., 238 *seq.* ; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 452 ; II., 411, 414, 419, 422, 426, 448 ; MUTINELLI, 77 ; the *notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome ; see BEZOLD in *Abhandl. der Münchener Akad. Hist.*, Kl. XVII., 2, 351 ; Freib. Kirchenlex., IX², 1274 *seq.* ; *Mitteilungen des Oesterr. Instituts*, 1918, 181. Some details are also given by the *" Relazione d'alcuni strani avvenimenti occorsi in persona di Pietro della Massiliara alias Paleologo " in Cod. 38, Arm. 30, p. 29, of the Corsini Library, Rome, and Cod. Bolognetti 243, Papal Secret Archives.

and the Carmelite, to the Campo de' Fiori, to be burned alive. In the case of one of the Portuguese Marani who proved obdurate, the penalty was carried out; the other repented at the sight of the scaffold, and only his body was consigned to the flames.[1] Paleologus too, as he was being led to execution, declared himself ready to abjure at the instance of Philip Neri, and was allowed with the Pope's permission to return to his prison.[2] He gave, however, further occasion to doubt the sincerity of his conversion, and was beheaded

[1] *Avviso di Roma of February 19, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 87, Vatican Library. Odescalchi in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 70. BLUSTEIN, Storia degli Ebrei di Roma, Rome, 1921, 138.

[2] Odescalchi in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 70 *seq.*; CAPECELATRO, II., 156 *seqq.* See *Avviso di Roma of February 19, 1583. To-day Paleologus with three others was taken to the Campo di Fiori; a Portuguese abjured with many tears, while his companion was burned with others; "il suo compagno con altri fu abbruciato; il Paleologo combattuto di continuo dal teologo del S. card. d'Este, adimandò finalmente perdono a Dio mentre era al palco, et al Papa suo vero vicario in terra con l'assolutione de suoi gravi errori, et fu ritirato in una case vicina, mentre dal Papa veniva altr'ordine, il quale è stato, che istessa piazza sopra un palco abiuri alta voce, et che per mano di notaro si scriva tal atto, et che ciò di sua mano facci, sapere in Alemagna à tutti della sua setta, et che si riconduca in prigione." Now the "mastro di camera" the "scalco" of the Pope and others are disputing with him, "mantenendo con sue false ragioni la opinione delle sue eresie con eloquenza incredibile." Urb. 1051, p. 87, Vatican Library. *Avviso di Roma of February 26, 1583, *ibid.* p. 95. Although Paleologus had been so long a heretic, the Pope nevertheless wished for mature reflection with the help of a special congregation, as Paleologus, if he should persevere in recognizing his errors, might be very useful to those whom he had seduced by his writings. *Ibid.* p. 96: On Wednesday there was a great difference of opinion at the Inquisition on the subject of Paleologus; some of the Cardinals were for his death, and some were opposed to this; finally the view of the Pope prevailed, that the execution should be deferred, so that Paleologus might write to his followers, which he has begun to do. *Cf.* also the Avviso di Roma of February 19 1583, in BELTRAMI, Roma, 42.

two years later, but he died as a Catholic and was assisted at the end by Baronius.[1]

The abjuration of February 13th, 1583, was made into a solemn act to which the whole College of Cardinals was invited,[2] but as was always the case, Gregory XIII. was not much inclined to such demonstrations. The Pope feared that a public confession of error, especially in the case of persons of high rank, might seem too difficult, and might drive the unfortunate victims to despair; moreover, he feared least the people should be scandalized, since in these scenes the spread of heresy even among distinguished priests, was made manifest.[3] Several times during the pontificate there were rumours of secret abjurations, and of the carrying out in secret, in the prisons or in the monasteries, of the sentences imposed.[4]

In spite of this, however, there were several trials which caused a greater stir than that of Paleologus; this was due to

[1] On March 22, 1585; see ORANO, 73 *seq.*; *Avviso di Roma of March 23, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 127b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* CALENZIO, 219 *seq.*

[2] *Avviso di Roma of February 12, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 69 Vatican Library.

[3] A canon of the Lateran was burned in effigy on July 26, 1581 BERTOLOTTI, 64); the same was done in the case of another, canon (*ibid*).

[4] *" Questo Papa ha interlasciato quel tanto rigor di Pio Quinto nel far abiurar quelli capitano al S. Officio dell'Inquisitione et lo fa far secretamente si come si fece giovedì in San Pietro d' alcuni huomini di qualche conto confinandoli poi in prigione o in monasteri de' frati a far le penitentie li sono imposti, per non disperar la povera gente ne dar scandalo al mondo." Cusano, October 29, 1574, State Archives, Vienna. " Nella congregatione della quale [Inquisizione] fatta la settimana passata in case del cardinale di Gambara abiurò secretamente un gentilhuomo Genovese ricco di 150 mille scudi et gli fu dato per penitenza che debba dare 6 mille scudi d' elemosina a luoghi pii in Genova," Odescalchi, February 12, 1583, in BERTOLOTTI, 69 *seq.* The former Bishop of Vence, Luigi Grimaldi, also made his abjuration in secret; see as to him, DOUBLET in the *Annales du Midi*, XVI. (1904), 63. How carefully the Inquisition at Bologna preserved the secrecy of its acts, see BATTISTELLA, 70 *seq.*

the fanaticism of certain Protestant sectaries. On Sunday, July 23rd, 1581, while a priest was saying mass at St. Peter's, and was elevating the sacred host, a Protestant who had come from England threw himself upon him in order to snatch the host from him, and failing in this, upset the chalice. The faithful who were present dragged the madman to the Inquisition, where he boasted that he had conspired with twenty-eight others to do the same thing.[1] It appeared that they were dealing with an anabaptist who looked upon himself as a prophet, and wished to die as a martyr; he always carried a Bible with him, but was an entirely uneducated man; by profession he was a nail-smith.[2] On August 2nd the unhappy man was taken on a donkey to the piazza of St. Peter's, which was driven along by burning torches. Before he mounted the scaffold his right hand was cut off. All Rome assembled for the spectacle, and even the boys strove to assist in burning him.[3]

The inquiry brought out the fact that the supposed conspiracy to outrage the mass had no existence,[4] yet in the sequel similar acts were repeated. In the November of the same year, another Englishman, this time at S. Maria del Popolo, made an attempt to strangle the priest, so as to

[1] *Avviso di Roma of July 26, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 281, Vatican Library.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1581, *loc. cit.* *"Costui era homo idiota portava sempre in seno la bibia, intendeva qualche cosa et era della setta anabattista." Odescalchi to Mantua, August 5, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1581, *loc. cit.* *"Fu condotto alle 12 hore sopra un asino su la piazza di s. Pietro, stimulate con torce accese, et condotto quivi gli fu mozzato la destra et poi abruciato vivo et la cennere fu lasciato a vento." (ORANO, 67, who has included this Richard Atkins among his Liberi Pensatori !). *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 131.

[4] Paul de Foix on March 16, 1582, tells of English heretics who were in prison: "On n'a peu tirer des Anglois qui ont este mis prisonniers aux prisons de l'Inquisition, sinon qu'ils sont heretiques." Lettres, 353.

snatch the chalice from him.[1] Some months later, a Castillian, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as he said, dashed forward in St. Peter's to snatch the chalice from the hands of the priest; it was currently reported that this man had died a cruel death, but that the execution had taken place in secret, in order to avoid scandal;[2] perhaps the contagion which might follow upon such crimes was feared. A similar case actually occurred once more in November, 1582; a Frenchman from the Dauphiné threw himself upon a friar at S. Maria del Popolo, after he had begun his mass, and tried to knock him down. This time it was a case of a real madman, who had shown himself the day before at S. Maria del Popolo with a paper mitre on his head, painted all over with pictures of animals; he cried out that he was the Pope.[3]

[1] *Avviso di Roma of November 15, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 429 Vatican Library.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of January 20, 1582, Urb. 1050, Vatican Library.

[3] *Domenica mattina nella chiesa del Popolo intervenne un strano caso, et fu in questa maniera, che mentre uno frate sta all' altare dicendo l'introito et la confessione per seguire la messa ecco che un Francese del Delfinato lo piglia di dietro all'improviso pel collo et lo scote tre o quattro volte per gettarlo a terra, ma il frate che era gagliardo et ben disposto della vita si tenne sempre in piedi, il che vedendo li circostanti che stavano ad udire la messa s'avventarono adosso al detto Francese et lo presero et lo condussero prigione in una stantia dentro del convento, di dove è stato poi condotto prigione al Santo Ufficio dell'Inquisitione. Questo heretico pazzo era pur stato la mattina inanzi in detta chiesa del Popolo con una mitra di carta in testa piena de varie sorte de pittura d' animali, gridando che anch'esso era Papa, a quale si crede interverrà come intervenne a quello Inglese che volse gettare in terra il santissimo sacramento nella chiesa di S. Pietro che fu condotto per tutta Roma sopra un somaro et poi abbrusciato nella piazza. Dicono siano stati presi cert'altri dell' humore di costui che se saranno in dolo gli faranno compagnia. Odescalchi on November 18, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the action of the Inquisition at Bologna against the suspected preachers see BATTISTELLA, 133; *ibid.* 52 for the questions at issue there between the Inquisitors and the archbishop. Executions at Bologna in 1579, 1581 and 1583, *ibid.* 105 *seq.*

In the time of Gregory XIII. the Inquisition was often engaged with relapses into Judaism ;[1] these renegades, who had accepted Christianity in Spain and Portugal, and had then secretly returned to their former religion, frequently took refuge from the power of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, and overran the whole of the north and centre of Italy. Gregory XIII. addressed letters on the subject to the nuncio at Venice,[2] and to many of the Italian princes. He warned, for example, the republic of Genoa against receiving refugees of this kind, without finding out definitely who they were, whether they could produce certificates of good conduct, and where they intended to stay ; once they had been admitted they were not to be sent away, so that they might not take refuge among the unbelievers.[3] From an inquiry held in Rome in 1578 it appeared that the Marani from Portugal were more numerous there than had been thought, and on August 13th in that year no less than seven were put to death at the Porta Latina.[4] Probably it was to a great extent such occurrences as these which determined the Pope to regulate exactly the relations between the Inquisition and Judaism.[5]

[1] See *supra* p. 304 ; RIEGER-VOLGENSTEIN, II., 175.

[2] See *Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., in 1574, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Brief of May 27, 1581, in THEINER, Annales, III., 308 *seq.* *" Accepimus multos a Iudaica perfidia ad Christi fidem recenter conversos rursumque Christo repudiato ut canes ad vomitum suum ad Iudaismum reversos quotidie ex multis regionibus praesertim vero ex Hispania et Lusitania in Italiam confluere, etc." To Venice, May 27, 1581, State Archives, Venice. A similar brief to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, May 27, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 245.

[4] *Avvisi di Roma of August 9 and 13, 1578. Urb. 1046, pp. 289, 296, Vatican Library. The names of the seven, one of whom must have been an Albanian, in ORANO, 55-61. The Avvisi only state that they were burned, and that this does not generally mean burned " alive " is clear from Orano. From the information which he has published concerning the confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato, in this case as well as in that mentioned on p. 302, it does not appear for what reason they were condemned.

[5] By a bull of June 1, 1581, Bull. Rom., VIII., 378.

According to the words of the Apostle[1] the Church naturally did not claim the same judicial authority over unbaptized persons as over those who by means of baptism had been admitted into the family of Christ, yet she deemed that she had been given a certain authority by Christ, as the head of the human race, even over the infidels.[2] Gregory XIII. now decided the special cases in which the Jews were to be subject to the tribunal of the faith. According to this ordinance the Inquisition might take proceedings against them if they denied the truths of faith which Christians and Jews held in common, for example the unity and omnipotence of God, and also if they worshipped the devil or led Christians to do so, if they pronounced blasphemies against God or the BlessedVirgin, if they led Christians into apostasy, or prevented their conversion, if they gave refuge or other assistance to the heretics, if they possessed or propagated prohibited books, if they insulted the Christian religion, or if, contrary to the ancient prohibition of Canon Law, they employed Christian women as nurses. From the reports of the ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara it is clear how strongly Gregory XIII. insisted that the Portuguese Marani who were affected by this bull should not be tried in Ferrara but in Rome.[3] In a special brief[4] the Pope once more insisted upon the prohibition of summoning or admitting Jewish doctors to attend Christian invalids. In opposition to the heretics Gregory renewed the right to the free preaching of the Gospel, by ordering all the bishops and

[1] " For what have I to do to judge them that are without ? " ; (I. Cor., 5, 12).

[2] *Cf.* PHILLIPS, II., 392 *seqq.* ; HINSCHIUS, VI., 35 *seqq.*

[3] See the *reports of Giulio Maretti and G. B. Laderchi, dated April 19, 22, and July 29, 1581, State Archives, Modena.

[4] Dated February 28, 1581, in THEINER, Annales, 1581, n. 67 (III., 309), *cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 371 (dated May 30, 1581) ; see *Bandi V., 10, p. 40 (dated March 30, 1581) ; also the *Avviso di Roma of April 15, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 160, Vatican Library. The Duke of Mantua was not allowed, in spite of the request of Farnese, to suffer any Jews to practise medicine. *Letter of Bernerio to Vienna, June 24, 1581, State Archives, Vienna.

prelates to institute weekly sermons for the Jews.[1] In Rome these conferences, which were already held regularly, resulted in numerous conversions of Jews; the baptism of a rich Roman Jew named Samuel made a very great impression.[2]

In the introduction to the bull regulating the relations of the Inquisition with the Jews, the Pope reminded them that nowhere in the world had they enjoyed such kindly treatment as among the Christian nations, and especially in the States of the Church.[3] Gregory himself acted in the same sense; in spite of the protests of Cardinal Galli he allowed them to return to the Venaissin.[4] A decision on the question whether the

[1] On September 1, 1584, Bull. Rom., VIII., 487 *seq.* In the *Diario of Santori concerning his audiences with the Pope on January 19, 1581, he remarks: "Del predicare per gli Hebrei; che non si lasci e se facci seguitare da qualche frate. Di far vedere a S.S. alcune bolle sopra la predica, da farsi agli Giudei per tutto e farsi una bolla che dovunque sono si predichi; si consenta." On June 1, 1581, Santori again urged sermons for the Jews (*ibid.*). Arm. 52, t. 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] According to RIEGER-VOLGENSTEIN, II., 172 *seq.* The baptism of the wealthy Samuel is placed in the year 1582 by the Avvisi (*Avviso di Roma of April 21, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 119, 121, Vatican Library). A converted Jew, Guglielmo Sirlet, is mentioned in the *briefs to the Doge of Venice on July 11, 1579 and December 6, 1582. State Archives, Venice. The Bishop of Ferrara wrote to Cardinal Sirleto concerning the Jews on May 18, 1582: "Ben spesso habiamo . . . di quei che vengono al santo battesimo, cosi huomini come donne. E se la casa de cathetumeni havesse un poco di sostanza, . . . son sicuro che ne havessimo molti più." Vat. 6182, p. 654, Vatican Library. A work based upon an examination of the many manuscript sources on the missions to the Jews in Rome is being prepared by P. Hofmann of the Pious Society of Missions.

[3] "In omnes dispersi orbis terrarum regiones servitutique perpetuae mancipati, non maiorem in cuiusquam ditione clementiam, quam in christianorum provinciis, maxime vero in apostolicae pietatis gremio invenerunt." Bull. Rom., VIII., 378.

[4] THEINER, Annales, I., App. 351. At Naples the Jews were not tolerated by the Spanish government (see HÜBNER, I., 108). For the great interest that they were able to exact, see *Bandi,

Pope ought to tolerate the Jews advised him to do so; in the time of Pius V. severity had been employed, but now on the contrary a renewal of mild treatment was advisable.[1] When in 1573 some riotous soldiers had made a raid upon the Ghetto in Rome, they were obliged to leave the city.[2] When they were travelling or taking part in the annual fairs the Jews were allowed to lay aside their distinctive marks if they were not going to remain in a place longer than one day.[3] The Jews in Rome were confirmed in the management of their own community by a brief of January 10th, 1577.[4]

Even greater excitement than that aroused by the measures taken against the Jews, and the execution of the fanatical Englishmen and the Portuguese Maraní, was caused in Rome by the final conclusion of a trial which had been carried on for years at the secret sessions of the Inquisition, in such a way that nothing but uncertain rumours had reached the public during its course:[5] this was the trial of the unfortunate Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza. The business had already dragged on for more than ten years.[6] In the middle of 1575 it was loudly proclaimed in Rome that the Pope was absolutely determined that the affair should now be brought to an end, and was personally devoting his attention to it for three hours every day.[7] Twice a

V., 10, p. 110: "Tolerantia Bancheriorum Hebraeorum Urbis ad quatr. 6 pro scuto sing. mense a 3. VIII. 1575 observanda." Decree of February 1, 1577, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* ERLER in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LIII., 57.

[1] *Cod. D. 5, 20, Varia n. 10. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] RIEGER-VOLGENSTEIN, II., 170.

[3] Decree of the Apostolic Camera of April 21, 1581, Bull. Rom., VIII., 788, n. 9.

[4] RIEGER-VOLGENSTEIN, II., 172. For the relations of Gregory with the Jews, *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 252; II., 66, 221; RODOCANACHI, Le St. Siège et les Juifs, Paris, 1891, 51, 69, 214, 230 *seq.*, 274 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 328, ; Vol. XVII., p. 344.

[6] A *letter to the nuncio at Venice of September 12, 1573, refers to the writings on Carranza among the papers of the dead Cardinal Aldobrandini. Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 423, Vatican Library.

week[1], or as was stated later, three times, and on each occasion for four or five hours,[2] the congregation concerning Carranza was held in the presence of the Pope, and it was wagered at the end of January, 1576, that the matter would very soon be concluded.[3]

This time rumour spoke truly. On April 14th, 1576, the last solemn session of the congregation was held, at which, the Pope himself pronounced the sentence.[4] Carranza was not condemned as a heretic; the inquiry into his writings had given no sufficient grounds for such a course. On the other hand there still remained against him the suspicion that he had adopted certain non-catholic views. In such cases Canon Law demanded that the accused should clear himself of those suspicions by an abjuration of the propositions in question. Carranza accordingly had to comply with this requirement. As a Spaniard, who had worked in some measure to preserve the purity of the faith, and as a Dominican and archbishop, who had inscribed its defence upon his banner, the humiliation involved in such a confession must have been felt two-fold and three-fold, and it was with bitter tears that he did what was required of him. The Pope then imposed upon him by way of penance that he should make the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches of Rome, and be banished for five years to the Dominican convent at Orvieto, during which time he was forbidden to exercise his archiepiscopal functions. Then

[1] *Avvisi di Roma of April 30 and July 23, 1575, *ibid.* pp. 427, 497.

[2] *Avvisi di Roma of February 1 and 4, 1576, Urb. 1045, pp. 32, 41, Vatican Library.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of January 28, 1576, *ibid.* p. 30b. *Avviso of December 17, 1575, *ibid.* p. 642b, predicts that Carranza will be set at liberty by Christmas. Pompeo Strozzi *wrote on January 28, 1576, to Mantua that Carranza would be set at liberty. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Similar rumours, however, had been common since 1573; see the *letters to Vienna of November 21, 1573 (from Mendoza), February 26 and March 6, 1574 (from Cusano), State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Laugwitz, 99 *seq.* A detailed account of the abjuration in the *Diario of Mucantius, April 14, 1576, Papal Secret Archives.

the Pope embraced him, and for safety's sake, in case he should have incurred any ecclesiastical censure, gave him absolution.[1]

Carranza was spared the banishment to Orvieto; during the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches, which, against his will, he had to perform without any exterior marks of distinction, he was seized with a fatal illness, to which he succumbed on May 2nd, 1576.[2] Before he received the Holy Eucharist at Viaticum he made oath that from the time of his entry into his Order, and during the whole period of his labours as a professor, writer and preacher in Spain, Germany and England, he had had no greater aim than to exalt the faith, and to fight the heretics according to his abilities. The doubt that had been cast upon his good faith rested entirely upon false information, but he accepted the Pope's sentence as a just one, and pardoned all his enemies.[3]

On April 30th, when he heard of Carranza's condition, Gregory XIII. sent his own confessor to him to dispense the sick man from the penances which had been imposed on him, and to comfort him.[4] This man, who had been so sorely tried, was buried without pomp in the church of the Minerva.[5]

As far as it is possible to form a judgment, the errors of Carranza were only the corollary of his virtues; in his efforts to reconcile the heretics to the Church, and to smooth away the obstacles which they met with in Catholic doctrines, he went too far to meet them, at anyrate in the form of the

[1] LAUGWITZ, 101.

[2] "Se mori quest'anno tutto afflitto d'animo e consumato." SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 362. Numerous *acta from the papers left by Santori concerning the "causa Toletana" under Gregory XIII. in Miscell. Arm. 10, t. 4, of the Papal Secret Archives.

[3] LAUGWITZ, 103. THEINER, Annales, II., 243.

[4] LAUGWITZ, 102. *Cf.* as to Carranza M. MENENDEZ PELAYO, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, II., 359-415.

[5] *"quia adhuc in eodem conventu detinebatur carceratus," says Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* BERTHIER, Minerve, 247 *seq.*

expressions he used, and therefore, without intending to do so, imperilled the purity of the doctrines of the Church. The danger of this tendency was fully realized in Rome. To a Pius V. the trial of the archbishop was from the first supremely painful; it was said, in allusion to the disease from which the Pope was suffering, that Carranza was one of the stones which would cause his death,[1] but in spite of that he never for a moment thought of allowing the trial to drop. The severity with which he behaved towards the unhappy archbishop, or rather against the way he was tending, was quickly justified by the events. The trial of Carranza was still pending when, in the north, there sprang from that very tendency a heresy which, in the centuries that followed, was to do indescribable harm to the Church. It was from his desire to meet the innovators as far as possible that the true father of Jansenism, Michael Baius of Louvain, had been led into his views that were opposed to the teaching of the Church. What difficulties might arise when a scholar, at first full of the best intentions, and under the appearance of well-doing, allowed himself to be led further and further along such a course, had already been shown in the person of the Louvain theologian in the time of Pius V., and was to be shown even more clearly in that of Gregory XIII.

At the time of the death of the Dominican Pope the controversy raised by Baius might be said to have been brought to an end. The behaviour of the celebrated scholar, which was at first by no means blameless, had led to strong action being taken against him; at length it seemed that the whole affair was ended, since Baius had submitted to all that was required of him.[2] Again during the first months of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., on July 4th, 1572, the theological faculty of Louvain held a meeting at which the propositions of Baius which had been condemned by Pius V. were also

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 364. On May 24, 1572, *Arco states that Gregory XIII. regretted that Pius V. had left him the affair of Carranza to deal with. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 375.

prohibited by the university; this was soon followed by an order that this condemnation must be subscribed by everyone who received the doctorate in theology.[1] Baius, in common with all the other professors, signed this decision. As the celebrated scholar had thus, and under such solemn circumstances, fulfilled his duty as a Catholic, this redounded to his honour, and his reputation at the university was enhanced. In 1575 he was even appointed chancellor, and in 1578 conservator; from 1575 he was also dean of the collegiate church of St. Peter.

In spite of all this, however, Baius gave fresh reason to doubt the sincerity of his submission. In 1575 he maintained in a public discourse that opinion as to the origin of the episcopal power which had led to so much excitement at the Council of Trent,[2] but which had not hitherto been supported by the university of Louvain; in a word, he held the view that jurisdiction came to the bishops, not from the Pope, but immediately from God, and that apart from the diocese of Rome, the Pope had no other episcopal jurisdiction.[3] At the same time he caused scandal by his thesis that from the words of Jesus Christ to Peter: "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not" (Luke xxii., 32), Papal infallibility cannot be proved with certainty.[4] By such a setting forth of his principles, the impression was bound to be given that Baius wished to minimize the authority of the Pope, and to deprive of their force the Papal decisions against his cherished opinions.

[1] C. FLEURY, Hist. eccl. Continuatio, XLIX., August. Vindel., 1572, 126; LE BACHELET in the *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.* of VACANT AND MANGENOT, II., Paris, 1905, 54 *seqq.* In what follows we are in complete accordance, unless otherwise stated, with Le Bachelet. *Cf.* also SCHEEBEN in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I², 1852 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 334.

[3] Bonhomini to Cardinal Rusticucci, November 9, 1585, in EHSES-MEISTER, Kölner Nuntiatur, I., 184.

[4] He wrote a small book concerning this passage. LE BACHELET, 54; FLEURY, Contin., XLIX., 493.

Baius also showed his true colours in a controversy with the champion of Calvinism in Holland, Philip Marnix, Lord of S. Aldegonde.[1] For reasons that are not known, perhaps in order to embarrass the Catholics by means of Baius, Marnix addressed to the rector of the university of Louvain a series of questions as to the authority of the Church in matters of faith, and on the Holy Eucharist. Baius replied, and ably defended against Protestantism the doctrines of the Church. But the principles on which he based his arguments gave reason for anxiety among the Catholics. The Franciscan, Orantes y Villena (Horantius), afterwards Bishop of Oviedo, wrote against him; at the suggestion of the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, Gaspare di Quiroga, Cardinal of Toledo, the universities of Alcalà and Salamanca censured some of his propositions.[2] Among other things Baius was found fault with because, in spite of the Papal condemnation, he still adhered in his lectures and disputations to the propositions forbidden by Pius V. This was quite true in so far that Baius, at the public disputations, by preference raised objections to those dogmatic propositions which were opposed to his own errors. It also seems to be the truth that, after the death of Pius V., he entertained the hope that the new Pope would be more favourably disposed towards him, and addressed to Gregory XIII. a defence in elucidation of the doctrines condemned by Pius V. His followers spread the rumour that the bull against him had been fictitious, and that no one had seen an authentic copy of it, while others foretold the revocation of his condemnation at the hands of the new Pope.

It seemed as though a renewal of the old controversy was at hand; in order to prevent this, Philip II., through his ambassador in Rome, and the theological faculty at Louvain, through the Jesuit Toledo, had recourse to Gregory XIII., and asked for a confirmation and renewal of the bull of Pius V. against the Louvain professor. Gregory acceded to this

[1] FLEURY, Contin., XLIX., 493 *seq.*, 589 *seqq.* LE BACHELET, 53.

[2] The censure is printed in FLEURY, Contin., L., 86 *seqq.*

request and on January 29th, 1580, issued the bull asked for.[1] The introduction to this states: it is the right of the Pope to place in the hands of the faithful the decisions of his predecessors, as often as this may be necessary; in this decree of his, therefore, he was following the bull of Pius V., as it appeared in the registers.

The above mentioned Jesuit, Francisco Toledo, was charged with the difficult task of publishing the bull in Louvain, and inducing Baius to submit to it,[2] for in Rome Toledo was looked upon as a prodigy of learning.[3] In March, 1580, Toledo reached Louvain; first he went to Baius himself, and in a friendly discussion, actually succeeded in satisfying and winning over the chancellor. He then summoned a meeting of the faculty, and explained why the Pope had decided to confirm and publish the bull of Pius V. At a subsequent meeting the bull of Gregory XIII. was read, after which Toledo addressed to Baius the question whether several of the rejected propositions were not actually to be found in his printed books, and there defended in the sense in which they had been

[1] Bull. Rom., VIII., 314 *seqq.* dated "anno Incarnationis Dominicae, 1579, 4. cal. febr. pontificatus nostri anno VIII." The eighth year of the pontificate extended from May 26, 1579, to May 25, 1580. The 29th of January in that year therefore fell in 1580. In Bull. Rom., *loc. cit.* the bull is correctly inserted between December 16, 1579, and March 23, 1580. But the "datum" on p. 320, as is not uncommonly the case, is taken incorrectly.

[2] The briefs with which he was furnished (to Baius and to the university of Louvain, of January 19, 1580, the authority to absolve him, February 2, 1580) in THEINER, Annales, 1580, n. 79 (III., 206 *seqq*). The *Instructions for Toledo, dated January 20, 1580, in Cod. R. 3. 6, p. 51 *seq.* of the Angelica Library, Rome.

[3] A brief of Gregory XIII. of November 22, 1575, recommends to the Duke of Bavaria: "ne mendaciis credat contra Franciscum Toletum Iesuitam, hominum omnium qui nunc sunt sine ulla controversia doctissimum . . . cuius consilium in rebus gravissimis S. Poenitentiariae omnibusque fere, quae ad animarum salutem pertinent, adhibet [SS. Pontifex] . . . Synopsis actorum S. Sedis 77."

condemned in the bull. Naturally, this last remark was aimed at the discussion on the so-called "comma pianum." Baius replied in the affirmative. Toledo then asked whether he rejected these and the other propositions condemned by the Pope. "I reject them," replied Baius, "in the sense of the bull and in the way and manner in which the bull condemns them."[1] The same question was then addressed to the others present, and all replied in the same way as Baius. In subsequent discussions with the professor, Toledo obtained from him a written declaration of March 24th, 1580, signed by him. In this Baius states that the remarks of Toledo had made a great impression upon him; he was persuaded that the condemnation was just and equitable, and the result of mature reflection and examination. He confesses that in some of his earlier writings many of these propositions were to be found, and that they are there defended in the sense in which the bull condemns them; finally he declares that he renounces these opinions and submits himself to the condemnation of the Pope.[2] Toledo then replied that nowhere had he found such wisdom, and nowhere such humility, as in Baius; in Rome he spoke of him to the Pope in the most honourable terms,[3] so that Gregory XIII. gave the chancellor a testimonial in a most benevolent brief of June 15th, 1580.[4] Toledo also obtained for the university an original manuscript of the bull; differing from the printed copy which he had taken to Louvain in the previous year, but, in accordance with the usage of the pontifical chancery, in this there were no punctuation marks, a circumstance which, in the later history of Baianism, in the years of 1618 and 1643, figured largely in the controversy about the "comma pianum."

[1] Le Bachelet, 55; *cf.* Astrain, IV., 47.

[2] Published in Theiner, Annales, 1580, n. 80 (III., 208); a version in Le Bachelet, 57.

[3] The return of Toledo to Rome is announced by Bishop *Odescalchi on May 14, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] Theiner, Annales, 1580, n. 79 (III., 208). The letters of thanks to the university, the syndic, the assessors and the council of Louvain, August 6, 1580, *ibid.* 209.

In spite of all these declarations and subscriptions the errors of Louvain were not entirely overcome. Once more disquieting news reached Rome. When in 1584 Gregory sent the Bishop of Vercelli, Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, as his nuncio to Germany, he instructed him to devote his attention to this question. Bonhomini's reports from Holland only came to Gregory's successor.

The experiences they had had of Baius and the influence of his writings and doctrines only made it more evident in Rome that the Church in drawing up her legislation must exercise all possible vigilance in order to exclude anti-Catholic doctrines. How convinced Gregory was for this reason of the need for the Index of prohibited books is shown by several of his briefs. Bad books, he wrote to the Archduke Charles at Graz,[1] are a pestilence which at a single blow may infect whole cities and provinces; Councils and Emperors had realized that nothing was better or more salutary for the whole Church than to employ the fire against this cancer. Maximilian II. earned the praise of the Pope for what he had done in proceeding with all severity against the books of the innovators.[2] Rudolph II.,[3] and before him, the Archduke Ferdinand,[4] were begged by Gregory to do the same.

At the same time, side by side with zeal in restricting the dissemination of heretical doctrines, it was necessary to steer clear of the danger lest by excessive severity in prohibiting books, men's consciences might be disturbed, and the very observance of the Index itself made too difficult. In his efforts to reconcile these two extremes, zeal for the faith and proper prudence, in the best possible way, Gregory XIII. applied himself to the difficult task of giving the Index a form which would be satisfactory from both points of view.[5] For

[1] On December 5, 1580, in Theiner, Annales, III., 135.

[2] On May 15, 1574, *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XV., 209.

[3] On March 15, 1581, in Theiner, Annales, III., 271.

[4] On August 11, 1576, *ibid.*, II., 187.

[5] "Ut pestiferarum opinionum diseminandarum omnis tollatur occasio, et conscientiarum tranquillitati, quantum in nobis est, consulatur, vehementer cupimus indicem librorum prohibitorum

this purpose the seven Cardinals of the Congregation of the Index[1] were given very wide faculties; they were to be allowed in cases of uncertainty or special difficulty to explain and settle the meaning of the Index and its rules, to erase from heretical or suspect books the erroneous or scandalous matter, to permit or prohibit books, to put them on the Index or remove them from it; to grant or refuse permission to sell productions of the press. So as to ensure uniformity of action all other similar faculties were revoked; moreover all bishops, professors, teachers, booksellers, and the like were bound to obedience to the cardinalitial congregation of the Index.[2]

Indeed, under Gregory XIII. the work of preparing a new edition of the Index was begun. An attempt was made upon the difficult task of expurgating erroneous matter from the works of Boccacio, Macchiavelli,[3] and the Jewsih

in eam formam primo quoque tempore redigi, etc." Bull of September 13, 1572, in *Analecta iuris pontif.* 1st. Ser., Rome, 1855, 2256. *Cf.* HILGERS, 514 *seq.*

[1] Sirleto, Paleotto, Bonelli, Pellevé, Bianchi, Montalto, Giustiniani (introduction to the same bull, *Analecta, loc. cit.*). For the Congregation of the Index *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 23. For its secretaries in the time of Gregory XIII., Giov. Batt. Lanci (1580-3) and Vincenzo Bonardi, see TAURISANO, Hierarchia ord. Praedic., Rome., 1916, 115.

[2] Bull of September 13, 1572, *loc. cit.*

[3] SALV. BONGI, Annali di Gabr. Gioliti de' Ferrari, II., Rome, 1897, 414 *seqq.* REUSCH, Index, I., 387, 390. Two letters from Vettori to Sirleto in DEJOB, 393, 396. *Epistola ad Gregorium XIII. super corrrectione novellarum Boccaccii imperfecta," in Vat. 6176, p. 282, Vatican Library. A *letter of June 20, 1573, orders the nuncio at Venice to prevent " la vendita dei 100 novelle di Bocaccio non corrette." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. For the expurgated edition of the " Cortegiano " of Castiglione (1584) *cf.* VITTORIO CIAN, Un episodio della storia della censura in Italia nel sec. XVI., Milan, 1887. The French translation of the Bible by Réné Benoist was condemned in a brief of October 3, 1575; see REUSCH, I., 449 *seq.*; *cf. Studi e docum. di storia e di diritto*, XXIV., Rome, 1903, 259.

books,[1] and an examination of the glossary of Canon Law was made,[2] as well as of the writings of Erasmus.[3] But for the moment all these preparatory labours were of no use for the proposed new edition of the Index.[4]

But if the above mentioned attempts prove an anxiety to moderate the existing prohibitions of books,[5] there was never-

[1] REUSCH, I., 50. At his audience of June 1, 1581, Santori spoke to the Pope *" dei Talmud stampati in Basilea venuti; che 'l Talmud sia impedito per tutto " (Notes by Santori on his audiences, Arm. 52, t. 17, Papal Secret Archives). Santori again spoke to the Pope on July 27, 1581, *" del tempo della Congregatione de libri hebrei e spese fatteci e fatiglie tenute; N.S. ordinò che con li primi riveditori de' libri hebrei vi intervenisse alcun Giudeo, e quel che poi sarà notato, si riferisca in Congregatione " (*ibid.*). The Duke of Mantua was *warned not to allow any Jewish book to be printed, without its being first revised (Zibramonte, January 11, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The nuncio in Germany received on February 28, 1579, *orders to come to an understanding with the Swiss government, " acciò operino con li loro confederati di Basilea che si impedisca la stampa del Thalmud intentendosi essere molto sollicitata." Barb. LXII., 1, carte 42, Vatican Library. *Cf.* REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 269 *seq.*, 347, 629 *seq.* BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., 321.

[2] REUSCH, I., 440.

[3] *Ibid.* 354.

[4] An *Avviso di Roma of August 14, 1577, expects the printing of the new Index, and knows of a motuproprio obtained at the request of the Theatines, " che si levano tutte le rime lascive et comedie obscene, le lettere amorose et le satire, che si suspendano saranno snervati e smembrati." Urb. 1045, p. 473, Vatican Library. In an *Avviso di Roma of February 4, 1581, it is stated: " Si dice, che si prohibiranno l'historie di Guicciardino ponendosi nell'Indice delli libri proibiti, per quel che troppo apertamente tocca il Papa Alessandro Sesto." *Ibid.* 1049, p. 53b.

[5] An*Avviso di Roma of May 15, speaks of a congregation held on May 14, 1574, at the house of Sirleto to mitigate the Index. Urb. 1044, p. 105b, Vatican Library. For the leniency of the Congregation of the Index see MONTAIGNE, I., 27 *seq.*, 59 *seq.* Following the example of G. Voigt (Hist. Zeitschrift XX., 23-53)

theless one bull belonging to the beignning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. in which the latter, in a way but little less severe than that of Pius V., intervened against one form of publication which had recently been introduced. This was the degeneracy of the press, at that time in its infancy. Besides the conscientious writers of the *Avvisi*, there were also, to use the expression of Gregory, men who with curiosity and effrontery speculated concerning everything that they could find out bearing on private or state affairs, or could freely invent out of their own heads, compiling their information without any regard to its truth or falsity, so as to spread them everywhere for the sake of a few miserable pence, and to publish as news, statements which were spread about outside Rome as Roman events ; these men committed themselves at will to comments on the past and conjectures as to the future. How much harm this evil practice brought with it, when lies were spread abroad as truth, and many were attacked in their good name, could easily be foreseen, and experience had already proved. For this reason Gregory forebade the writing of such news, or its being received, copied or promulgated, and that under the penalties of disgrace and the galleys.[1] Pius V. had spoken even more severely of the abuse of secret information bureaux,[2] which constituted a serious danger, since crypto-Calvinists, such as Wolfgang Zündelin, made use of them to spread abroad the most disgraceful charges against the Holy See.[3]

some historians of literature have made the Inquisition and the Index responsible for the misfortunes of Tasso (see *supra*, p. 299, n. 3) and have put him forward as a victim of the counter-reformation. This cannot be held in any sense ; see BAUMGARTNER, VI., 379 *seq.*, who justly remarks that Tasso found his most loyal, disinterested and generous friends among the secular and regular clergy, and among the prelates and Cardinals, namely among the circles of the "counter-reformation."

[1] Bull of September 1, 1572, Bull. Rom., VIII., 12. *Cf.* the *report of Fr. Gerini of September 6, 1572, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 99.

[3] *Cf.* BEZOLD in *Sitzungberichten der Münchener Akad.*, 1882, 150 *seq.*

CHAPTER IX.

Gregory XIII. and the League against the Turks.

Just as in the internal affairs of the Church, Gregory had followed the traditions of Pius V., so he did in political matters, when, with all possible zeal, he sought to carry on his predecessor's warlike undertakings against the Crescent. On the very evening of May 13th, 1572, in spite of the excitement of the election, and his great weariness after the long ceremony of paying homage in St. Peter's, he summoned the ambassadors of Spain and Venice to his presence. "Write to your king," he said to the former, "that he has every reason to rejoice at our election, because we are determined to support him in all his glorious undertakings, especially the league against the Turks, and not only will we maintain the alliance concluded with our predecessor, but we will double our contribution and armaments." Gregory expressed himself in similar terms to the ambassador of Venice.[1]

In announcing his programme of government at the consistory of May 30th, he mentioned in the first place the maintenance and strengthening of the league against the enemy of Christendom, who was now again taking up arms.[2] If he promised, on that solemn occasion, that he would devote all his efforts and all his thoughts to that difficult task,[3] he

[1] See the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* App. n. 29.

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 65.

[3] *The Pope had said: Pium suum praedecessorem ex tribus lapillis interemptum sibi tres alios reliquisse qui se statumque suum in periculo ponerent. Horum autem lapillorum primum dicebat esse difficultatem conservandi federis initi inter Pontificem Romanum, Regem Catholicum et Venetos pro Republica christana contra Turcas. Alter, titulum Magni Ducis cum corona

faithfully kept his word; the thought of the league runs like a scarlet thread throughout the pontificate of Gregory XIII., and to a great extent determined his attitude towards the Christian powers.[1]

In view of the zeal with which the Pope was animated, it was specially painful to him that at the very beginning of his reign all idea of an energetic following up of the glorious victory of Lepanto for the benefit of the whole of Christendom, threatened to disappear in smoke. It was no matter for surprise that grave difficulties should make themselves felt on the part of the King of Spain, for already, in the time of Pius V., he had wished to direct the war against the north of Africa, rather than against the east. Yet Gregory had reason to hope that he might win Madrid over to his wishes, as, during his legation in 1565, he had won the esteem of Philip II., and his court in the highest degree.[2] The decisive part played by Granvelle in his election, and the deference which the Pope at once showed towards the King of Spain,[3] also justified the hope that the difficulties which had hitherto paralysed the league might be removed.[4]

Gregory displayed the greatest zeal. By means of letters, as well as through his nuncios, and by conferences with the

Cosmo Medices concessa, quod principes christianos in dissidio ponere facile posset. Tertium archiepiscopi Toletani causam, quae inextricabilis nec sine laesione auctoritatis et existimationis Sedis Apostolicae expediri posse videretur. Var. polit. 98 (later 97), p. 205, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See KARTTUNEN, Gregoire XIII., p. 1.

[2] See the *notes of Venanzio da Camerino and *those of C. Speciani in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] How greatly the Pope esteemed Spain was shown by his attitude in 1572, on the occasion of a dispute about precedence between the ambassadors of Spain and France; see MAFFEI, I., 43 *seq.*; HERRE, 248.

[4] Cardinals Galli and Mark Sittich were appointed to the Congregazione della Lega" in the place of Bonelli and Rusticucci; see the *report of Arco of May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

ambassadors in Rome, he endeavoured to rouse Spain and Venice to concerted action against the common enemy, while at the same time he devoted his attention to pushing forward to completion, and without delay, that part of the armament which was expected from himself. As early as May 16th, 1572, he addressed to Don John of Austria, who was at Messina, a fiery exhortation to open the campaign. He at once sent Marcantonio Colonna, the victor of Lepanto, to that port, confirming him in his former office of commander of the Papal auxiliary fleet.[1] The reports of this Roman prince show that now, as heretofore, only the Holy See was pursuing a really disinterested policy in regard to European affairs.[2]

At the beginning of June, 1572, Marcantonio Colonna, with the thirteen Papal galleys, met Don John, who was assembling his fleet at Messina. The greater part of the forces of Venice, which, by the wish of Spain, were under the command of Giacomo Foscarini instead of Venier, was at Corfù; twenty-five galleys under the "provveditore," Giacomo Soranzo, had already reached Messina. The opening of the campaign seemed to be imminent when, on June 14th, Don John quite unexpectedly postponed the departure of the fleet; when Colonna and Soranzo asked for an explanation of his conduct, he was at length forced to admit that he was acting under the express orders of Philip II.[3]

The indignation in Rome at this proceeding was very great. No one at the Curia felt any doubt that the jealousy of Philip II. for Venice had played a great part in it. Gregory, who, on June 21st, 1572, had personally taken part in a procession of penance to obtain protection from the Turks,[4] and had

[1] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 314.

[2] See GOTTLOB in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 394.

[3] See SERENO, 271 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 318 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 570 *seq.*; MANFRONI, Lega, XVI., 379 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, I., 207 *seq.* Serrano must be given the credit of having been the first to discover the text of Philip II.'s order (I., 298 *seqq.*).

[4] See the *report of B. Pia, June 21, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

exhorted Don John to weigh anchor at once,[1] learned with the greatest grief that, at the very beginning of his pontificate, the treaty of the league had thus been seriously endangered by Spain.[2] In an autograph letter which he addressed to Philip II. on June 30th, 1572, he, in his curt and concise style, made serious remonstrances, pointing out that not only religious motives, but even more political ones, called for the cancelling of this disastrous command. At the same time he announced the sending of a special envoy, Niccolò Ormaneto, Bishop of Padua, to explain his views more fully.[3]

The Pope's indignation was further increased when he learned of a plan on the part of Spain to undertake a special expedition for the conquest of Algiers. On every side men declared that the behaviour of the King of Spain involved the revocation of those monetary concessions which had been made to him by Pius V. A hostile attitude visibly gained ground in Rome; complaints were publicly made that the King of Spain had ruined the league, and violated the engagements which he had taken upon himself by oath. The representative of Philip II. in Rome, Juan de Zuñiga, found himself in a very difficult position at that time. Against the attacks being made on the policy of his sovereign, he set forth, above everything else, one consideration: the threatening attitude of France, and the support being given by the Huguenots to the insurgents in the Netherlands. With regard to the expedition against Algiers, he maintained that if Spain did not deliver an attack there, France would establish herself there with the help of the Turks. But in spite of all his effort Zuñiga was not successful in bringing about any change in public opinion in favour of the policy of his government.[4]

[1] * Brief of June 21, 1572, Arm. 44, t. 21, n. 97, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See GRATIANUS, De bello, 261.

[3] We owe our knowledge of this letter to SERRANO (Liga, I., 361 *seqq.*). The latter remarks (p. 254) that the letter was written "en términos tan graves y enérgicos, que quizás no ofrezca otra semejante el epistolario particular de Gregorio XIII."

[4] See SERRANO, Liga, I., 242 *seq.*, 250 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*, 334 *seq.*,

The Pope's representative in Madrid, in his first remonstrances against the orders issued by Philip II., had remarked that it was very strange that so powerful a sovereign had, merely on the strength of a suspicion, arrived at so important a decision without consulting his allies; if it were true that France aimed at the destruction of the league which had been formed against the Turks, she had attained her end with very little trouble, since the orders sent to Don John in themselves involved the breaking up of the league. The legate was told in reply that the suspicions against France were only too well founded, and that Philip II. had had to act at once so as not to be taken by surprise.[1]

Gregory XIII. and Cardinals Morone, Galli, Cesi and Aldobrandini, whom he had called into consultation, had proposed at the end of June that at any rate a part of the Spanish fleet should be placed at the disposal of the allies against the bold Uludsch Ali, who was commanding the Turkish fleet, because otherwise there was reason to fear that Venice would conclude a separate treaty with Turkey.[2] Don John also realized this danger. His position was as delicate as it could be. He was eager for glory, he realized the justice of the demands of the Pope and the Venetians for the observance of the treaty of the league, yet in spite of this his hands were absolutely tied by the orders of Philip II. and the counsellors whom the king had associated with him. "The Pope," he wrote to the Duke of Terranueva, "is breathing fire and flames, and Venice is making lamentations enough to melt a stone."[3]

On July 7th, 1572, Colonna had left Messina with the allied fleet consisting of 56 galleys, thirteen of which belonged to the

374 *seq.* Serrano strongly defends, against the view hitherto held, the conduct of Philip II., whom he excuses on the ground of his fears of France and the Protestants (*cf. Rev. hist.*, CXXXVI. [1921], 100); he strongly supports, here as well as in the introduction to his "Correspondencia," the Spanish point of view.

[1] See SERRANO, Liga, I., 378 *seq.*

[2] See MANFRONI, Lega, XVI., 390 *seq.*, 399 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, I., 345 *seq.*

[3] See ROSELL, 230; HAVEMANN, Don Juan, 153.

Pope, while on the same day Don John had gone off in anger with the Spanish fleet towards Algiers. Colonna thought that, with the 70 galleys of Foscarini, which had reached Corfù in the middle of July, he could successfully attack the Turkish forces, though they were superior in numbers, deeming that his own ships were superior in quality and armament.[1] In the meantime, on July 4th, 1572, Philip II. revoked his original orders, and allowed Don John to rejoin the allied fleet.[2] Colonna, as well as Foscarini, did not allow themselves to be kept back by this from their advance against the enemy. Uludsch Ali avoided a decisive engagement. When Colonna returned to Corfù on September 1st, 1572, he found Don John there with 53 galleys and 13,000 men. Don John, who had reached Corfù on August 10th, took offence as generalissimo at the arbitrary action of the allies, so that there was a heated dispute between him and Colonna. The old rivalry between Spain and Venice then broke out again with renewed bitterness. At length the united fleet set sail on September 7th, but without accomplishing anything of importance.[3] When the advancing season of the year made any further operations impossible, they separated with mutual recriminations. Don John got back once more to Messina on October 25th, 1572, while a short time afterwards Colonna brought back the Papal forces to Civitavecchia.[4]

[1] See MANFRONI, Marina, 512; SERRANO, Liga, II., 18.

[2] This hitherto unknown letter of Philip II. has also been discovered by SERRANO (Liga, I., 363).

[3] MANFRONI, Lega, XVI., 427 *seq.*, XVII., 23 *seq.*, and MARINA, 513 *seq.* *Cf.* aso MANFRONI, Don Giovanni d'Austria e Giacomo Contarini, Città di Castello, 1903, in which he withdraws his previous opinion. The events of that time, says a critic (*Riv. Stor.*, 1905, 227) are not yet quite clear. Recently SERRANO (Liga, vol. II.) has given a full account, in which he brings out some hitherto unnoticed points, which tell in favour of his fellow-countrymen.

[4] The earlier accounts of Manfroni and Guglielmotti, upon which BALAN (VI., 578 *seq.*) relies, are substantially added to by the learned account of Serrano, who eloquently and heatedly puts forward the Spanish point of view (Liga, vol. II.).

The grief of Gregory XIII. at the unhappy issue of the expedition[1] was all the greater in that for his part he had done all that was in his power to counteract the sterility of the league. To this end he had above all made every effort to put an end to the jealousy between Madrid and Venice, and to prevent any attack on Spain on the part of France. This was one of the principal tasks entrusted by him to Antonio Maria Salviati, who had been appointed nuncio in Paris on June 11th, 1572. Like Ormaneto, who had been appointed nuncio in Madrid in the place of Castagna, on July 1st, 1572, and Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, the representative of Gregory XIII. at Venice, Salviati had been in the service of Pius V. By the employment of these men the new Pope showed how much he had at heart the welfare of Christendom.[2]

Salviati's instructions spoke of the adherence to the league on the part of France which Pius V. had already tried to secure. If this attempt had been successful, not only would there have been an important strengthening of the league, but Turkey would have been deprived of a strong moral support.[3] However, it was obvious that such an adherence could not be brought about. In the existing state of affairs, Gregory XIII. would have to be satisfied if the French government could be held back from supporting the insurrection in the Netherlands, for otherwise war between France and Spain, and therefore a complete abandonment of the league on the part of Philip II., would have been inevitable. In the opinion of Salviati[4] such an intervention by France, to which Charles IX. was strongly inclined, would have actually occurred, if at the last moment an unexpected event had not taken place; this was the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At the same time a fresh attempt to win over France to the league was made by

[1] See the brief to Don John, October 27, 1572, in THEINER, I., 77 *seq.*

[2] See in App. n. 31 the *notes of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 276.

[4] See in App. n. 31 the *notes of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

means of the mission of Cardinal Orsini. The same end was also aimed at in the project put forward by the nuncio in Turin for a matrimonial alliance between the courts of France and Spain, which, however, fell through owing to the opposition of Philip II. The mission of Orsini was entirely without result.[1] At the same time the Pope's plan of directing the united forces of France and Spain against Queen Elizabeth of England was frustrated.[2]

Equally unsuccessful were the efforts made by the Pope to induce the Emperor Maximilian II. to join the league.[3] The Archbishop of Lanciano, Niccolò Marini, who was sent to Spain at the end of November, 1572, to assist Ormaneto, and who was followed almost at once by Marcantonio Colonna,[4] was instructed to secure an auxiliary Portuguese fleet which had been promised in the preceding year, but it was brought home to him at Evora that this was not possible, as Portugal had need of her ships for her own defence against the corsairs from the west of Africa, and for the protection of her overseas possessions.[5]

Thus the final result of all the Pope's diplomatic activity, great though it was, was negative. In the end, as before, Gregory XIII. saw no other hopes except Venice and Spain. The declarations of Philip II. seemed to justify the highest hopes; the king was willing to increase the number of his ships, and to give up every private enterprise, such as that against Algiers. All the more disgraceful then seemed the attitude of Venice, whose representatives were opposed to any increase of the ships to be contributed by the republic.[6] Even more serious was the ever-growing rumour that Venice was

[1] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 277 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Arco, Rome, November 1, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See SCHWARZ, Gutachten, VII. *seq.*; TÖRNE, 140 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, II., 282 *seq.*

[4] For both missions see HINOJOSA, 259 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, II., 253 *seq.*, 260 *seq.*

[5] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 259 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.* 209 *seq.*, 216 *seq.*

negotiating a separate peace with Turkey through the mediation of France.[1] Gregory found it difficult to believe in such an act of treachery, and, as was announced in Rome in November, 1572, had granted to the republic for the duration of the war the right to sell ecclesiastical property to the amount of 100,000 scudi.[2] The Venetian ambassador, as well as the Doge himself, absolutely denied the negotiations with the Turks to the nuncio, who was growing more anxious every day.[3] Since the rumour persisted, Gregory XIII. thought it opportune, through the nuncio Salviati, to call the attention of the French government to the shameful effects of their mediation between the Porte and Venice.[4] The bull *In coena Domini*, which was published on March 19th, 1573, contained a special decree against all those who busied themselves with undermining the league against the Turks.[5]

Grave suspicions as to the intentions of Venice had emerged during the conferences which were held in Rome at the beginning of 1573 to discuss the campaign which was to be launched against the Turks. At these Spain was represented by Cardinal Pacheco and Zuñiga, and Venice by Paolo Tiepolo. By the command of the Pope, Cardinals Morone, Galli, Mark Sittich, Chiesa, Cesi, Aldobrandini and Guastavillani also took part. During the negotiations the intention of Venice to avoid a decision as far as possible was obvious, yet in order to arrive at a conclusion it was very necessary to take into account the demands of the representative of the Republic of St. Mark.[6]

[1] *Ibid.* 219 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Arco, November 1, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, and Libri commem. di Venezia, VI., Venice, 1903, 330 *seq.*

[3] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 236, 305 *seq.* The report of the nuncio cited in the first place has the date : Venice, January 17, 1573, which is lacking in SERRANO. Nunziat. di Venezia, XII., 217, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* in App. n. 31 the *notes of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives Rome.

[5] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 249.

[6] See *ibid.*

The principal decisions of the conference, which was finally brought to an end on February 27th, 1573, arranged that the Papal and Spanish fleets should assemble at Messina before the end of March, and should then join the Venetian fleet at Corfù, after which they were to attempt to strike a blow against the Turks in the east. The total number of the galleys was to be if possible as many as 300 ; at the lowest, Spain and Venice were to contribute 130 each, and the Pope eighteen.[1]

The preparations for carrying out this undertaking were begun at once.[2] Don John was on the point of setting out for Corfù ; the suspicions against Venice seemed to be contradicted by the fact that the Republic of St. Mark was preparing in Sicily the munitions for a campaign of seven months,[3] when all of a sudden terrible tidings were spread through the country which destroyed all hopes of common action against the enemy of Christendom.

Quite secretly, on March 7th, 1573, the Venetian Bailo, Marcantonio Barbaro, and the grand vizier, agreed at Constantinople upon a separate peace between the Republic of St. Mark and the Porte. Almost at the same moment the Venetian ambassador in Rome had pressed, at a meeting of the Cardinals, for definite action against the Turks in the Levant ![4] In order to stir up the Spaniards Gregory XIII. had sent urgent briefs on March 27th, 1573, to Don John and Gian Andrea Doria.[5] It was in the midst of all these preparations

[1] *Ibid.* 407 *seq.*, where the full text of the agreement is to be found.

[2] In Rome even before the agreement was signed ; see the *report of C. Capilupi, February 7 and 22, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the letter of Cardinal Truchsess of February 21, in Steichele, Zur Geschichte des Bistums Augsburg, II. (1852), 96.

[3] See Serrano, Liga, II., 285.

[4] See Yriarte, Vie d'un patricien, 211, 213, 215 ; Törne 143 ; Jorga, III., 156. The nuncio in Venice was only informed of the conclusion of the peace on April 4 ; see Guglielmotti, Colonna, 428 *seq.* ; Theiner, I., 405 *seq.* ; Valensise, 177 *seq.*

[5] See Theiner, I., 197 *seq.* ; *cf.* *Avviso di Roma of March 21, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

for the great undertaking[1] that there came the news of the pact which put an end to it. And how pitiful were the conditions of that pact! By it the Republic of St. Mark sacrificed its conquests on the coasts of Albania, bound itself to pay within three years 300,000 ducats as a war indemnity, and abandoned the island of Cyprus. It was just as though "the Turk had won the battle of Lepanto!"[2]

It was upon the shoulders of Paolo Tiepolo that the burden fell of informing the Pope of the conclusion of the peace which broke up the league. In the afternoon of April 6th, 1573, Tiepolo repaired to Frascati, where the Pope was staying for a few days at the villa of Cardinal Mark Sittich. The ambassador was admitted immediately. He had hardly begun to speak when the Pope realized the purpose of his visit. Apparently sunk in deep thought, he listened to the ambassador, and then interrupted him so frequently, that he had great difficulty in coming to an end. When he said that the peace had been concluded by the Bailo, the Pope bade him go. Tiepolo made one more attempt to justify the action of his government, but the Pope got up from his seat and went to the window, turning his back on the ambassador. When the latter again begged him to listen to him, the Pope turned and once more bade him go; he would hear the rest in Rome, but the ambassador must remember that Venice had fallen under excommunication.[3]

[1] *Cf.* the *reports of Capilupi of March 7 and April 4, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the letter of Galli to the nuncio in Spain, April 7, 1573, in SERRANO, Liga, II., 413.

[2] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 361 n.

[3] See the report of Tiepolo in TÖRNE, 253 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *letter of C. Capilupi, April 7, 1573, and the *report of Odescalchi of the same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which refutes the imaginary embellishments of the scene in HÜBNER, I., 141, rightly disputed by C. ROBINSON (Nicolò Ormaneto, London, 1920, 75 n. 1). Gondola too, in his report of April 8, 1573 (*Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XCVIII., 636 *seq.*) says nothing about the Pope having followed the flying ambassador through the apartments. This detail probably came from a misinterpretation of a passage in GRATIANUS, De bello, 326.

Tiepolo had hardly gone when the Pope ordered an immediate start for Rome; he made the journey in silence. On his arrival at the Vatican, he asked first to see Marcantonio Colonna, but the latter was at Paliano. When he arrived on the following day, the Pope immediately summoned the Congregation of the League.[1] This resolved upon the disbanding of all the troops gathered for the war against the Turks, with the exception of the garrisons of the strategic points in the States of the Church, the disbanding of the galleys placed at their disposal by Cosmo I., and the annulment of *all* the concessions which had been made to Venice in support of the expenses of the undertaking of the league.[2] In the evening couriers were sent in all haste to Spain, France and the Emperor.[3] The nuncios were sent a letter declaring that the Pope's sorrow on account of the defection of Venice from the league was greater than if he had lost the whole of the States of the Church.[4]

On April 8th all the Cardinals were summoned to a consistory, an altogether extraordinary proceeding; the decree of excommunication against Venice was expected.[5] It could be seen from the Pope's look what serious thoughts filled his mind. On this occasion, as was his wont, he adhered to his custom of receiving each Cardinal in audience before the consistory; Cardinal Cornaro, who took the opportunity of trying to excuse his country, was clearly given to understand how offended and disappointed he had been with Venice.[6]

[1] See the *report of C. Capilupi of April 7, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of Cusano of April 11, 1573, who says that the Venetians had drawn three to four millions from the Papal concessions. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf. Bessarione*, A. III. vol. 5 (1898-9), 252.

[3] See the *letter of Odescalchi, April 7, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the letter of Galli to Fachinetti, April 7, 1573, in TÖRNE, 256; the reply of the nuncio in THEINER, I., 406 *seq*; VALENSISE, 181 *seq*.

[5] See P. TIEPOLO, 236.

[6] See the *report of C. Capilupi, April 11, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

In the Pope's speech to the Cardinals he expressed his sorrow at the desertion of the league on the part of Venice, which had occurred quite unexpectedly during the gathering of the armaments for a fresh campaign against the Turks, and which destroyed all hopes of being saved from them. "You have learned," he began, "what, to our greatest sorrow, the Venetians have done; how they have acted against the decisions of the holy alliance; against their promises and against their oath they have concluded a shameful peace with the tyrants of Turkey, to the harm of the Holy See, of Spain, of themselves and the whole of Christendom. Since we were afraid of this, we have often warned their ambassador, who, however, repeatedly assured us that the Venetians would hold firmly to the league." Gregory then went on to point out the fact that the desertion of Venice had taken place at the very moment when the Christians were making every possible preparation for the campaign, and when the enemy was not yet completely prepared, and was, moreover, threatened by Persia. Lastly the Pope lamented the conditions of the peace, which could not have been less favourable had the Republic of Venice been defeated and abandoned by all. They had reason to fear the punishments of God, and lest the Turks also should punish the treachery of Venice to her allies, and seek the utter destruction of the republic. Overcome by grief, the Pope ended with the words: "Let us pray the Lord to turn away His anger from us, and to have mercy upon His Church."[1]

All Rome shared the just indignation of the Pope. Venice has become hateful, even to the children, says the Mantuan ambassador.[2] The indignation was so great that Paolo Tiepolo

[1] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 126 *seq.*, and the *report of C. Capilupi, April 11, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *letter of Cusano, April 11, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *report of C. Capilupi, April 15, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Odescalchi wrote on April 7: *"Non posteria credere V.E. quanto questo negotio della pace de Venetiani habia dato alteratione alla corte di Roma et quanto odio et murmurationi habbia concitato contro detti Venetiani." *Ibid.*

did not dare to leave the palace of S. Marco for several days, and at first all the Cardinals, with the exception of Cornaro, avoided him like one who was excommunicated.[1]

The Republic of St. Mark also found public opinion against her in other parts of Italy. The higher had been the hopes which had everywhere been built upon the victory of Lepanto, the more bitter was the disappointment. This state of mind explains the book by the Genoese Folieta "Of the greatness of the Turks" which recommends an agreement with the Ottoman power, since any alliance among the Christians to combat it had been shown to be impossible.[2] Outside Italy, the conduct of Venice was judged with the greatest severity, and employed against her.[3] News from Vienna declared that the resentment felt there was in no way less than that in Rome.[4] It was realized in Venice that something would have to be done to defend herself, and to back up the excuses of the Venetian diplomatists various works appeared with this object in view.[5] One of these apologists, Francesco Longo, brazenly

[1] P. Tiepolo, 226, 237. *Report of C. Capilupi of April 15, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Gratianus, De bello, 327; Serrano, Liga, II., 291.

[2] *Cf.* Herre in the *Deutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1906, 359.

[3] See the report of Zuñiga in Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 79 *seq.*, 86 *seq.*

[4] See Venez. Depeschen, III., 523 *seq.* *Cf.* the reports of the nunciature in Serrano, Liga II., 314, n. 2, and 325 *seq.*

[5] For the apology of A. Valiero see Foscarini, Lett. Venez., 293. The work of Longo was published in *Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. IV., n. 17. For the *letter of justification addressed to the Holy See in Vat. 5299, p. 1 *seq.*, and the *reply on the part of Spain, in the same, Gottlob had called attention in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 396. Molmenti treats of the "Difesa" of Cesare Simonetti: Un giudizio intorno a Venezia, Venice, 1898. See also Barb. LVI., 24, *Difesa dei veneziani biasimati dalla maggior parte delle genti d'Italia per aver fatto pace col turco nel 1573, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Cod. Ital. 6, pp. 160 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*, 265 *seq*, State Library, Munich. Cod. 5627, p. 1 *seq.*, 6003, p. 72 *seq.*, 6335, p. 406 *seq.*, 6750, p. 431 *seq.* of the Palatine

maintained that the carrying on of the war would have been an evil, and that the conclusion of the peace ought not to be blamed but praised.[1]

How little justification there was for such a view was proved by the dangerous position in which Venice found herself after the conclusion of the peace. The treaty had hardly been signed when the Signoria, to its great dismay, was flooded with tidings of the vast preparations being made by the Turks for the coming spring.[2]

The Republic of St. Mark had not only destroyed her reputation as a great maritime power in the eyes of the Turks, but also in those of the whole of Christendom. The secretary of the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople, Costantino Garzoni, says openly in one of his reports in 1573[3] that it was now abundantly manifest to the Porte that there was no longer any reason to fear united action on the part of the discordant Christian powers, and that the Turks considered themselves strong enough to resist in every way any of the powers, and hoped to be successful in so doing. Even though the Venetians might in the future succeed in obtaining from Turkey an advantageous and long enduring peace for their

Library, Vienna, and Cod. 940, n. 3, 1100, n. 13, of the State Archives, Vienna. Hortensi Tyriacensis had one of these treatises copied for Duke William V. of Bavaria ; see his *report, dated Rome, January 15, 1575, State Archives, Munich. Lately SERRANO has published (Liga, II., 422 *seq.*) from Cod. 1020, Urb., p. 115 *seq.*, the " Discorso a favore della Republica Veneta sopra la pace fatta col turco nel 1573," which he goes on to submit to a severe criticism (Liga, II., 319 *seq.*). The " discorso " in Cod. H. 331, Celsius, of the Upsala Library is dated : Venetia, 1573, ottobre 4.

[1] LONGO, 55 *seq.*, 58. SERRANO (II., 318, n. 1) speaks severely of Longo and the Italian historians who followed him. Serrano sums up his own opinion as follows : " La sagrada Liga se deshizo en virtud del agotamiento de Venecia, por incompatibilidad de intereses entre los coligados, per egoismo de los Venecianos, por falta de delicada solicitud y empeño en los españoles." (II., 344).

[2] See ZINKEISEN, III., 435 *seq.*

[3] See ALBÈRI, III., 1, 436.

commerce, their political importance at Constantinople had fallen so low that the little respect which was still shown to them was almost an insult.[1]

In playing the traitor to the league founded by Pius V., and breaking up the alliance, Venice had also inflicted grievous injury on the Holy See. The Pope, said Garzoni in 1573, is no longer held in the least consideration among the Turks; before the beginning of the last war even in Constantinople the opinion was prevalent that the Holy See would be successful in forming an alliance of the Christian princes against the Porte, but nobody now believes in this, since the contrary has been shown to be the case, both as regards the league, and by the recent peace.[2]

The indignation against Venice publicly expressed by Gregory XIII. was altogether justifiable.[3] The Pope felt himself all the more seriously injured in that he had now reason to fear for his own territories, and had to take immediate steps for the safeguarding of the coasts of the States of the Church.[5] It was in vain that Tiepolo tried to justify his government to the Curia; he was at first refused an audience

[1] See ZINKEISEN, III., 413.

[2] See ALBÈRI, III., 1, 436. Also *ibid.* 332, M. Ant. Barbaro. Giacomo Soranzo said (III., 2, 202) in 1576: "I turchi non temono il papa, la cui potenza terrena apparisce debole, egli puo al massimo incitare a parole ad una lega, da l'esito ha dimostrato che tali alleanze non possono venir attuate coll'esortazione di altri, ma solo per la forza di interessi di Stato."

[3] *Cf.* besides the *instructions to the nuncio in Venice of April 7 and 8, 1573 (Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives), the *report of Aless. de' Medici of April 10, 1573, State Archives, Florence, the briefs of April 12 and 13, 1573, in THEINER, I., 198 *seq.*, and Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 472. *Cf.* CATENA, Lettere, 313, and the *report of Zuñiga of April 12, 1573, in Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 91 *seq.*

[4] See the *report of C. Capilupi of April 11, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. How necessary such steps were was shown by what happened in February, 1573, near Noto. *Cf.* SALOMONE MARINO, Una scena di pirateria in Sicilia, in *Arch. stor. Sicil.*, XXII. (1897).

with the Pope.[1] In Venice they were afraid of the extreme step being taken by the infliction of the censure of the Church, a thing that can easily be understood. That Gregory did not allow himself to be driven to such an act is a proof of his statesmanlike qualities. However bitterly he had felt the blow,[2] which destroyed all his hopes and efforts, he knew how to master his just indignation. Cardinal Galli made great efforts to appease the Pope's anger,[3] and as time went on he became more calm. Tiepolo did all that was in his power to bring about a reconciliation between the Pope and the Signoria, and visited all the Cardinals; Morone, who at first had been highly indignant, allowed himself to be appeased; later on he threw all the weight of his influence into the cause of reconciliation.[4]

At the end of April, 1573, it was said that Venice was about to send a special and solemn embassy to Rome, headed by Niccolò da Ponte. As the latter was looked upon as the principal author of the peace, the Imperial agent, Cusano, was of opinion that the Pope "ad eterno ricordo" would make him a sharp reply.[5] This opinion, however, was in its turn, to prove false. Zuñiga, who feared an alliance between Venice and Turkey, thought of a middle course which, without humiliating Venice too much, would satisfy the Pope: a *private* audience was granted to Tiepolo and da Ponte, at which they explained and excused the conduct of their government; the Pope asked for a written copy of these explanations, so that they might be examined by a commission to be appointed by him; the envoys then had to listen to a severe reprimand, but were then dismissed kindly.[6] The skill and

[1] *Cf.* SERRANO, Liga, II., 327.

[2] See the *report of C. Capilupi of April 18, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Venez. Depeschen, III., 524.

[3] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 416.

[4] See P. TIEPOLO, 226. GRATIANUS, De bello, 328 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, III., 435. *Cf.* the *report of C. Capilupi of April 24, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See the *report of Cusano of April 25, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 331.

eloquence of da Ponte, however, though he was venerable by reason of his 82 years, were not successful in obtaining a fresh concession of the ecclesiastical tithes, of which the Republic of St. Mark had been deprived,[1] though he was able to lay the foundations for a better understanding between Rome and Venice.[2] The prudent and skilful Tiepolo was able to build upon these foundations. Naturally the Pope could not altogether forget the disappointment and the injury which he had undergone, yet Paolo Tiepolo was able once more to recover the Pope's favour,[3] and in course of time, in some instances, to attain his end.[4]

One of the means which Tiepolo used with advantage was to call attention to the community of interests between Rome and Venice. His successor, Antonio Tiepolo, worked upon the same lines even more strongly. He was for ever harping upon the former agreement between the Holy See and the republic of the lagoons. He described this as the most secure defence which the Church had in earthly affairs ; if the present Pope often showed himself difficult in dealing with political questions, this was the result of his personal character.[5]

[1] " Ieri " wrote Galli on June 13, 1573, to the nuncio in Venice : " è partito Ponte mal contento per non haver ottenuto da S.B. la restitutione del sussidio de le decime." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* P. Tiepolo 237 ; Gratianus, De bello, 329 *seq.* ; Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 136.

[3] See the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome), in App. n. 9.

[4] P. Tiepolo (237 *seq.*) enumerates in this connexion in 1576 ; (1) the appointment of a coadjutor for Aquileia ; (2) the exchange of prisoners with the Turks (*cf.* as to this matter, in which Gregory XIII., who was guided solely by humanitarian motives, met with the opposition of Spain, the article by Rosi in *Arch. della Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 155 *seq.*) ; (3) the approval of the subsidy from the Venetian clergy, which came annually to 70,000 gold scudi. Tiepolo (238 *seq.*) speaks of the discontent caused by " la cosa della cappella." For the good relations in 1576 *cf.* also Maffei, I., 255 *seq.*

[5] See A. Tiepolo, 263 *seq.*

Since even in Rome the Venetians were treated with great consideration,[1] mutual relations remained fairly satisfactory,[2] and there would have been a wonderful change for the better if Venice had listened to the renewed pressure of the Pope to bring about a fresh declaration of war against Turkey.

All Gregory XIII.'s thoughts, now as before, were directed

[1] *Cf.* the instructions of Galli in GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 539 *seq.* *Cf.* also the remarks of the nuncio in Venice (November 1578) in State Papers, Venice, VII., London, 1890, 589.

[2] In the year 1583 Venice was again given a Venetian Cardinal —after 19 years! There were undoubtedly disputes, which explain certain erroneous opinions in the Venetian reports. Specially acute was the question of Aquileia, which was concerned with the fief of Tageto in the territory of S. Vito. Gregory XIII. strongly upheld the claims of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Giovanni Grimani, but was nevertheless not successful, although he repeatedly threatened excommunication. We have information as to this dispute in which Gregory, as a strict jurist, took the greatest interest (see *Avviso di Roma of September 5, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 374 Vatican Library) in LE BRET, Geschichte von Venedig, III., 1437 *seq.*, IV., 26 *seqq.*, though this is in no way objective. *Cf.* also as to this matter the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Nunziat. di Venezia, XXI.-XXIII., Papal Secret Archives; L. PRIULI, Relazione, in Albèri, II., 4, 297 *seqq.*; Lettres de P. de Foix, 72 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*, 354 *seq.*, 444 *seq.*, 456 *seq.*, 500 *seq.*, 549, 569 *seq.*, 592 *seq.*; MUTINELLI, I., 150 *seq.*, II., 139 *seq.*; Lettres du card. d'Ossat, I., 2, 6, 10, 14 *seq.*, 18, 21; the *reports of Serguidi of September 14, 16 and 22, 1581, State Archives, Florence. See also the *brief of May 27, 1581, State Archives, Venice; the *report of Sporeno of October 14, 1581, Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck; the *reports of Cesare Strozzi from Rome, January 13 and 27, February 3, 10 and 17, March 3 and 24, May 19, June 16, July 14, August 11 and 27, 1582; the *reports of Odescalchi of September 8 and 22, 1584, and of *Capilupi of January 19, February 16 and 23, April 6, 1585, all in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Gregory was also called upon to defend the liberties of the Church against Duke Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy: see THEINER, I., 354 *seq.*, *cf.* the *istruzioni per il vescovo di Mondovì, nunzio per Savoia, dated Rome, September 24, 1580, Barb. 5744, p. 91 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

to that end. Nothing shows better the tenacity of his policy, than his having remained faithful to the idea of an alliance of the Christian princes against their hereditary enemy, in spite of the terrible disappointment which he had experienced in the defection of Venice from the league. At once he formed the idea of a new alliance between the Holy See, Spain and the Emperor, which was to be sincere and lasting, while any understanding between one of these powers and the enemy of the faith was unthinkable. The Pope was willing to supply 30 galleys if Spain would engage to provide 170 of her own.[1] As early as April 12th, 1573, a new plan for such a league was ready; the army of the Emperor, reinforced by the troops of Spain and the Pope, was to deliver a first attack on the Turks from Hungary, while the galleys of Phillip II. and Gregory XIII. were to remain on the defensive. It did not prove possible, however, to win over to this project either the Emperor or Philip II., who was fully occupied with events in the Netherlands. Nevertheless Ormaneto, the nuncio in Madrid, was warned not to let the plan be entirely lost sight of.[2]

In the meantime Gregory, by providing galleys and troops, assisted in the capture of Tunis, of which Don John took possession on October 1573.[3] The establishment of a Christian kingdom in the north of Africa seemed to be at hand, the crown of which was to be conferred on Don John. Gregory XIII. was very favourably disposed towards this plan, but Philip II. rejected it; his attention was rather directed to the safeguarding of his Italian possessions, which were threatened by the disputes which had broken out in Genoa between the new and the old aristocracies. Gregory left no stone unturned

[1] See Rosell, 249.

[2] See Törne, 149 *seq.*; Serrano, Liga, II., 329 *seq.*

[3] See Theiner, I., 199 *seq.* Serèno, 334 *seq.*, 339 *seq.* Albèri, I., 6, 471 *seq.*, Hammer, II., 427. Charrière, III., 440 *seqq.* The arrival of Don John at Civitavecchia is announced in an *Avviso di Roma of July 28, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 270, Vatican Library. The news of the capture of Tunis was communicated by Gregory XIII. to the Cardinals on October 26, 1573. Santori, Diario concist., XXIV., 212.

as far as he was concerned to restore the Genoese to harmony.[1]

When, in the summer of 1574, the Turks set themselves to the recovery of Tunis, Gregory XIII. experienced no little anxiety. He published a special indulgence, and ordered prayers and processions in Rome.[2] Through his nuncio and in an autograph letter he urged Philip to resist the Turkish attack.[3] Great therefore was his sorrow when Spain abandoned Tunis to its fate.[4] Once the Turks had captured the fortress of Goletta, which protected the harbour of Tunis, the Pope feared an attack on Italy and Hungary. He sought to avert this danger with all his might; exhorting Philip II., the Emperor, and the Christian princes to resist the common enemy, though he was very careful not to speak of a league, as this word had become discredited.[5] The religious divisions in Germany and the rising in the Netherlands, however, made the undertaking of any sort of crusade impossible for the time being. Equally fruitless were the attempts of the Pope to induce the Republic of St. Mark again to oppose the Turks. He had already in 1574 laid his plan before that government,[6]

[1] See THEINER; I., 189 *seq.*

[2] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 235, 245, 246, and Giornale di casa Gaetani in SAGGIATORE, III., 195.

[3] See ROSI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 151.

[4] See ALBÈRI, I., 5, 476 *seq.*; SERENO, 348 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 587 *seq.*; JORGA, III., 158 *seq.*; A. RIPA DI MEANA, Gli Italiani in Africa ossia gli assedi della Goletta e del forte di Tunisi nel 1574, Turin, 1865. *Cf.* also the *Memorie in Cod. F. 40 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and *ibid.* the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, who tells how much Gregory XIII. had at heart the liberation of the Christians who had been taken prisoners by the Turks. *Cf.* as to this, ROSI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 152.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 318, Vatican Library. For Philip II. and the mission of Pacheco see HINOJOSA, 269 *seq.*; *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 135. THEINER, I., 300 *seq.* For Germany *cf.* SCHELLHASS, Nuntiaturberichte, IV., xciv. *seq.*, 277 *seq.* See also Venez. Depeschen, III., 547, n. 1.

[6] See the letter of Galli to Facchinetti in ROSI, *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 152, n. 4; *cf.* ZINKEISEN, III., 445. Portugal too was asked to make war against the Turks in October, 1574; see THEINER, I., 314 *seq.*

and had done so again in the following year without any better result; Venice had become definitely fixed in her policy of peace, by which means she thought she could best protect her interests in the east.[1] Under these circumstances Gregory had to content himself with making provision for the defence of the coasts of the States of the Church, and especially with repairing the fortifications of Ancona.[2]

The anxieties of Gregory were increased by the dispute which had broken out between the new and the old aristocracy at Genoa, as a result of which the danger from the Turks had become doubly pressing.[3] At first the Pope thought of going in person to Genoa as a peacemaker;[4] in the end, however, on March 18th, 1575, he resolved to send thither as a legate for peace, Cardinal Morone, the most skilful and experienced diplomatist in the Sacred College.[5] The trouble was increased by the intervention of Philip II., and when he sent his half-brother, Don John, to Lombardy, there was reason to fear lest Genoa should come under the power of Spain. Gregory, who was only too much alive to the pressure that was already

[1] See ZINKEISEN, III., 446. The renewal of peace between Venice and the Porte took place on August 20, 1575; see DUMONT, I., 219 *seq.* For the anxious labours of Gregory XIII. on behalf of the league see the *report of Cusano, February 19, 1575, State Archives, Vienna; *cf. ibid.* the *Avviso di Roma of February 5, 1575.

[2] See *Avvisi di Roma of December 18, 1574, March 5 and July 3, 1575, Urb. 1044, pp. 318, 364, 466, Vatican Library. THEINER, II., 148 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra, 18 *seq.*

[3] See MAFFEI, I., 182; *cf.* VARESE, Storia di Genova, VI., 107 *seq.*; SCLOPIS, Le card. J. Morone, Paris, 1869, 67 *seq.*; *Abhandlungen der Münchener Akad.* Hist. Kl., XXII., 350 *seq.*

[4] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 256 *seq.* *Report of Aless. de' Medici, March 18, 1575, State Archives, Florence. MAFFEI, I., 183; THEINER, II., 136 *seq.* In his *Memorie Galli describes Morone as "huomo che per prudentia et per l'età maturissima et per l'esperienza di sei altre legationi fatte in diversi tempi e sotto diversi pontefici per la S. Sede fu giudicato esser più a proposito d'ogni altro." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

being brought to bear upon the whole of Italy by Spain, and upon his own political influence, opposed such a thing with all his might.[1] He openly told the Spanish ambassador that his king must not extend his possessions in Italy,[2] but the matter continued to occupy the serious attention of the Pope for a long time to come. He breathed again when, in March, 1576, through his mediation, and that of the Emperor and Spain, an agreement was arrived at which settled the difficulties of the Genoese[3] in such a way as to satisfy Philip II. as well.[4] Gregory was entitled to take the principal credit for this himself.[5]

Morone returned to Rome on April 14th, 1576,[6] and before

[1] See MAFFEI, I., 194 *seq.* To this belongs the *" Dialogo tra il Re di Spagna e il duca d'Alba se sia bene et riuscibile al detto Re d'impadronirsi della città di Genova o almeno farvi una fortezza," Cod. 706 of the Library, Münster i. W. This dialogue Hortensius Tyriacensis sent with the *letter of June 18, 1575, to Duke William V. of Bavaria. State Archives, Munich.

[2] *Report of Hortensius Tyriacensis to Duke William V. of Bavaria, Rome, July 9, 1575, State Archives, Munich. *Cf.* also the *letter of Fr. Gerini of July 8, 1575, State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Cf.* *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; GRAEVIUS, Thesaurus, I., 2, 1472 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 593 *seq.*; CARINI, 75 *seq.*; MAFFEI, I., 200 *seq.*; TÖRNE, 153.

[4] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 32; *cf.* 42.

[5] See TIEPOLO, 231. G. Bruno (*Alcune cose degne d'esser notate della f.m. di Gregorio XIII.), rightly brings out, in praising him, the disinterestedness of Gregory XIII. in his attitude towards the events in Genoa, which again occupied his attention in 1577 (see MAFFEI, I., 301 *seq.*; THEINER, II., 340 *seq.*), Boncompagni Archives, Rome. How much Gregory also laboured for the peace of Italy in other ways was shown by his efforts to settle the differences between Tuscany and Lucca (see the *instruttione al vescovo de la Cava per Toscana, dated April 25, 1579, Barb. 5744, p. 49 *seq.*, Vatican Library) and those between Mantua and Venice (see *Instruttione a Camillo Capilupi per Mantova, dated May 14, 1580, *ibid.* 79 *seq.*

[6] SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 103. For the help given by a Jesuit in Genoa see SACCHINI, IV., 78 *seq.* For the mission of Morone see also BELTRAMI, 10, 11.

the end of the month he had already set out upon another legation to the Diet of Ratisbon, where he was also to negotiate for the accession of the Emperor to a league against the Turks.[1] In spite of all his disappointments, the Pope still held firmly to this purpose. He formed renewed hopes when at Ratisbon Maximilian asked the states for help against the Turks to a quite unprecedented degree, while at the same time an embassy from Russia appeared for the purpose of forming a league, to which the Holy See was to belong. Philip II., who had hitherto always given evasive replies, now seemed inclined to change his tone. The opportunity was a good one, because, as a result of the new succession to the throne of Persia, there was reason to expect the outbreak of war between Turkey and that kingdom. The Pope was prepared to give a large subsidy ; nothing but the unfavourable attitude of the Czar and the German states, together with the death of the Emperor (October 12th, 1576) and the course of events in the Netherlands, again drove the plan of a league into the background.[2] Gregory spoke of it again when, at the beginning of 1577, news came of extensive preparations on the part of the Turks.[3] It was said at that time that Morone and Sforza would be sent to Spain as envoys to arrange a league against the Turks.[4] This mission, however, fell through, for news had already reached Rome of secret negotiations

[1] Morone set out on April 27 ; the *letter of Galli to the nuncio in Venice, April 28, 1576, Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 25 *seq.* KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 16.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 229 *seq.* ; THEINER, II., 259 *seq.* ; RITTER, I., 501 *seq.* ; SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 273 *seq.* ; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 80 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, 95 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*, 143 *seq.*, 151, 158. KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., pp. 18, 21. On September 8, 1576, P. Strozzi *reported from Rome that Marcantonio Colonna had gone to Spain " per trattar la lega," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the *reports of Odescalchi from Rome, January 26, February 2 and 19, 1577. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *letter of P. Strozzi, Rome, January 26, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

between the Catholic King and the Sultan! The Pope refused to believe this, for on February 18th, 1576, he had once again renewed the profitable *Cruzada* for Philip II.[1] Yet the news became more and more definite.[2]

The relations between the Pope and Philip II. had become strained for other reasons besides this, and the disagreements over questions of ecclesiastical politics which arose here and there in the different parts of the vast Spanish dominions had greatly contributed to bring this about.

At the very beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. there had been a serious conflict of this kind. It is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise; Philip II. clung with extraordinary tenacity to his cesaropapistical system of ruling the Church,[3] although this was quite opposed to that of the Catholic Church. Gregory XIII.[4] defended her principles as strongly as Pius V. had done. Although, as a trained jurist,[5] he grasped very clearly the questions involved in this matter,

[1] See *"Indice de las concessiones que had hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Sussidio y Excusado." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9. After this agreement the continuation of the *Excusado* on May 13, 1575, was extended to five years.

[2] See the reports in KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 25 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Corresp. de Granvelle, ed. PIOT, IV., vi.

[4] Galli thus describes the relations with Naples at the death of Pius V. in his *Informatione: Il maggior negotio che si tratti in Napoli et che habbia maggiori difficoltà, è la essecutione delle bolle et degli ordini di Nostro Signore, et di più la conservatione delli confini di Benevento et del territorio suo: di che con tutti li vicerè si è disputato per il passato et tuttavia si disputava di presente col cardinale Granvela, et di questi particulari simili venne una lettera delle corte di Spagna, ottenuta già dal padre generale di San Domenico, hora cardinale Justiniano, et rinovata poi hora per opera del cardinale Alessandrino legato, la qual provede a qualche cosa, ma per la maggior parte domanda informatione; onde si aspettava haverla così da Napoli come da Sicilia. Vi è ancora il negotio delle spoglie, il quale si esseguisce, ancorche con qualche difficoltà, e ne dà poi conto di mano in mano al thesoriere generale. Varia polit. 117, pp. 385b-6,

[5] *Cf.* CORRARO, 279; see also PRIULI in Albèri, II., 4, 304.

he nevertheless always caused them to be examined by a special congregation of Cardinals.[1] This first occurred in the case of the dispute about jurisdiction at Naples in 1573. If there was at that time a feeling in the Sacred College itself that Gregory XIII. had not acted with enough vigour in this matter,[2] such critics were soon to be undeceived. The things that had occurred at Naples were quite intolerable, and the archbishop found himself obliged to pronounce excommunication against the Spanish authorities. Granvelle, who had always looked upon himself as a Spanish official rather than a Cardinal, had tried to force the archbishop to give way by a decree confiscating temporalities, the banishment of the vicar-general, and the arrest of the ecclesiastical judge. For this Gregory XIII. threatened him with the severest penalties. At the same time Ormaneto made strong remonstrances at Madrid. Although after this an agreement was arrived at, the real problem still remained unsolved.[3]

In the autumn of 1573 there arose a similar dispute at Milan, where Charles Borromeo, as archbishop, had to offer strong resistance to the interference of the governor, Luis Requesens, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Requesens retaliated for the excommunication inflicted on him by acts of violence.[4]

[1] The congregation was composed of Cardinals Albani, Pacheco, Sforza and Alciati; see *Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 259, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *report of C. Capilupi, Rome, March 17, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.*, besides the *reports of Zuñiga, which are naturally biased, in Colecc. di docum. inéd., CII., MAFFEI, I., 93 *seq.*; THEINER, I., 355 *seq.*; SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 124, Autobiografia, XII., 354 *seq.*; CARINI, 53 *seq.*; SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., III., lxiv. *seq.*; *notes of Taverna in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Avviso di Roma of March 14, 1573, and the *report of Cusano of April 18, 1573, both in State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* an *Avviso of March 21, 1573, sent by Bernerio. *Cf.* BELTRAMI,-Roma, 6. See also with regard to the nunciature at Naples, MEISTER in *Hist. Jarhrbuch*, XIV., 78 *seq.*, and N. CAPECE GALEOTA, Nunzii di Napoli, 37 *seq.*

[4] *Cf. supra* p. 95.

Gregory XIII.'s annoyance at all this can easily be understood.[1] He spoke of the occurrence at the consistory of September 7th, 1573, and entrusted the consideration of it to the congregation which had been established to deal with the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was composed of Cardinals Santa Croce, Maffei and Albani, to which Cardinals Bobba, Orsini and Giustiniani were now added.[2] As the strong protests addressed by Ormaneto to Philip had been of little avail, the Pope sent a nuncio extraordinary to Madrid in the person of Annibale Grassi. The latter was instructed to congratulate the king on the birth of an heir to the throne, but at the same time to bring the troubles at Milan to an end. Grassi, who reached Madrid on November 14th, 1573, arranged that, in accordance with a concession already made by Philip to Pius V., two experienced Spanish jurists should be sent to Rome to work there, in association with the theologians of the curia, to bring about a final and radical settlement of the disputes between the ecclesiastical and civil powers in the Italian possessions of the Spanish crown. At Milan the quarrel had become even more bitter under the overbearing Marchese Ayamonte, who had succeeded Requesens.[3]

On June 4th, 1574, Philip II. sent to Rome Pedro de Avila, Marchese de las Navas, and the jurist, Francisco de Vera.[4] When these envoys at length arrived on October 6th, 1574, it was discovered that they were only empowered to deal with the disputes of Naples and Milan, and not with those of Spain, and not even with the problem of the *Monarchia*

[1] *Cf.* the *reports of Odescalchi, Rome, August 22, September 12 and 19, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 208 *seq.*; *cf.* the *report of Zuñiga in Colecc. di docum. inéd., CII., 242 *seq.*, and the *Avviso di Roma of September 19, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 306, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 96.

[4] See Corresp. de Granvelle éd. PIOT, V., 104 *seq.*, where the characteristic instructions of Philip II. to his ambassadors are printed; they were also told to complain of the severe briefs addressed to Granvelle!

Sicula.[1] Gregory XIII. had frequently made complaint of the abuses arising out of the *Monarchia*.[2] Even the ambassador, Zuñiga, was of opinion that this question could not be ignored. He did not conceal from his sovereign that even the disputes at Naples and Milan could not be settled if Philip II. obstinately adhered to the limited and insufficient instructions which he had given to Navas and Vera; the king as well as the Pope must show a conciliatory spirit in this matter, for otherwise the differences would never be settled.[3]

Navas had hardly arrived when he fell sick of fever, and died soon after. Although Ormaneto pressed strongly for the appointment of a successor, the king did not in any way hurry himself, even though the continued outbreak of quarrels made the matter one of pressing importance.[4] In the meantime Philip II. pursued his customary tactics of avoiding any kind of decision. He knew how much the Pope counted upon him in the fight for Catholic interests, and he made the most of this circumstance, so that while, externally, he insisted upon his great attachment to the Church, and gave way on certain points, he obstinately adhered to his policy of keeping control of everything that happened. Relying upon the Spanish influence in the curia and the Sacred College,[5] he steadily worked to increase his revenues by means of ecclesiastical dues, although these already amounted to a million and a half ducats. Zuñiga, his ambassador in Rome, was always asking for further concessions, but the hope of being able to win the Pope over to this, as well as in the matter of the disputes about ecclesiastical policy with the help of the nephews, proved vain. It was fortunate that Zuñiga, unlike

[1] See the reports of Zuñiga in Colecc. di docum. inéd., V., 354 *seq.*, 357 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 212 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* October 6, 1574; *ibid.* 354 *seq.*

[4] See P. Tiepolo, 230; Carini, 71; for the dispute with Pacheco in the consistory on June 4, 1574, see Santori, Diario concist., XXIV., 241 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

his impetuous French colleague, was a man of quiet, thoughtful and calm disposition, and was able, in spite of all the disputes with his sovereign, to retain the personal favour of the Pope.[1] He exercised a great influence in preventing a breach between Rome and Madrid, though in other ways both Gregory and Philip II. were anxious to avoid any such extremity.[2] Whenever the nuncio was received in audience, the Catholic King never failed to give expression to his filial attachment for the Holy Father, whose feet he kissed, but as soon as the Pope's representative went on to speak of business he could obtain nothing but vague replies. Moreover, for the most part His Majesty did not give audience, so that communication between them was carried on in writing.[3]

The king continued to act in this way, in spite of the fact that ecclesiastical problems in 1576-7, both in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, as well as at Milan, grew worse rather than better.[4] Four whole years elapsed before a successor

[1] *Cf. ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 223, 230 *seq.*; *cf.* L. Priuli in Albèri, I., 5, 240 *seq.*, *" non dubiti V.S. che il Papa sia per rompersi mai col Re cattolico," wrote P. Strozzi on September 29, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the communication of L. Donato in Albèri, I., 6, 463 *seq.*

[4] Besides the usual quarrels (*cf.* Philippson, Granvella, 103) after the death of Carranza, which occurred on May 2, 1576, there arose a dispute about the revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo; see the *report of P. Strozzi, September 29, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In 1577 there occurred for the first time the claim of Philip II. to the right of nomination to the bishoprics in the Kingdom of Naples, which led to serious disputes; see the *reports of P. Strozzi of January 16 and May 18, 1577, the *letters of Odescalchi of January 19 and June 1, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Maffei, I., 286 *seq.* Out of consideration for the good of souls, the nomination to Catania and Palermo was for this occasion allowed to Philip (*Acta consist. September 11, 1577, Papal Secret Archives), in return for which the king gave way on other questions (see Maffei, I., 288). Affairs at Naples were the worst of all. If the Viceroy at Naples, *Odescalchi gives warning on March 25, 1577, does not give to the new nuncio

was appointed in the place of Navas! In the meantime, on June 17th, 1577, the nuncio at Madrid, Ormaneto, who had so capably filled that difficult office since 1572, died.[1] As his successor Gregory XIII. appointed Filippo Sega, Bishop of Ripatransone, who was in Flanders with Don John. It is clear from the instructions given to Sega that there were at that time pending between Rome and Madrid four grave questions: the first concerned the attempt of Philip II. to limit the powers of the new nuncio at Naples, Lorenzo Campegio; the second, the right of patronage which Philip claimed over the bishoprics of Sicily and Sardinia; the third, the arbitrary seizure of the archiepiscopal see of Toledo, rendered vacant by the death of Carranza, by an auditor nominated by the royal council; the fourth, the use of the great revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo, which, during Carranza's imprisonment, had been administered by the civil authority. Sega was further to carry on negotiations for an expedition against England, and to dissuade the king from concluding an armistice with the Turks.[2]

The new nuncio, who reached Madrid on August 29th, 1577, and was received for the first time in audience at the Escorial on September 5th, met with the greatest difficulties with

Lorenzo Campegio, the "exequatur contra laicos in materia spoliorum" he will be excommunicated and Naples placed under an interdict. See also the *reports of Odescalchi of June 1, 10 and 22, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 289 *seq.*, where there is fuller information as to the disputes begun in 1577 over the case of Calahorra.

[1] See CARINI, 121.

[2] The *instructions dated July 8, 1577, in Cod. J. III., 67, p. 331 *seq.*, and N. II., 42, of the Chigi Library, Rome, and Concilio, 58, p. 88 *seq.*, of the Papal Secret Archives. *Report of Sega, *ibid.* Nunziat. di Spagna, 11, 20, 22, 25, 27, 29. The *instructions for the nuncio in Cod. ottob. 3207-9, Vatican Library. *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 223 *seq.* The *report of Sega on his nunciature (Berlin Library, Infor. polit. 28, State Library, Munich, Ital. 133, p. 19 *seq.*) was published by GACHARD in *Compte rendu de la Commission d'hist. de Belgique*, III., 6 (1864), 157-84. *Cf.* KRETZSCHMAR, 194 *seq.*

regard to all these questions; he was successful, however, in securing the appointment, on May 3rd, 1578, of a new plenipotentiary in the place of Navas, who had died in 1574, in the person of Don Alvaro de Borgia, Marchese di Alcañiz; but six more months elapsed before he arrived in Rome![1] It was said that Borgia had the widest powers, but as a matter of fact he had been emphatically warned in his secret instructions not to yield any important right of Spain, and to declare, before beginning any negotiations, that no concession made during their course should be valid until all the contested points had reached a solution. At these negotiations, which were begun in November, 1578, there also took part, on behalf of Spain, Zuñiga, and Doctor Giacomo Riccardi in the place of Francisco de Vera, and on behalf of the Pope, Cardinals Santa Croce, Sforza, Orsini and Maffei, and the prelates, Alessandro Frumento and Pirro Taro; later on, Giannantonio Facchinetti took the place of Frumento.[2]

[1] See SENTIS, 125; *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 362. *Cf.* also G. SAVAGNONE, Contributo alla storia dell'Apost. Legazia in Sicilia, Palermo, 1919, 21. For the right of patronage at Trani see PHILLIPS-VERING, VIII., 202. HINOJOSA (p. 202) makes Borgia come to Rome in 1580; he was led to this mistake by PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 348. That Borgia was already in Rome in 1578 is expressly stated by Galli in his *Memorie, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The exact date of his arrival may be gathered from a *report of Odescalchi of October 25, 1578: "Mercori venne il marchese d'Alcanzes di casa Borgia," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 363 *seq.*, who gives a very good account of the negotiations. *Cf.* also CARUSO, 295 *seq.*; SENTIS, 125 *seq.*; the *reports of Odescalchi from Rome, October 25, November 8, 15, 22, 1578; January 17 and 31, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; the *Avvisi di Roma of November 15, 1578, January 3, 4 and 25, 1579, Urb. 1046, p. 397; 1047, pp. 1, 12, 25, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *Acta consist. November 5, 1578: "Deputatio super iurisdic. Hispaniae." Cod. Barb. XXXVI, 5, Vatican Library. The briefs of Gregory XIII. from August to September, 1578, concerning the infringements of jurisdiction in Spanish Burgundy, in THEINER, II., 389 *seq.* Things were no better in this respect later on, see *ibid.* III., 366, 473.

A beginning was made with the disputes about jurisdiction at Milan; they then passed on those at Naples, and then dealt with the most difficult part of all, the sovereign privileges of the *Monarchia Sicula*, and the right of appointment to the Neapolitan bishoprics. The Pope took a very active part in the discussions. Fortunately, all were in agreement concerning the cases in which the bishop could take action against laymen, as well as in allowing the archbishops to have six armed guards. With regard to the *exequatur* at Naples, the *placet* at Milan, and the *Monarchia Sicula*, in virtue of which Philip claimed almost the rights of a head of the Church in Sicily,[1] Cardinals Santa Croce, Orsini and Maffei were in favour of making as great allowances as possible, whereas the Pope would not hear of this increase of the rights of cesaropapalism, because it was directed against ecclesiastical liberty, and against the bull *In coena Domini*.[2]

While these discussions were still being carried on, in the middle of February, 1579, there came news of the conclusion of an armistice between Philip II. and the Turks. Even in 1578 Gregory XIII. had not yet abandoned his plan of a league;[3] and he hoped all the more for success when, at the beginning of 1579, news was received of a victory of the Persians over the Turks.[4] Yet it was just at that moment that the Catholic King consented to an agreement with the

[1] *Cf.* the excellent account of P. DE FOIX, Lettres, 35 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Odescalchi, February 7, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the additions made by Gregory XIII. to the bull *In coena Domini* see HINSCHIUS, V., 647.

[3] See A. TIEPOLO 267 *seq*; MAFFEI I., 370 *seq*. Gregory XIII. expended the sum of 40,000 ducats during the year 1577 on the costly defence of the Austrian frontiers against the Turks (see HÜBER, IV., 368); see the *report of Odescalchi of June 22, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* the *reports of Odescalchi, Rome, January 16 and 17, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. As to this see ZINKEISEN, III., 571; MAFFEI, II., 43 *seq*. For the negotiations of 1579 which were held with the Polish king, Báthory, on the subject of a war with the Turks see BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory i plan Ligi, 228 *seq*.

hereditary enemy of Christendom! The name of the Pope himself was even said to be mentioned in the deed of agreement.[1] The news turned out to be premature, but it was a fact that Giovanni Marigliano, the agent of Philip II., had again gone to Constantinople on January 13th, 1579. While the negotiations there dragged on for a long time owing to the resistance of the Turkish war party, and the intrigues of France, Gregory XIII. made every possible effort to dissuade Philip II. from his design, which would be so harmful to Christendom. Alessandro Frumento, who was sent to Madrid at the beginning of January, 1579, was instructed to make strong protests; if Philip displayed his weakness in this way there was bound to be a serious reaction among the insurgents in the Netherlands: the Pope, who had entered into relations with the Persians who were fighting the Turks, expected rather that the King of Spain would seize upon the present opportunity of avenging the loss of Tunis. Any agreement with the hereditary enemy of Christendom, so Gregory XIII. wrote in an autograph letter to Philip on February 3rd, 1579, must redound to the loss and shame, not only of the Catholic world, but also of His Majesty himself. At the same time the Pope made it perfectly clear that if the Spanish sovereign abandoned the war against the Turks, there would be no renewal of the subsidy from the ecclesiastical body in Spain, which had been granted for that purpose, and which fell due in 1579.[2]

[1] How great was the indignation of Gregory XIII. is plain from a *report of Odescalchi of February 15, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 274 *seq.* KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 53 *seq.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 100. On March 15, 1579, Odescalchi *reported from Rome that news had come that the Turks were doing badly in the war against the Persians; on March 25 there was news "di una gran rotta del Turco in Armenia" (*cf.* also ZINKEISEN, III., 572 *seq.*), but also of the preparations of Philip II. against Portugal. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to an *Avviso di Roma of June 13, 1579, an envoy from Persia to the Pope was at that time expected in Rome. (Urb. 1047, p. 192,

All was in vain. The whole attention of Philip II. was at that moment directed to the conquest of Portugal, where the extinction of the male branch of the ancient royal line was imminent. His purpose of reuniting under his sceptre the whole of the Iberian peninsula, which had been divided for eight centuries, had the effect of causing everything else to fall into the background as far as Philip was concerned, not only the war against the insurgents in the Low Countries and Queen Elizabeth of England, but even resistance to the Turks.

On March 21st, 1580, the Spanish representatives at Constantinople came to an agreement with the Porte for an armistice which was to last until the January in the following year. In the meantime Marigliano was authorized to seek from Spain the necessary powers to enter into further negotiations. At the beginning of 1581 the armistice was renewed for another year.[1] On his way home Marigliano passed through Rome, where Gregory XIII. demanded of him an account of the whole affair, and informed him that he might tell the King of Spain that he left him the tax upon the clergy and ecclesiastical property in his kingdom, which had hitherto been granted on account of the war against the Turks, only upon the condition that the king would pledge himself to direct the whole of his armed forces against the heretical Queen of England.[2]

This abandonment by the Catholic King of the Turkish

Vatican Library). In May, 1579, there was the *" Discorso del S. Giuseppe de Bestiani Malatesta " upon the easiness of striking a blow at the Turks on the occasion of the Persian war ; all the Christian princes ought to avail themselves of this opportunity, was the opinion of the author (Barb. LVI., 129, p. 138 *seq.*, Vatican Library). For the steps taken by the Pope to defend the coasts of Rome (in October, 1579, Turkish corsairs attacked Porto), see the *Avvisi di Roma of August 5, October 7 and 24, November 5, 1579 ; Urb. 1047, pp. 262, 337, 354, 380, Vatican Library.

[1] See ZINKEISEN, III., 500 *seq.*, 507 *seq.*, 510 ; JORGA, III., 160. *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 347.

[2] See P. DE FOIX, Lettres, 63, 81. ZINKEISEN, III., 510. *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 357.

wars, only nine years after the glorious victory of Lepanto, was a further step along the way of pursuit of private ends, without regard for the general interest.[1] France had led the way with her "insane" alliance with Turkey, and now the separate peace made by Venice 1573 was followed by the armistice made by Spain.

The conquest of Portugal aimed at by Philip II., which was the explanation of this far reaching change of policy on the part of Spain with regard to the east, was a source of anxiety to the Pope, not only because of the general interests of Christianity in the east, but also because of the future of Portugal itself. Sebastian, the sovereign of that kingdom, which was small indeed, but important because of its vast colonial possessions, had, in August, 1574, undertaken an expedition against the Moors of Morocco. Gregory XIII. rewarded King Sebastian, who had always been distinguished for his Catholic principles,[2] with a letter of praise,[3] and with the blessed sword and hat.[4] A second expedition to Africa, undertaken four years later with an immense army, and which Gregory XIII. had subsidized,[5] ended in complete disaster. On August 4th, 1578, the young king, with almost all his army, fell in the bloody battle near Alkassar, in the neighbourhood of Tangiers.[6] He was succeeded by his uncle, the third son

[1] *Cf.* HERRE, Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im Mittelmeer, Leipzig, 1910, 92.

[2] See P. TIEPOLO, 231.

[3] See Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 495 *seq.*

[4] G. A. Caligari was charged with conveying this on October 16, 1574; see MACSWINEY OF MASHANAGLASS, Le Portugal et le St. Siège, Paris, 1898, 54 *seq.* For the expedition of 1574 see SCHÄFER, III., 380 *seq.*

[5] See MAFFEI, I., 305.

[6] See THEINER, II., 420. CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, Hist de la Comp. de Jésus, II., 96 *seq.* SCHÄFER, III., 388 *seq.*; ANTAS, Les faux Don Sebastian, Paris, 1866, 25 *seq.*, 44 *seq.*; see also the *report in the Marciana Library, Venice, VII., Cod. 934. For the funeral ceremonies for Sebastian in Rome see Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives, and the *Avviso di Roma of December 13, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 423, Vatican Library. Galli relates in his

of King Emanuel the Great, Henry, Cardinal Archbishop of Braga, a sick man, and aged 67; with him the male branch of the royal house would come to an end. Among the claimants, the first place was held by Philip II. The Portuguese, who hated the Castilians, refused to hear of a union with Spain, and they planned to get Cardinal Henry married, for which it would be necessary to obtain the consent of the Pope.

Gregory's position in face of the Portuguese crisis was extremely difficult. If he were to give his consent to the pressure of the Portuguese to grant the matrimonial dispensation he would have to reckon on the indignation of many of the faithful, the mockery of the heretics, and the hostility of Philip II. The latter refused to hear of Papal arbitration in connexion with the Portuguese succession and still more of a dispensation. In face of the threatening attitude taken up by the representative of Spain in Rome, Gregory endeavoured to preserve an absolute neutrality and to gain time. If, in August, 1579, he ended by refusing the dispensation, the decisive factor was his love of peace, which led him to do everything in his power to prevent any sort of war in the Iberian peninsula, and the probable outbreak of a European war.[1] He therefore showed his disapproval of the warlike preparations of Philip, whom he exhorted to seek the realization of his desires, not by the violent and always dangerous way of arms, but by an impartial judgment. Although Philip too would very gladly have attained his end by peaceful means, he was absolutely opposed to Papal arbitration.

*Memorie that the sorrow of the Pope for the death of Sebastian was "infinito"; the Pope also busied himself concerning the liberation of the Portuguese prisoners. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] See SCHÄFER, III., 490; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 98 *seq.*, 106. For the attitude of Gregory XIII. and his nuncios, Aless. Frumento and Ant. Sauli, *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 366 *seq.*, II., 24 *seq.* Henry had vigorously opposed the mission of Frumento, which greatly displeased the Pope; see the *Avvisi di Roma of October 24 and December 17, 1578, Urb. 1046, pp. 366, 429, Vatican Library.

Gregory, who certainly did not desire any further aggrandizement of Spain, was more disturbed than he could say ; if Spain was bent on making war, at least she must not do so with the help of the money of the Church. He therefore definitely refused the King of Spain any further levying of ecclesiastical taxes. Philip II. did not allow himself to be deterred, either by the attitude of the Pope, or by the threatened intervention of France and England. Military complications seemed to be imminent when, on January 31st, 1580, the death of King Henry took place.[1] The King of Spain, contrary to his usual method of procedure, acted swiftly and decisively by the advice of Granvelle, who had been summoned to Madrid at the beginning of 1579, and had there attained very great influence ; he at once concentrated his troops on the frontier of Portugal, and summoned the authorities to recognize him as their sovereign.

Gregory was urged from several parts of Portugal to intervene. The governors and the Duchess of Braganza begged him to call upon Philip II. to lay aside his arms ; at the same time the Duchess explained to the Pope the futility of the claims of Antonio, Prior of Crato. This claimant also sought the support of the Pope, whom he looked upon as his ally, though otherwise he thought of having recourse to France.[2] As things stood, Gregory was obliged to content himself with striving to maintain his neutrality, and preventing military complications by means of a peace legate. He showed himself quite determined as to this course. Although the greatest efforts had been made by Spain to prevent it, and although the Secretary of State, Galli, raised many objections,[3] on March 23rd, 1580, he sent the impartial and experienced jurist,

[1] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII, 366; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 107, 112 *seq.*, 120. *Cf.* TÖRNE 169 *seqq.*, where there are further details of the attitude of Gregory XIII. towards the claimant to the throne, Antonio, Prior of Crato, who is described as "si non très prudente, du moins logique et indépendante."

[2] See THEINER, III., 201 *seq.*, 696, 697.

[3] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 165.

Cardinal Alessandro Riario, to Portugal as legate.[1] So many unforeseen obstacles were placed in the way of this envoy during the course of his journey, that he was only able to reach Barcelona on June 13th, where he was detained by an attack of gout for another eight days.[2] Philip ordered that great festivities should be held for the reception of Riario in all the cities through which he passed, so that the remainder of the journey was even more delayed. When the legate was received in audience by Philip at Badajoz, he realized that his mission was destined to be fruitless. The King of Spain unconditionally rejected the Pope's arbitration, and hastened to point to the accomplished facts. He was able to oppose so many obstacles to Riario's purpose of going on to Portugal. as to make it necessary for him to abandon all idea of such a journey until the capture of Lisbon.[3] The Spaniards in Rome, exultant in the achievements of their king, adopted a somewhat provocative attitude.[4]

Cardinal Riario had in the meantime received instructions

[1] See *Acta consist., Vatican Library. *Cf.* BELTRAMI, Roma, 25. At a consistory on March 9, 1580, the Pope had informed the Cardinals of the death of Henry, and had asked them to pray for the peace of Portugal. The discussion as to whether a legate should be sent to Portugal was not, according to the *report of Alessandro de' Medici of March 12, 1580, yet concluded on that date ; the same states in his *report of March 24 that the appointment of Riario was quite unexpected, State Archives, Florence. For the instructions for Riario and his legation see HINOJOSA, 279 *seq.* ; *cf.* the brief of April 15, 1580, in Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 575.

[2] *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 86 *seq.* ; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 180 ; BELTRAMI, 27, 29, 30. According to the *Acta consist. (Vatican Library) Riario received the legatine cross on April 11, 1580. When, on April 27, Gregory ordered a jubilee for the peace of Portugal, he was already on his way ; he had started the day before ; see *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 97, Vatican Library.

[3] See G. FR. MOROSINI in Albèri, I., 5, 305 *seq.* ; HINOJOSA, 287 *seq.*, 294 *seq.* *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 190 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 181 *seq.*

from the curia to keep a watchful eye upon the changed conditions. Apart from doing all he could to put obstacles in the way of Philip's accomplishment of the conquest of Portugal, Gregory still hoped, by showing him favour in various ways,[1] to win the king over in other matters. Riario accordingly discussed with him the quarrels over jurisdiction, the armistice with the Turks and the enterprise against England. Philip made conciliatory replies to all these demands, but did nothing.[2]

By the end of 1580 the submission of Portugal to the Spanish rule was completed.[3] Gregory XIII. had no other course open to him than officially to recognize Philip II. as King of Portugal, and on March 18th, 1581, Gomez da Silva, who had hitherto been Portuguese ambassador in Rome, did homage, with full Spanish pomp, in the name of his new sovereign.[4] It was quickly shown that the great political triumph which Philip had won in Portugal had made him more unbending than ever in questions of ecclesiastical politics.

The negotiations which had been begun in Rome at the end of 1578 had already shown how little good will there was on

[1] For the complete change of policy of Gregory XIII. see especially Törne, 181 *seq.*

[2] It is thus that Maffei (II., 94) describes the result of the negotiations, with the details of which may be compared Philippson, Granvella, 191 *seq.*, 201, and especially Hinojosa, 301 *seq.*, who (304 *seq.*) also speaks of the results obtained by Riario, namely, an agreement on the question of the *spoglie*.

[3] Rebello da Silva, L'invasion et occupation du roy. de Portugal en 1580, Paris, 1864. See also the Diario of E. Lassota von Steblau published by Schottin, Halle, 1868. J. Suarez-Inclan, Guerra de anexión en Portugal durante el reinado de D. Felipe II., 2 vols., Madrid, 1898; Fr. Giovanni Todini, *Relazione dell'impressa di Portogallo nel 1580 (dedicated to Giacomo Boncompagni), Ital. 234, State Library, Munich.

[4] See Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *report of Odescalchi, March 18, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Montaigne, II., 24 *seq.* The credentials for G. da Silva in Theiner, III., 714 *seq.*, *ibid.* the short brief of congratulation of April 3, 1581, from Gregory XIII. to Philip II.

the part of the king to arrive at a sincere agreement. The Pope's plans for settling the question of jurisdiction in Sicily on the basis of Canon Law, were opposed by the Spaniards with all their might. When, on July 13th, 1579, Philip II. despotically appointed his chaplain, Nicola Stizzia as permanent judge of the *Monarchia Sicula*, he was also making that tribunal a permanency, so that Gregory XIII. made a solemn protest.[1] This act on the part of the King of Spain was all the more irritating to the Pope, because at that very time (July 18th, 1579) he had granted him important ecclesiastical revenues.[2]

Not only had the negotiations concerning the *Monarchia Sicula* thus taken a turn for the worse, but the same thing occurred in November, 1580, in the case of the *exequatur*, so much so that there was reason to fear the complete breakdown of all conciliatory negotiations.[3] The tension between Rome and Madrid[4] became even more acute when Gregory XIII. refused the King of Spain the renewal of the ecclesiastical subsidies which, after the agreement between Philip and Turkey had no longer any raison d'être. The tranquillizing assurances which Spain had given in the matter of her relations with the Porte were contradicted by the news which reached Rome in April 1581 of the extension of the armistice with the Turks.[5] To this was added the outbreak of fresh

[1] See SENTIS, 128 *seq.* *Cf.* SAVAGNONE, *loc. cit.* 21.

[2] See HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 21.

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi, November 5, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The letter of Philip II. to the Marchese di Alcañiz of April 19, 1580, in which the king exactly explains his attitude, in SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., III., lxv. *seq.*

[4] For a time the post of Spanish ambassador in Rome remained vacant. Abbot Brisegna was in charge of the business; see the *reports of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, July 30 and September 24, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. In a *report of October 7, 1581, *ibid.* Sporeno connects the vacancy in the ambassadorship with the question of Milan. As late as December 16, Brisegna was still looking after affairs by himself.

[5] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 356 *seq.*

and serious political and ecclesiastical questions in Spain, where the royal council had indulged in acts of violence. The nuncio Sega had already found himself in a very difficult position; he had constantly to resist the acts of injustice in ecclesiastical matters on the part of the royal council and the other authorities,[1] but now his position became almost unbearable. Gregory came to his assistance by addressing an outspoken letter to Philip himself on June 26th, 1581. In this he complained that the royal council had resisted the decision of the Rota in the quarrel between the chapter of Calahorra and their bishop, had treated the canons as though they had been guilty of a political offence, and had supported the bishop after he had been suspended and summoned to appear in Rome. The Pope adjured the king to abstain from such unheard-of interference in the administration of ecclesiastical justice.[2]

Philip II. had no idea of giving way. He had already arranged for the breaking off of the negotiations of Borgia, and the latter took his leave of the Pope on July 9th, 1581.[3] As usual all the proper external formalities were duly observed by Spain on this occasion, but this did not alter the fact that an ever increasing tension had arisen between Rome and Madrid. Gregory said at that time that the councillors of Philip had incurred excommunication, and that he wished to see whether, as was the case in all the rest of the world, there was a Pope in Sicily, which, moreover, belonged to the Holy See as a fief.[4]

The Spaniards for their part complained bitterly that

[1] *Cf.* the complaints of Sega in his "Relatione," *supra*, p. 352 *seq.*

[2] See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 359 *seq.*, 366.

[3] The departure of Borgia is vaguely dated by SENTIS (p. 129) as: "before the end of 1581." PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 368, rightly places his farewell audience on July 9; but owing to a printer's error, the date of his departure is wrongly given by him as June 17, 1581. See the *reports of Odescalchi of July 15 and 22, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* also the Lettres de P. de Foix, 76, 80 (departure on July 17).

[4] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 367.

Gregory refused to grant a renewal of the taxes derived from the so-called "sussidio" on the clergy of Spain, which were now due, and amounted to 600,000 ducats, that he hesitated to declare the rebels in the Netherlands the enemies of the Church, and that he treated no other power so badly as he did the realm of the Catholic King. Philip II. allowed himself to say to Granvelle: it is only because the Low Countries belong to me that he allows religion there to fall into ruin, in order that I may lose those provinces![1]

In the meantime to the old subjects of disagreement there were added new ones, which also originated in cesaropapalism. Thus, for example, in the summer of 1581, Philip sent a royal commissary to the national council convoked at Toledo by Cardinal Quiroga, although Pius IV. and Pius V. had expressly forbidden it. The royal council at once arrested a notary who had presented a Papal concession of a benefice. Incidents of this kind exhausted the patience even of a man who loved peace as much as Sega. The collector, Mario, however, allowed himself to be led into taking extreme steps, so that Rome had to advise him to act with more circumspection.[2]

Gregory XIII., who still aimed at arriving at an agreement with Philip II. about the affairs of England, instructed Sega in October, 1581, to try and come to an understanding with him. Since this was also the wish of the king, especially on account of the subsidy, an agreement was come to on several points. On November 6th, 1581, the Pope for his part granted a renewal of the *Excusado* for another five years, as well as of a part of the ecclesiastical tithes and of the *Cruzada*.[3]

[1] See the letter of Philip II. in *Docum. del Archivo de Alba*, Madrid, 1891, 284-6.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 371 *seq.*; *cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 161.

[3] See the *"Indice" cited *supra*, p. 347, n. 1, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome; *cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 380. Lelio Maretti (*Conclave di Gregorio XIV.) relates as follows how on this occasion there was a quarrel between Galli and Tuscany: Il Granduca allora card. de Medici desiderando sopramodo di haver parte in questo maneggio et parte tale che il Re

Thus there was reason to hope that the new nuncio, Lodovico Taverna, Bishop of Lodi, who reached Madrid in January, 1582, would meet with a cordial welcome.[1]

For the information of Taverna Sega wrote a detailed memorial.[2] In this he first of all describes Philip II.'s method

fosse per conoscer quasi tutta la gratia di mano sua trattò efficacemente con Como pregandolo d' aiuto in questo particolare et sopratutto che si contentasse d' avvisarlo subito ch' li conoscesse Gregorio rivolto a compiacere il Re. Desiderava Medici d' esser il primo a dargliene conto per acquistar appresso a quella Maestà opinione di prudenza, di poter nella corte di Roma con il Papa et d' esser tutto rivolto agli interessi di quella corona. Como largamente promise l'avviso et l'aiuto de'Medici in questo assegnamento, avvisava in Spagna scrivendo in maniera che riuscendo la prattica a voto del Re l'havesse a riconoscere in gran parte dalla diligenza et opera sua ; ma compresa che hebbe Como l'inclinatione del Papa et la risolutione di gratificare il Re senza darne conto al card. de Medici persuase il s. Giacomo Buoncompagno a farsi bello con il Re di questa gratia, il che fece tosto spedendo un corriere in grandissima diligenza a quella M^tà della gratia ottenuta da S.S^tà et prima hebbe avviso Medici di Spagna del negotio risoluto a gusto del Re che da Como n'havesse havuto alcuna notitia et se bene Como si scusava che come ministro del Papa non poteva palesare ad altri ancorche havesse promesso quello che la S. Sua gli haveva commando che tenesse segreto, non era accettata la scusa sapendosi che il Re non riconobbe da altri che da lui il favor ricevuto da Gregorio come ne fece fede il premio grande et ch' gli ne ricevette di maniera che l'interesse suo et non il commandamento del Papa fu la vera cagione della sua taciturnità con Medici. Cod. I., b. 55, p. 25 *seq.*, Library of the Servites at Innsbruck.

[1] *Cf.* for L. Taverna, ZACCARIA, Laudensium episcoporum series, Milan, 1763, 322 *seq.*, and GARAMPI, Sul valore, 315.

[2] *" Instruttione a Msgr. vesc. di Lodi intorno al carico del Nuntiato di Spagna," dated from Madrid, July 13, 1581, frequently copied in manuscript ; *e.g.* Vatican Library, Barb. LVI., 32 ; Chigi Library, Rome, G. I., 11 ; Corsini Library, 33—E—13, p. 525 (with a false title, by which LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 121, was led astray) ; Library of the Monastery of the SS. Quaranta in Rome ; Cod. Miscell. 8, p. 351 *seq.* GACHARD

of treating public business; his few audiences and the indescribable delay in coming to a decision. While fully recognizing the king's honestly Catholic sentiments, he speaks strongly of his many usurpations in ecclesiastical matters. In contradiction to the common opinion Sega maintains that these abuses were not due to the advisers of Philip but to the king himself. All hesitation at once disappears as soon as the interests of the crown are at stake. Thus the Papal bull about the *Cruzada* was published with great pomp, while the *In coena Domini* could only be published in secret. In addition to all this the civil authorities are supported by the bishops, who are more anxious about possessing the king's favour than paying attention to the Pope.

Sega also speaks about the divergence of views as to foreign policy. The king is now convinced of Gregory's impartiality as to the Portuguese question, and generally sees in his attitude that of a good and disinterested Pope. In the meantime the Spaniards are complaining that the Holy See refuses to recognize the rebels in the Low Countries as the enemies of religion, and also refuses a continuation of the subsidy. Philip's advisers are opposed to any action being taken against England. Sega speaks in terms of just condemnation of those Spaniards who, after having obtained every kind of favour in Rome, become, when in Spain, the bitterest enemies of the Holy See. It is persons of this kind who above all keep alive the flames of discord between the king and the Pope.

If the disputes in politico-ecclesiastical matters did not attain to the pitch they had reached in the time of the Hohenstaufen, this was due, not only to the fact that Philip II. as a sincere Catholic stopped short of extreme measures, but also to the fact that the king as well as the Pope were fully convinced that they had a common enemy in Protestantism. Sega had no doubts on this point. Gregory and Philip, he said, are like two merchants who, in spite of all their

(Bibl. Corsini, 43 *seq.*) wrongly places this deed in 1579. The date is July 31, 1581, and there is no doubt that Sega was the author: see HINOJOSA, 242 n. 1, and TÖRNE, 190, n. 2.

juridical disagreements, will never break off their mutual relations.[1]

Sega did not conceal from his successor how difficult his position was in consequence of the constant violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the Spanish government, nor how heavy the burden of the nunciature was. Taverna soon had an occasion of realizing this for himself. Since he had not brought with him the wished-for authority for the Spanish government to pronounce judgment summarily and finally upon the rebellious Portuguese ecclesiastics, Philip II., on the plea of his immediate return to Madrid, refused him the permission he asked to go to Lisbon, and kept on referring him to Granvelle. The latter showed himself extremely cold in discussing the expedition against Queen Elizabeth of England, or else made use of it to extort from him an approval of the subsidy.[2]

In the same way, in connexion with the disputes about ecclesiastico-political affairs, the settlement of which had been specially laid upon Taverna,[3] he met with the gravest difficulties, since Granvelle on principle always took the part of the royal council. He, as well as the Cardinal of Toledo and the new president of the council, Count Barajas, received, it is true, the complaints of the nuncio very courteously, and sometimes were of the opinion that they were well founded, but always went on to protest that they were powerless to act against the majority of the council.[4]

Thus the beginning of Taverna's nunciature was no less stormy than that of his predecessor, in spite of the fact that Gregory XIII. had made a great concession to the Spanish

[1] Morosini expressed himself in 1581 in the same way as Sega; see ALBÈRI, I., 5, 329. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 168.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 289, 320, 381.

[3] See the *Instruttione al Mons. vescovo di Lodi, Nuntio in Spagna, dated April 30, 1581. Cod. T. 3, 13, p. 22 *seq.* of the Angelica Library, Rome; (*cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 69 *seq.*, and TÖRNE, 188 *seq.*), also in Ottob. 2415, P. 2, p. 266 *seq*, Vatican Library.

[4] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 380, 382.

government when, on March 22nd, 1582, he had granted for another five years the subsidy which had so long been refused.[1]

Gradually, however, there came a change.[2] This coincided with the appointment of Count Olivares as Spanish ambassador in Rome.[3] This extraordinarily able and astute diplomatist, who entered upon his new office in 1582, immediately took a distinguished position. The very pomp with which he made his entry into the Eternal City on June 12th was not without its effect. The generosity of the count won him many friends, and above all he was able to gain great influence with the Pope with whom he once again entered upon better relations.[4] Whereas hitherto the Spaniards had jeered at the plague of bandits in the States of the Church, he at once offered the Pope the use of troops from Naples against them.[5] In the dispute concerning Calahorra Philip yielded to the renewed

[1] See the *" Indice " mentioned *supra*, p. 347, n. 1, in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. For the influence exerted by Giacomo Boncompagni and Cardinal Medici in winning the consent of Gregory XIII. see HERRE, 270.

[2] TÖRNE (p. 193) admits that this was the work of Galli, whose Spanish sympathies were notorious. The letter of Galli to Philip II. on January 8, 1582, which he here quotes as proof, is not really sufficient evidence, as, like the other letter of July 4, 1572, it merely contains a few remarks of respect, which prove nothing, as FRIEDENSBURG justly remarks in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CII., 129. He undoubtedly brought his influence to bear in making the Viceroy of Naples adopt a more conciliatory attitude with regard to questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction than his predecessor, as is seen from the *instructions for the Archbishop of Rossano, who was sent to Naples (February 27, 1582, Barb. 5744, p. 221 *seq.*, Vatican Library).

[3] The arrival of Olivares in Rome took place on June 6, 1582; see the *report of Cesare Strozzi, Rome, June 9, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See Lettres de P. de Foix, 195 *seq.*; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 290 *seq.* *Cf.* also for Olivares, HERRE, 277 *seq.*; for his entry see also the *Avviso di Roma of June 16, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 207, Vatican Library.

[5] See TÖRNE, 193.

pressure of the Pope, and the bishop who, supported by the Spanish government, had refused to appear in Rome, was obliged to do so by Philip. At first Gregory wished to have him taken to the Castle of St. Angelo, but at the request of Olivares he allowed him to take up his residence in the monastery of S. Pietro in Vincoli. After the collector Mario died in November 1582, an arrangement was made at the end of August by which the collectorship was united to the nunciature. This arrangement was in accordance with a long-standing wish of the Spanish government, but was also in the interest of the Holy See itself. No agreement, however, was come to in many other questions of ecclesiastical politics; Taverna recommended the greatest caution and generosity.[1] This seemed to be especially called for with regard to any action against England.

Yet another reason played its part in this. The old and favourite design of Gregory,[2] which he had never quite given

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 381 *seq.* An end was at last made to the difficulties raised by the Spanish government at Milan against the acts of Charles Borromeo when, in 1582, the Duke of Terranueva became governor in the place of Requesens. The dispute about the right of nomination in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which had been granted to Charles V. by Clement VII. only *ad vitam*, brought it about that in 1582, 1583 and 1584, no nominations took place, see the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. In the quarrel about the *Monarchia Sicula*, Bellarmine intervened in 1583, and pointed out to the Viceroy, Marcantonio Colonna, the reasons why he could not, without injury to his conscience, assume those privileges which his predecessors had taken upon themselves under that name; see BACHELET, Bellarmin avant son cardinalat, 131 *seq.*

[2] Very characteristic of this is the *letter from Galli to the nuncio in Venice, December 20, 1578, Nunziat. di Venezia, Papal Secret Archives. Even in 1581, when European conditions were quite unfavourable for a league, Gregory XIII. said to the ambassador of Venice, that he would employ for that purpose all the revenues of the Church; see CORRARO, 281. On March 15, 1582, Cardinal L. Madruzzo was charged to lay before the Diet

up, that of forming a league against the Turks, had again come to the fore. As the armistice with the Porte came to an end in 1583, the possibility of once more winning Philip over to the undertaking of a crusade had presented itself. In the meantime, in October, 1582, Olivares had been instructed to obtain from Gregory the formation of a defensive alliance among the Italian states. Since Crete, which concerned Venice, was to be included in this alliance, it followed that the latter must be aimed at the Turks,[1] The Pope's hope of a decisive war against the Crescent was raised by the news which came in January, 1583, of a great victory over the Turks by the Persians.[2] Under these circumstances Gregory had no hesitation, in spite of the opposition of the Sacred College, in yielding to the desire of Philip, and in granting, on January 24th, 1583, the legation of Portugal to the Cardinal Archduke Albert. The King of Spain showed his gratitude in May, 1583, by clearing the coasts of the States of the Church of pirates by means of his galleys.[3]

at Augsburg the readiness of the Pope for a league against the Turks; see HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 396 *seq.*; *cf.* 447; see BEZOLD in *Abhandlungen der Münchener Akad.*, Hist. Kl., XVII., 351, 378 *seq.* On August 31, 1582, Gregory said to L. Donato that it was not enough merely to defend themselves against the Turks, but that they must be attacked; see PIERLING, Bathry et Possevino, 211-14.

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 298 *seq.* When it was learned that the Italian league was only to be a weapon in the hands of the Spanish monarchy against France, Gregory abandoned it. "Alliances he said, must be formed against the infidels in general, and not against one particular nation, so as under this pretext to keep the French out of Italy. It was the duty of the Holy Father to care for the maintenance of peace, not only in Italy, but throughout Christendom, and for that reason he must remain neutral." See M. ZANE in Albèri, I., 5, 368. *Cf.* BEZOLD, *loc. cit.* 364.

[2] See KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 43; *Cf.* idem, Gregorius XIII. ren Persian politiikasta, in *Helsinki Hist. Aikakanshija*, 1908, 22-27.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 307 *seq.*, 355 *seq.*; THEINER, III., 470 *seq.*;

In June, 1583, Olivares himself brought forward the subject of a league against the Crescent.[1] Gregory had followed with close attention the war between Turkey and Persia which was still going on, and still saw, as he had always done, a natural ally in the Shah of Persia. During the summer of 1583 news reached Venice that the Turks were threatening the Venetian rule in Crete. In order to safeguard this important possession the Signoria resolved to take into its service Latino Orsini. During the course of his conferences with the Pope, the old plan of a great anti-Turkish league again came to the fore. Orsini was instructed to work for this end in Venice; it was the Pope's idea to win over first of all Philip II., then the Emperor Rudolph, who had already been granted 100,000 florins against the Turks,[2] and lastly the warlike King of Poland, Stephen Báthory. In order to preserve the absolutely necessary secrecy Gregory was prepared to go to Bologna in September, where the final arrangements could be made. The Pope's plan at first met with a favourable reception in Venice; but the French ambassador very soon succeeded in reviving the distrust felt by the Signoria of the intentions of Spain. Consequently the reply of the Venetians was a cold one, and the journey to Bologna had to be postponed. The Pope, however, did not abandon his design; above all, he hoped to win over Poland and Spain. On August 17th the nuncio in Poland, Bolognetti, received orders to begin negotiations with Báthory on a wide basis.[3] In Spain, in spite of the

PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 386 *seq.*, 489. How the corsairs continued as before to infest the coasts (*cf.* MAFFEI, II., 72) is clear from the *report of P. Strozzi, Rome, May 2, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] See PIERLING, La Russie, II., 242 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BEZOLD, *loc. cit.* 362, n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* SMOLKA, Project d'une ligue contre les Turcs en 1583, in *Anzeiger der Krakauer Akad.*, 1890, 50 *seqq.*, and BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory i plan Ligi, 288 *seqq.* As to the journey to Bologna, it was said in Rome in October that the Pope wished to go there to settle the question of the water-supply with Ferrara; see *Avviso di Roma of October 22, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 444, Vatican

fact that Taverna had made the most generous offers,[1] nothing had been accomplished, so that at the end of September the previous nuncio Sega was sent as envoy extraordinary to promote the war with Turkey as well as the expedition against England.

Sega, who was instructed at the same time to obtain the efficacious concurrence of Philip in subduing the apostate Gebhard Truchsess, Archbishop of Cologne, set out upon his journey at once, and reached Madrid on October 11th. A great disappointment awaited him. With regard to the affair of Cologne he received a promise that Alessandro Farnese would render assistance there, as far as the state of affairs

Library; *cf.* the *reports of Fr. Sporeno of October 28 and November 5, 1583, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. An *Avviso of October 29 informs us that 120,000 scudi were not sufficient for that journey An *Avviso states on November 2 that Gregory had ordered the streets to be repaired throughout Bologna; all Rome disapproved of the Pope's leaving the city (Urb. 1051, p. 448, 458, Vatican Library). On November 9 the journey seemed to have been given up (*ibid.* p. 468). But on November 23 Gregory XIII. again said that at the beginning of 1584 he would undertake the journey, and that by May 20 at latest he intended to be in his own native place. At the same time it was loudly proclaimed that a defensive alliance with Venice would be concluded there (*ibid.* p. 490). An *Avviso of December 3, 1583, states: "Il Papa non disse altro alli Conservatori di Roma che lo supplicarono à non voler partire di questa città per parte di tutto il suo popolo, solo che era sforzato doppo tant'anni del suo pontificato à visitar' il stato di s. Chiesa promettendo lora il presto suo ritorno, et che intanto de gli ordini et governi, che lasciarà à Romani, staranno molto allegri et sodisfatti" (*ibid.* 503). As the *Avvisi of 1584 state, the Curia was still kept for a long time in anxiety as to the projected journey (Urb. 1052). *Cf.* also Bezold, *loc. cit.* 365, and the *reports of Sporeno of January 8 and 14, February 18, March 3, 10 and 24, 1584, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. On September 26, 1584, an *Avviso di Roma announced that the Pope did not wish anyone to speak to him any more about the journey. Urb. 1052, p. 380, Vatican Library.

[1] See Kretzschmar, 98 *seq.*

in the Low Countries permitted. With regard to the alliance wfth Venice against the Turks, nothing but promises for the iuture were held out to him. Philip would not listen to the proposal that he should send a special envoy armed with full powers; with regard to the question of taking action against England, the reply was a decided negative.[1]

In spite of this disastrous turn of affairs, Gregory, in the following year, in his conversations with the ambassadors in Rome, and by means of his nuncios in Madrid and Venice, still insisted upon his plan of a league against the Turks, all the more so as the King of Poland seemed to be in agreement with his design.[2] In February, 1584, ambassadors were sent by the Pope to Persia and Ethiopia.[3] But Venice, whose chief anxiety was the preponderance of Spain,[4] did not show the slightest inclination to renew the league of 1570. It was thought in the city of the lagoons that the sole object of the whole plan was the formation of a defensive league of all the Italian states for the protection of the Spanish possessions in Italy. The Signoria therefore was not willing to give up its existing relations with the Porte. Spain on her part

[1] See the *relazione delli negotii trattati in Spagna da mons. di Piacenza quando fu rimandato al Re da Gregorio XIII. l'a. 1583, often found in manuscript, *e.g.* at Berlin, Royal Library, Mss. Ital. 29, p. 370 *seq.*; Munich, State Library, Ital. 133, p. 96 *seq.*; Rome, Papal Secret Archives, Borghese III., 129 D. *Cf.* the extracts given by GACHARD in the *Compte rendu de la Commiss. Royale d'hist.*, III., 4 (1864); KRETZSCHMAR, 101 *seq.*; 212 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 42; HINOJOSA, 306 *seq.*; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 488, 494, where use has been made of the separate reports of Sega and Taverna. See also the *report of Fr. Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, dated Rome, September 24, 1582, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] See SMOLKA, *loc. cit.* 53 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, III., 618; MAFFEI, II., 389. For the report of Giambattista Vecchietti, who was sent to Persia, see *English Hist. Review*, 1892, n. 26, p. 314 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* as to this "Ricordi del doge Niccolò da Ponte" written in 1583, in *Raccolta Veneta, Collez. di Docum.*, I. *ser.*, vol. 1, Venice 1866-67; *cf. Hist. Zeitschrift*, XXV., 211 *seq.*

stirred up Gregory's indignation at this resistance of the Venetian republic. As they were well informed in Madrid as to the mind of the Venetians, Granvelle was able quite safely to declare that his king was ready to enter into any sort of alliance against the infidels, since it would rest with him to appoint the commander-in-chief, and the Venetians would have to give security that they would not again unexpectedly abandon their allies as they had done in 1573. At the beginning of 1584 Olivares even received powers to conclude an alliance, for which reason the Pope granted an extension of the faculties of Cardinal Albert for an indefinite period.[1] How disgracefully the Spanish government had deceived the Pope, is clear from the fact that at the very moment when it was discussing an alliance against the Porte, its agent Marigliano was arranging a further extension of the armistice at Constantinople. Granvelle naturally disapproved of this, but this did not lead to any change of policy.[2]

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella 407 *seqq.* Here too are the complaints of Gregory XIII. to Priuli about Venice. As to this note how Priuli in his report (ALBÈRI II. 4, 304) puts the matter in a quite contrary sense.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 409. The question of jurisdiction in the meantime became more acute. On July 28, 1584, *Odescalchi reports the irritation of Gregory XIII. at the usurpations of the Viceroy of Naples in ecclesiastical liberties. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also THEINER, III., 614. In November, 1584, Granvelle, for political reasons (the attitude of the Pope with regard to the intentions of Philip II. towards France) advised an accommodation; see PHILIPPSON, 412. On October 20, 1584, Gregory XIII. granted to Philip II. rather wider powers for the adjustment of the differences between bishops, chapters and other ecclesiastical bodies, which, however, Spain at once amplified at will; See HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 30; *cf. ibid.* 29, the opposition of Gregory XIII. to the intervention of a royal envoy at the council of Toledo (see also THEINER, III., 632). The reasons for Philip's dissatisfaction sprang partly from these questions, partly from the fact that he had not been successful in obtaining from the Holy See a slavish submission to his political designs, and lastly from

Even though Gregory XIII., who already thought that he had won over Spain to the league against the Turks,[1] was very soon obliged definitely to abandon this hope,[2] he still hoped to win over the King of Spain to an undertaking against the Queen of England. In this matter, where the interests of both of them were identical, though in other things they were so divergent, it seemed to him that he really would at last attain a definite result.

the efforts of the Pope to limit more and more the influence of the Spanish Inquisition rather than increase it; see M. ZANE in Albèri, I., 5, 367 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 6, 370 *seq.*; THEINER, III., 360. How Philip II. always preferred the supposed interests of the state to the true ones of the Church, is clear from his efforts after the death of Cardinal Borromeo to raise as weak a man as possible to the see of Milan, as to which more exact details are given in the *Avvisi di Roma of November 10 and 24, 1584 (Urb. 1052, p. 442, 463, Vatican Library). For the usurpations of the rights of the Church which were practised at Besançon by the Spanish officials, *cf. Nuntiaturberichte* ed. by SCHELLHASS, V., lxxxiv., 358, 435. The question of the "ius nominandi et le provisioni per le chiese et monasterii di Sicilia da Clemente VII. ad vitam tantum concesso" went to such lengths that in 1582, 1583 and 1584 the vacancies were not filled: see *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Finally an agreement was reached by Gregory XIII. declaring that he would grant the right *hac vice tantum*; see *report of Capilupi of February 11, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Political sagacity and jealousy of Venice played their part in leading Philip II. to take the part of Gregory XIII. in the dispute about Aquileia (see *supra* p. 341, n. 2); see PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 412.

[1] See BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory i plan Ligi, 312; *ibid.* 317 *seq.* for the abortive negotiations with the King of Poland.

[2] That Gregory XIII. wished for war against the Turks, later as well as before, is shown by Fr. Sporeno in his *report of June 30, 1584, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. A. Komulowič addressed to Gregory XIII. in December, 1584, on the strength of what he had observed, an invitation to a war against the Turks, published in FERMENDŽIN, 337 *seq.*

CHAPTER X.

State of Religion in England.—Edmund Campion.

At the time when Gregory XIII. ascended the throne, it seemed as though the fate of the Catholic Church in England were sealed. Priests could no longer be ordained, and those who still remained must soon die out. The Catholics, and especially the rising generation, cut off from their teachers and compelled by law to attend the Protestant services, were falling more and more under the influence of the new religious doctrines; Burghley and Elizabeth might well believe that the moment was at hand when, with the last of the Catholics, the waning faith of ancient England would be finally extinguished.

It was principally due to the foresight and the spirit of self-sacrifice of a remarkable and great man, the future Cardinal William Allen,[1] that this disastrous fate was averted. Born in 1532 in the county of Lancaster, Allen, at the time when Elizabeth ascended the throne, had attained to high honours and dignities in the University of Oxford; in 1561 he fled to the Netherlands on account of the intolerable religious persecution of the new queen. When he came back to his own country in the following year, for reasons of health, in spite of the fact that he was not yet a priest, he became the guide and counsellor of many of his weaker and hesitating fellow-countrymen; at the same time he had an opportunity of realizing from his own experience the ignorance and divisions that existed among the English Catholics of that time. Thereupon, from a hiding place in the house of the Duke of Norfolk,

[1] Th. Franc. Knox, Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen, London, 1882; Vita, by Nic. Fitzherbert (Rome, 1608), Bellesheim (Mayence, 1885); B. Camm, William Cardinal Allen, Founder of the Seminaries, London, 1909; M. Haile, An Elizabethan Cardinal, William Allen, London, 1914.

Allen devoted himself above all to the composition of polemical writings, until, three years later, the fateful moment arrived when he was forced once more to seek refuge in Flanders. In an edict issued by Elizabeth in 1567 his name appears in the first place among the priests whose arrest was demanded of the sheriff of Lancashire.[1]

It was of the greatest importance for Allen that at that time he made the acquaintance of Jean Vendeville, the future Bishop of Tournai, who was then professor of Canon Law at the University of Douai.[2] Filled with burning zeal for the maintenance of the Catholic Church and full of plans for that object, in 1567 Vendeville, accompanied by Allen, went to Rome to win over the Pope to his views, though without meeting with much encouragement from Pius V. Allen then suggested to his friend the establishment at Douai of a college for the benefit of the English Catholics. The original purpose of this establishment was to afford an asylum, and the opportunity of study at the university to Catholics who had escaped from England, but very soon a second purpose became even more important, namely, the training of young priests for England. At first Allen had thought less of the work of the mission than was the case later on. Like many of his fellow-countrymen, he clung rather to the hope that with a change of the crown the whole of England might once more be recovered for the Church! In that case it would be necessary that as large a number of priests as possible should be ready to take possession of the parishes.[3]

On September 29th, 1568, in a hired house, were made the first beginnings of the college, which was afterwards to exercise so great an influence.[4] The Benedictine abbots of Anchin, Marchiennes and Arras contributed largely to its maintenance. Allen, who had been given a professorship

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 201.

[2] Alexis Possoz, Msgr. Jean Vendeville, Évêque de Tournay 1587-92, Lille, 1862. Bellesheim, Allen, 22 *seq.*

[3] Bellesheim, 25 *seq.*; Pollen, English Catholics, 244 *seqq.*, 256 *seqq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 243.

[4] Bellesheim, 33.

at Douai in 1571, devoted the whole of his salary to the institute, and a legacy made it possible for him to obtain for it a house of its own.[1] As early as 1568 Pius V. gave his approval to the college and in the same year he appointed Allen as superior of the English mission; Gregory XIII. confirmed both these acts, and further increased Allen's powers.[2]

Among the English Catholics the establishment of Allen's seminary met with warm approval. A number of young men belonging to the best families asked to be received there; older men, too, and even some ministers who wished to be reconciled to the Church joined their number. Allen bears emphatic witness to their zeal for their studies and their faithful observance of Catholic morals and discipline.[3] In 1574 the seminary was able to send its first priests to England.[4] By 1579 at many as 100 had gone to labour in their country,[5] and by 1610 135 of the students of the institute had sealed their mission with their blood.[6]

In 1578 political considerations had necessitated the removal of the seminary to Rheims.[7] but in 1593 it returned to Douai, and continued to supply England with excellent priests until the time of its destruction during the French Revolution.

While it was at Rheims the seminary undertook, in 1582, the publication of an important literary work: a translation into English of the New Testament, to which in 1610 was added

[1] *Ibid.* 33, 36, 37.

[2] *Ibid.* 36, 38. Bull of January 21, 1582, Bull. Rom., VIII., 383 *seq.*; *cf.* the brief of August 30, 1575, in KNOX, Letters, etc., 27.

[3] Allen to Cardinal Galli, June 13, 1575, in THEINER, 1575, n. 114 (II., 134 *seq.*).

[4] BELLESHEIM, 40.

[5] *Ibid.* 43.

[6] Note *ibid.* 284-288.

[7] *Ibid.* 55 *seqq.*; LECHAT, 135 *seqq.* *Seminarii Pontificii Anglorum apud Remenses gesta a festo SS. Trinitatis a 1579 usque ad festum S. Mariae Magdalenae 1580 iul. 22, Ambrosian Library, Milan, D. 181.

that of the Old Testament. This work was intended principally to serve the purposes of religious controversy; in view of the Protestant translations, which were permeated by the spirit of the new religion, there was need of a Bible of whose dogmatic soundness the Catholics could feel assured: above all, the New Testament was required for the pious use of Catholics.[1]

That great champion of the seminaries, Gregory XIII., had extended to Allen and his institute his favour and support. At a time when the college at Douai had for a long time been maintained with extraordinary difficulty amid the hardships and pressure of the times, the Pope came to its assistance with a monthly contribution of 100 gold crowns.[2] which was soon

[1] See BELLESHEIM, 87 *seqq.*; *cf.* 49; B. WARD in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, V., 140; WISEMAN in the *Abhandlungen uber verschiedene Gegenstande*, I., Ratisbon, 1584, 61 *seqq.*; NEWMAN, Tracts theological and ecclesiastical, London, 1874, 359. The fidelity of the translation and its influence on the Authorized Version of James I. in 1611 is also recognised by the Protestants; *cf.* JAMES G. CARLETON, The part of Rheims in the making of the English Bible, Oxford, 1902. At first the translation was tolerated by the English government, but later on because of the notes, and because it contained an appended writing of Martin and disclosed "haereticorum versionum foedissimas ipsisque adversariis pudendas corruptelas" even Protestants were thrown into prison if the Rheims version was found in their possession (Allen to Aggazari, March 16, 1583). The Catholic version brought about the conversion of some Protestants (Persons to Agazzari, August 24, 1583, in Theiner, 1583, n. 85, III., 475). For the literary activity of the English exiles see POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 106 *seqq.* According to Sanders (died 1581) 20,000 Catholic books were secretly sold in England. "Books opened the way," said Allen, *ibid.* 111.

[2] On April 15, 1575, in BELLESHEIM, 41. Letter of thanks from Allen and the students of the college to Cardinal Galli, June 13, 1575, in THEINER, n. 114 (II., 134 *seq.*). The subsidy was granted especially at the recommendation of the General of the Jesuits, Mercurian (SACCHINUS, P. IV., l. 7, n. 13). For the support given by the Jesuits to the work of Allen *cf.* the report of Cardinal Sega of the visitation of the English College in Rome in 1596, in FOLEY, VI., 5.

raised to 150.[1] The Pope helped its transference to Rheims by a gift of 500 gold crowns, at the same time recommending the college to the archbishop and chapter of Rheims, and to his nuncio in Paris.[2] He further ordered a collection to be made throughout the Christian world,[3] which was made in Rome by members of the aristocracy, and found contributors in Naples, France, Poland and Germany, especially the Duke of Bavaria, William V.[4] Allen hailed the Pope as the founder of the English College at Douai.[5] Philip II. too promised the seminary an annual subsidy of 2,000 ducats.[6] Of no less importance than the financial aid given to Allen's institute was the fact that the Pope interested himself in the college by means of his nuncio, as the English government tried in every way to raise suspicion at the French court against this establishment which it hated so much, and to bring about the expulsion of the English students.[7]

[1] Bellesheim, 93.

[2] Bellesheim, 63 *seq.* Gregory to the archbishop of Rheims, May 18, 1578, in Theiner, 1578, n. 85 (II., 434 *seq.*). Galli to Allen, May 19, 1578, *ibid.* 435.

[3] January 21, 1582, Bull. Rom., VIII., 383.

[4] Bellesheim, 93.

[5] Quod [seminarium] factum est ab hominibus pauperibus, qui nullas habebant opes, stetitque totum biennium sine ullo certo subsidio . . . donec SS. D. N. . . . pensione centum aureorum, additis postea quinquaginta menstruis, nos benignissime donavit, ut proinde merito non modo collegii fundator, sed tanti boni, quod ex eo secutum est, author sit et nuncupetur. Allen to Galli, January 16, 1585, in Theiner, 1585, n. 19 (III., 633 *seq.*).

[6] Allen to Galli, March 9, 1583, *ibid.* 1583 n. 86 (III. 477).

[7] *[Allen] che per le guerre fu constretto transferirsi a Rens dove dalla regina d'Inghilterra fu cercato e procurato per ogni via di persuadere al Re di Francia che non lo ricevesse et non ve lo comportasse dando taccia a quei poveri religiosi di seduttori et mettendo in consideratione a S. M^tà Christ^a, che per ragione di stato doveva scacciarli potendo cosi facilmente sovvertire et sollevare contra di lei quelli populi soto titulo et colore di religione et di studenti ; ma furono difesi dall' autorità di S. S^tà

Even greater are the services of Gregory to the English College in Rome. The first move towards its establishment came from the Welshman, Owen Lewis,[1] whose influence had not been without its importance in the foundation of the college at Douai.[2] Lewis, who was archdeacon of Cambrai, had been sent by his archbishop to the Curia in connexion with a lawsuit. Supported by the recommendation of Bishop Goldwell of St. Asaph, who was living in Rome as an exile, and by his relations with the adventurer Stukely, whose scheme for the liberation of Ireland had not yet been shown to be a chimera, Lewis found high favour with the Pope; he became apostolic referendary, and all English matters passed through his hands.[3] Through the Datary, Contarelli, he suggested to the Pope to receive in Rome, among the chaplains of the ancient English hospice for pilgrims, certain young men who were to devote themselves to study, and afterwards be employed on the English mission. Gregory XIII. gladly fell in with this proposal. Allen, who was in Rome in 1576, was equally anxious to lighten the burden of the college at Douai, which was already overcrowded, by the foundation

con li continui officii che vivamente faceva il suddetto suo nuntio in maniera che et S.M^{tà} rest^{ò} chiara che era mera persecutione di quella donna et essi assicurati che non riceverebbono dispiacere. Memorie di Dandino, Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] *" Brevis narratio de origine et progressu collegii Anglicani " Vat. 3494, p. 4 *seqq.* Vatican Library, used by SACCHINI (P. IV., l. 7, n. 20 *seqq.*), BELLESHEIM (109 *seqq.*), *Meyer* (82 *seqq.*). *Cf.* the report of Cardinal Sega of his visitation of the English College in 1585, in MEYER, 428-454; Statutes of the College, *ibid.* 418 *seqq.*, 444 *seqq.* For recent literature see *supra*, p. 243, n. 4).

[2] " In hoc seminario (that of Douai) inchoando summus et suasor et adiutor existit." Allen to Galli, June 13, 1575, in THEINER, 1575, n. 114 (II., 135).

[3] *" Cui cum Gregorius praebere aures inciperet, ille autem Archdiaconum in intimam sibi amicitiam accepisset, factum est, ut hac occasione singula fere deinde, quae ad Angliam aut Hiberniam pertinerent, ad Archidiaconum pro illo tempore Pontifici referrentur." *Brevis narratio, loc. cit.*

of an institute of the kind, and on his return, in the same year 1576, he sent some of his students there. Lewis, in agreement with the superior of the English hospice for pilgrims, his fellow-countryman Maurice Clenock, arranged that the chaplains of the hospice should be gradually suppressed, and their places filled by the students. The administration and direction was settled with the help of two Jesuits.[1] Very soon the new seminary received about 40 students, of whom eight were Welshmen.

The ancient rivalry between Englishmen of Celtic and Saxon stock soon led, even in Rome, to such great dissensions that nothing but the personal intervention of Gregory was able to restore peace in the seminary. The Welshman Lewis had entrusted the direction of the college to his fellow-countryman Clenock, but very soon complaint after complaint was made of the predominance of the Celts. Against Lewis was urged his friendship with the profligate Stukely, and his partiality for his own compatriots;[2] the aged Clenock, who was quite inexperienced in the direction of seminaries, was also attacked on the ground that he favoured the few Celts among his students, and ignored the rest. Things went so far that 33 English students had recourse to the Cardinal Protector, Morone, with a formal complaint, and through the maestro di camera Bianchetti to the Pope himself declaring that they would rather leave the seminary in a body than remain any longer subject to Clenock, and that the direction of the college should be entrusted to the Jesuits. Attempts

[1] Sacchinus, P. IV., l. 7, n. 16. Allen would have liked the Jesuits to have taken over the college altogether; *cf.* his letter of October 26, 1578, *ibid.* n. 18 *seq.*

[2] "quod homini tam dissolutis moribus ac perditae vitae quam erat Stukleus ipse sacerdos tam intimus esset." (*Brevis narratio, loc. cit.*). Cardinal Sega in his report of the visitation of the English College in 1596, in Foley, VI., 6 *seq.*, passes a very unfavourable judgment on the influence of Lewis. According to Sega, Lewis was to blame for all the disorders of the college. Gregory XIII. ordered him on this account to leave Rome, *ibid.* 8.

at meditation, especially on the part of Speciani, the secretary of the Congregation of Bishops, proved unavailing; the students remained firm in their demands. On the other hand, the Jesuits refused the charge offered to them, and in the second General Congregation of 1565, they had decided against the acceptance of clerical seminaries.[1] Cardinal Morone advised the Pope to give the students the plain choice between submission and expulsion. The result was that on March 1st, 1579, 33 Englishmen left the college in a body and took refuge in the private house of one of their fellow-countrymen, with a view to returning to their own country.

Such a state of affairs in the case of young men who were otherwise all that was good, and who wished to serve the Church at the risk of their lives, aroused general sympathy in Rome for the sufferers. Almost all the Lenten preachers recommended the English seminarists to the generosity of their hearers. Gregory took upon himself the personal task of finding a remedy. He summoned the malcontents to his presence, listened kindly to their complaints and wishes, and promised to help them. They were ordered to return publicly to the college, preceded by the Papal maestro di camera, and the Jesuits received orders to undertake the direction of the college. On April 23rd, 1579, Gregory issued a bull in which the college was confirmed and endowed with rich revenues.[2] A visit which the Pope paid to the institute on July 22nd, 1579, was a further proof of his good-will.[3]

[1] December 18 (Institutum S.J. II., Florence, 1893, 193).

[2] Bull. Rom., VIII., 208 *seq.*

[3] *Avviso di Roma of July 22, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 243, Vatican Library. *Il giorno di S. M. Maddalena visitò [Gregory XIII.] il collegio Inglese et fu recitata una oratione a S. S^{tà} latina et molto dotta con alcuni versi latini bellissimi, al qual collegio s' è mostrato molto liberale havendoli sin ad hora fatto conferire 300 ducati il mese, et veramente S.S^{tà} merita in questa grandissima laude come in molte altre parti rare, che ha eretti dieci collegi in varie parti del mondo, cioè: uno in Fiandra, uno in Boemia, uno in Prussia, uno in Vienna et uno in Olmutz, et dieci qua in Roma, nelli quali spende ogni anno più di 40 mille ducati d'oro. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua, July 25, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

At the request of the students themselves an oath was imposed upon the seminarists by which they bound themselves to enter the ecclesiastical state, to receive sacred orders, and on the completion of their studies, to work for the care of souls.[1] All the students of English birth joyfully took this oath. On the other hand the Welshmen, who followed Lewis, for the most part refused, and accordingly left the establishment.

Even so, however, the difficulties had not yet reached their end. Opposition was also raised against the Jesuits in their turn by the seminarists, so that on two occasions Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. were obliged to order an apostolic visitation.

In spite of these passing trials, the English College in Rome also produced great fruit. Down to the time of the French Revolution it trained 1,341 priests for its own country, 42 of whom met with a violent death in the exercise of their ministry, or suffered imprisonment and exile.[2] Both the seminaries, that at Douai and that at Rome, must be an object of admiration to the impartial historian. Speaking generally, at the end of the middle ages the clergy had fallen into a degraded state ; to the religious innovators they seemed to be fit for nothing but a shameful disappearance, and even

[1] *Commissarios quosdam designavit [Gregorius XIII.] qui prima collegii initia formarent, quique examinato cuiusque scholaris proposito unicuique iuramentum proponerent (hoc enim Angli acerrime postulaverant), quo quisque se accingeret ad vitam ecclesiasticam agendam et post absoluta literarum studia ordinesque sacros susceptos, ad redeundum in patriam ad fidem catholicam proseminandam, quocunque vitae vel necis periculo posthabito (*Brevis narratio*, Vat. 3494, Vatican Library, According to the report of the visitation of Sega in 1596, Cardinal Morone, under the influence of Lewis, had allowed the students to remain at the college as long as they liked. Lewis had worked to obtain this in favour of his own fellow-countrymen, some of whom desired nothing less than to face the dangers of the English mission. But this very permission so irritated the English students that they left the college. FOLEY, VI. 6-7. The formula of the oath, *ibid.* 127.

[2] List *ibid.* 125 *seq.* ; BELLESHEIM, 124.

many Catholics despaired of their ever being restored to the perfection of earlier days. But now, all of a sudden and quite unexpectedly, there sprang up so many new Orders, and so many seminaries after the mind of the Council of Trent, and a new generation of priests who proved themselves fit for the most exalted tasks, and displayed such a moral grandeur, and such a spirit of self-sacrifice, that the Protestant body, even though the other was but in its first stage of development, was unable, even distantly, to compare any of their own ministers with them.[1] Even the most hardened pessimist could not fail to be convinced that in the hated priesthood of the Catholic Church, there lay hidden forces, like sparks among the ashes, which only needed to be revived in order to spring up immediately into new and splendid fire.

The new seminaries were entirely based upon the spirit of sacrifice, both among the founders and the students. "Had we been obliged," wrote Allen, "to measure our undertaking by the means at our disposal, our seminary could never have come into existence. Its founders were poor men without

[1] In 1591 Persons wrote: "Has history, since the memory of man, anything more wonderful to tell than of youths nobly born and wealthy for the most part, who could live quietly and comfortably at home, and who solely from zeal for the faith have left parents and friends, and all that is dear to them in this life in order to go into voluntary exile, with such greatness of soul and steadfastness that they fear neither spies nor prisons, neither executioner nor instruments of torture for the sake of religion and the salvation of souls. They could have gained honour and consideration in the anglican church; in the career they have chosen, none of these things fall to their lot. . . . They are not descended from the dregs of mankind like your ministers of the Word, but frequently from noble families and wealthy parents, and I venture to say that in the three English seminaries of Rome, Rheims and Valladolid, there are more flowers of nobility than among all your clergy at home." In MEYER, 352 *seq.* (Engl. transl.). [For the original Latin of this passage, see the work by Persons (under the pseud. *Philopater*): Elizabethæ Angliæ Reg. haeresim Calvin. propugnantis . . . edictum . . . promulgatum, 29 November, 1591. Editor's note.]

means, and for two years the institute dragged on its existence without any support."[1] Even later on the pecuniary help given by Gregory XIII. was only sufficient for 40 students, whereas in 1582 the seminary at Rheims alone numbered 120. "Thirty of our number," Allen wrote, "live on one crown a month, and a few contributions from our table, but we refuse to give up the struggle."[2] In spite of this, young men, often of the best families, continued to come in such numbers that the accommodation of the college was insufficient; and the arrivals continued, in spite of the fact that life under the strict discipline of the seminary meant for the independent spirit of Englishmen, and for men of strong and determined character, such as was called for by the vocation of the missionary priest, a hard sacrifice, and that they all knew well the kind of life that awaited them in England. "I could describe to you," wrote Allen to a friend, "the sufferings that they have to undergo during their night journeys, and the perils that threaten them from robbers and false brethren; their hiding in tiny rooms or rather cells, where they must remain without light or fire, lest they should be betrayed to the enemy. In the middle of the night they are often roused and forced to fly because the spies are coming to arrest them."[3] Many were pronouncing their own death sentence when they entered one of the seminaries, and bound themselves expressly by oath to the English mission. But for all their labours and sufferings, martyrdom was the reward they sought, and that, despite a long life of sacrifice and pain, could never be bought at too great a price, while the harvest they reaped made up for all their privations. "Day by day," wrote Allen again, "many return to the faith, and give up their attendance at Protestant worship."[4] Even their arrest

[1] BELLESHEIM 95.

[2] *Ibid.* 94 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid* 52.

[4] *Ibid.* 54. The reports of the English bishops in the summer of 1577 report generally that the "Papists do marvellously increase in number and obstinacy." FRERE, 213. Frere himself writes: "There can be little doubt that the boast of the Romanists

did not put an end to the labours of the missionaries; in one prison in London alone we are informed by Allen,[1] there were 24 priests; "they receive visits from Catholics who wish to speak to them or to go to confession. A great deal of work is done there, sometimes as much as if the priests had been at liberty.[2] Thus those persons who think that we ought to keep our men for better times are confounded. If nothing else happened this would at any rate have the effect of countless souls being lost every day, and of all hope for the future being extinguished. We must not merely look forward to better times, we must bring them about." From the two colleges, he goes on to say, 230 priests have so far been sent out, of whom 12 had died as martyrs during the last year, and three during the last few months. There are 40 of them in prison, who are still able, however, to labour for the Church. It is very encouraging that of this great number, in spite of

that their cause was reviving was a true one." *Ibid.* 215. Cardinal Galli wrote to the nuncio in Spain, Taverna, on April 29 (May 9), 1583: "Per il solo mezo di questo collegio (of Rheims) si puo dire che se siano conservate sin hora le reliquie de la religione cattolica in Inghilterra" (in KRETZSCHMAR, 88, n. 3, who for that reason is of opinion (*ibid.*) that the seminary was "the most dangerous enemy of England!"). That "daily" in spite of all the persecutions the number of the Catholics increased owing to the labours of the seminary priests, is attested also by Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London, on December 28, 1579, and June 26, 1580. Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. IV., 447, 493. The first passage also in SPILLMANN, II., 198.

[1] *Letter of March 16, 1583, to the rector of the English College in Rome. Reg. 2023, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, 81 *seqq.*

[2] Persons also wrote from Paris to Agazzari in Rome, August 24, 1583, that there were 30 priests in prison at Hull, and 26 in the Marshalsea in London. Almost all of them could say mass every day, and in other ways were more useful in prison than at liberty, "ad hos enim, cum certi constantesque in eodem loco sint, multi possunt accedere, qui alios sacerdotes reperire non possunt." THEINER, 1582, n. 85 (III., 475).

the threats and promises of their enemies, not one has so far proved himself a weakling; only two have behaved in a blameworthy manner, and they have repented after their liberation. Thus so far no member of the two colleges has given scandal, although there is no one to watch over them, and each one must be guided by his own conscience alone. Their work was made easier by the fact that the great mass of the English people was still deeply religious. If a mass does not last at least an hour, it is stated in a letter of the time,[1] there is much discontent, and if seven or eight masses should be celebrated one after the other, the same people remain to hear them all. When a bishop, who has been consecrated in Rome for Ireland, stayed on his way in England, Catholics came from all parts with great devotion to ask for the sacrament of confirmation, "which among us has always been held in greater veneration than anywhere else in the world," or even for the sake of receiving his blessing, or to see once more a bishop of the true Church.[2]

No one saw with greater satisfaction than Allen this improvement in the state of affairs in England. But not yet satisfied with all that he had accomplished, this indefatigable man planned to add yet another to the services which he had rendered to his country, when in 1579, on the occasion of a visit paid by him to Gregory XIII. in Rome, he suggested that the Jesuits should be sent to England. The General of the Jesuits, Mercurian, was in a position to fall in with this suggestion, as he had since 1575 received a certain number of Englishmen into the Order. He accordingly assigned two Jesuits for the English mission, Edmund Campion and Robert Persons, to whom he attached a lay-brother.[3] Ten secular priests and students were joined to their company.[4] Even the aged Bishop of St. Asaph, Goldwell, again thought of exchanging

[1] Persons to Agazzari, November 17, 1580, in FOLEY, III., 666.

[2] *Allen to Agazzari, March 16, 1583, Reg. 2022, Vatican Library.

[3] SACCHINUS, P. IV. l. 8, n. 83 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 248 *seq.*

his long exile in Rome for the dangers of his own country ;[1] Mercurian gave detailed instructions to his subjects as to their behaviour in England, and recommended to them, in addition to a life of virtue and piety, above all caution and prudence, as they would have to live among crafty enemies, who were experienced in all worldly matters and were quite without conscience, and he forbade them to take any part in political questions. With regard to the queen, they were not to commit themselves to any views, except in the presence of sincere and tried Catholics. When the instructions were renewed in 1581 even this exception was no longer allowed, and all adverse criticism of the queen was absolutely forbidden.[2]

Special difficulties were brought upon the missionaries by the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth, because this not only inflicted excommunication upon the queen, but forbade the English Catholics to obey her.[3] It was clear, however, from the bull itself that this prohibition was only to take effect under certain circumstances which no longer existed.

[1] Campion in FOLEY, III., 21.

[2] Non se immisceant negotiis statuum neque huc scribant res novas ad status pertinentes, atque illic [in England] etiam neque ipsi sermonem iniiciant aut ab aliis iniectum admittant contra reginam, nisi forte apud eos quos insigniter fideles et longo tempore probatos habuerint, ac quidem tunc etiam non sine magna causa. MEYER, 119. POLLEN *The Month*, IC. (1902), 293. *Cf.* SIMPSON, 99 *seq.* SPILLMANN, II., 203.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 214 *seqq.* The scruples of the English Catholics about the bull of excommunication were reflected in the questions addressed (in the first days of Gregory XIII.) to a theologian and the answers made to them (published by CREIGHTON in the *English Historical Review*, VII. [1892], 84 *seq.*, *cf.* MEYER, 114 n.). This theologian asked for a Papal declaration concerning the bull, though even without this he decided that the bull of Pius V. laid no burden upon Catholics. It would seem that Gregory XIII. a short time before was of a different opinion. According to an *Avviso di Roma of February 20, 1580 (Urb. 1048, p. 24, Vatican Library), Bonelli had more than 500 copies of the excommunication of the queen printed for distribution at the Papal court, and among the ambassadors of the princes.

To allay the anxiety of conscience of scrupulous Catholics Campion and Persons begged the Pope expressly to declare that the bull bound Elizabeth and her adherents, but that so long as the present state of affairs existed it had no binding force upon Catholics, until the bull could be publicly put into force. On April 14th, 1580, Gregory XIII. acceded to this request, and his declaration was included in the list of faculties[1] which the Pope granted to the two Jesuits on that date.

A few days later the missionaries set out from Rome.[2] While they were still on their way they learned that their coming was known in England and that the ports were being strictly watched.[3] For this reason Persons went on ahead, and reached London disguised as an officer. Campion, on the other hand, who was travelling in the guise of a jeweller, was very nearly arrested as he set foot on English soil.[4] The octogenarian Bishop Goldwell, like his fellow-countryman Morton, were persuaded at Rheims that their country was no longer their proper sphere ;[5] Goldwell died in Rome in 1585, the last surviving member of the ancient hierarchy.[3]

[1] Published in MEYER, 422. In the list of the faculties it is stated : " Petatur a S.D.N. explicatio [sententiae] declaratoriae per Pium V. contra Elizabetham et ei adhaerentes, quam catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo : ut obliget semper illam et haereticos, catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum, quando publica eiusdem bullae executio fieri poterit." (Meyer 424). Par. 15: "Has praedictas gratias concessit SS. Pontifex patribus Roberto Personio et Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis die 14 Aprili, 1580, presente patre Oliverio Manareo Assistente." (*Ibid.* 425). *Cf.* POLLEN, English Catholics, 290 *seqq.*

[2] For the journey see POLLEN in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 243-264.

[3] The English ambassador in Paris sent news of this. Priuli on February 23, 1580, in BROWN, VII., n. 794.

[4] *Cf.* his letter to the General of the Order (about November) in 1580, in FOLEY, VI., 671.

[5] Goldwell to Gregory XIII., Rheims, July 13, 1580, in THEINER, III., 700.

[6] BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-Polit. Blätter*, LXXX. (1877, 962-971).

The remaining missionaries crossed the Channel in small parties from the northern ports of France, but by the beginning of the winter of 1580 they were all, with five of the students of the Roman seminary, in prison.[1] Of the three priests who had joined them, two had been recognized as they were landing.[2]

On account of the great number of spies the missionaries would not have been able to attempt any spiritual work if loyal friends had not helped them. Even before 1580 there were in England a number of noble-hearted laymen who devoted their persons and their property entirely to the Catholic cause, reducing their own requirements to bare necessities.[3] In London, Persons at once repaired to the Marshalsea prison to Thomas Pound, a gentleman who was in prison for the Catholic cause. Pound told him of one of this body of laymen, George Gilbert, who was ready to face any sacrifice, and who furnished Persons with clothing, a horse and ample funds, and accompanied him upon all his journeys in England, introducing him to the Catholics, sometimes in the garb of a gentleman, and sometimes in the livery of a serving man. Campion was also provided for by Gilbert in the same way, and he was accompanied by another layman.[4]

[1] SPILLMANN, II., 267.

[2] *Ibid.* 229.

[3] Cum in Anglia quidam, tam sacerdotes quam alii vitam apostolicam imitantes, statuerint apud se soli animarum saluti incumbere et reductioni haereticorum, et ut hoc melius faciant, decreverint, victu et vestitu aliisque rebus necessariis ad statum suum contenti esse, et quod supererit de bonis suis in commune subsidium conferre, eleemosinasque ad hoc commune subsidium non solum per se, verum etiam per alios procurare aliisque modis reductionem Angliae promovere, dignetur V. Sanctitas horum hominum pium approbare. . . . Petition of Persons and Campion to Gregory XIII., n. 12, in MEYER, 424. Simpson has taken it for granted without proof that these priests and laymen were formally organized as a "sodality"; see POLLEN in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 592-599.

[4] For Gilbert see FOLEY, VI., 658-704. All his property was confiscated by the government; he escaped to Rome, where he died in 1583 as a Jesuit.

Under the guidance of these companions the two Jesuits, often dressed as gentlemen, began a series of dangerous journeys in search of Catholics. "Almost every day," wrote Campion,[1] "I pass through some part of the country, and with indescribably great results. As I ride I think over my discourse, to which I give the finishing touches after I have entered a house. Then I talk with those who come to me, or hear confessions. In the morning after mass I deliver my discourse; I am listened to with the greatest attention, and large numbers receive the sacraments, in the administration of which we are assisted by the priests whom we meet with everywhere. . . . We cannot for long escape from the hands of the heretics, since our enemies have too many spies and too many traps. I have to make use of the most extravagant disguises, which I change as often as I do my name. I receive letters to read which open with the words: Campion has been arrested. This song has been so often repeated, and is repeated wherever I go, that through constant fear I have forgotten to be afraid." The danger to priests as well as to all Catholics steadily increased. The report of an unknown priest, in July, 1581,[2] describes the secret meetings of the Catholics; how they sat together joyfully at table and conversed of the faith and pious subjects, and how suddenly a knocking would be heard at the door, as though a persecutor stood without. All spring to their feet and stand listening "like a wild beast that scents the hunter; no one makes the slightest sound until the servants report what is the matter, and then, for the most part, the tension ends in laughter." Priests therefore, could not stay for long in any one house.[3] They were received first of all as unknown strangers, and were then taken to a room in the interior of the house where all fell on their knees and asked for the priest's blessing. In the evening of the same day all prepared for confession, and early in the morning there was mass and communion; after a

[1] To Mercurian, probably on November 17, 1580, in SACCHINUS, P. IV., l. 8, n. 128; FOLEY, III., 671 *seq.*

[2] In FOLEY, III., 666.

[3] *Ibid.* 665.

sermon the priest gave his blessing a second time and generally took his departure as soon as possible, because to stop long anywhere was dangerous. In this way Persons in the course of a long tour from west to east passed through the counties of Northampton, Derby, Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, while Campion started from Oxford, and went in the opposite direction.[1]

What so often happens at the commencement of a new Order, when it is in the vigour of its youth, though the historian cannot fully explain it, took place now in the case of the first steps taken by the Society of Jesus on English soil. The two Jesuits and their companions succeeded in accomplishing in a short time what many others had not been able to do in the course of long years, and they infused into the English Catholics such steadfastness as to inaugurate a new period in their fortunes, which was of the greatest importance for the preservation of the Catholic faith in England. Of course, the activity and zeal of the seminary priests had prepared the way for this.[2]

The visible results obtained by the two missionaries were certainly wonderful. According to their instructions they were not to approach professed Protestants ;[3] but the number of waverers and doubters who became fervent Catholics in the course of one year must have been 10,000 or even 20,000,[4] while the following years brought an ever increasing harvest.[5]

[1] POLLEN in *The Month*, CXV. (1910), 50.

[2] POLLEN (*ibid.* IC. [1902], 292) wrote as follows concerning the two Jesuits and their companions : "They inspired the whole body of Catholics with a fervour and courage which no subsequent persecution was able to quench. The counter-Reformation had gained one of the most brilliant of its successes." According to MEYER too (109) the beginning of the Jesuit missions was the most important epoch in the history of English Catholicism.

[3] SIMPSON, 99 *seq.* ; SPILLMANN, II., 203.

[4] MEYER, 49.

[5] Numerus credentium mirifice augetur et ex infensissimis hostibus fleximus multos, convertimus nonnullos. Persons to Gregory XIII. on June 24, 1582, in THEINER, 1582, n. 58 (III., 367). Vix est credibile, quod narrant modo de augmento Catholic-

This result may partly be explained by the extraordinary reputation which preceded the two Jesuits. The English seminaries on the continent were looked upon as the outcome of the spirit of the Society of Jesus; Allen himself expressed this view and celebrated in the most laudatory way the services of the Jesuits to the institution which he had established.[1] The two priests, Thomas Wodehouse (died 1573) and John Nelson (died 1578), who were put to death for their faith, begged in prison as a great favour to be admitted to the Society of Jesus.[2] The same was true of Thomas Pound,[3] a former courtier of the queen, who had to pay for his profession of the Catholic religion by thirty years of imprisonment. So many members of the English college in Rome asked for admission to the Order that the English seminarists were seriously disturbed.[4]

orum hoc ultimo anno, posteaque libros quosdam legerint de rebus spiritualibus scriptos sacrasque catholice in nostrum idioma conversas et interpretatas. Audivi viros prudentes vehementer affirmasse, existimare se, Catholicos esse modo duplo plures in Anglia, quam ante unum annum fuerint. . . . Ex duobus sacerdotibus recenter huc ex Anglia negotiorum causa missis, alter eorum testatus nobis est, se quatuor sacerdotes cognoscere, qui in una sola provincia, quae Hamptonia dicitur, plus quam quadringentos homines reduxerint ad Ecclesiae gremium post ultimum festum paschatis. Persons to Agazzari on August 24, 1583, in THEINER, 1583, n. 85 (III., 475).

[1] Equidem . . . dedi operam semper, ut nostri non aliis quam vestris studiis, institutis, moribus, quibus nihil est hodie vel ad doctrinam expeditius, vel ad pietatem sincerius, vel ad zelum lucrandarum animarum accommodatius, praecipue imbuerentur. To Mercurian on 26 October, 1578, in SACCHINUS, P. IV., l. 7, n. 19.

[2] FOLEY, VII., 1257-1260. SPILLMANN, II., 140, 190. For the martyrdom of Wodehouse a report of June 19, 1573, the very day of his death, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, VI., 762, *cf.* 639, 654; *cf.* KNELLER in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XLII. (1918), 846 *seqq.*

[3] FOLEY, III., 584.

[4] BELLESHEIM, 114.

To this must be added the fact that the two missionaries were not ordinary men. Edmund Campion,[1] who was at first the most prominent, had been born in 1540, and had the most brilliant future before him at the University of Oxford, as a young scholar; as a classic and humanist, and as an orator, there was no one there to equal him.[2] When in 1566 Queen Elizabeth honoured the university with a visit, Campion was chosen as a matter of course to welcome her. Cheyney, the Anglican Bishop of Gloucester, had asked for him as his successor, and persuaded him to receive the Anglican diaconate. But this step caused Campion the greatest remorse, and he began definitely to separate himself from the official English Church. His remaining at Oxford was therefore no longer possible; even in Dublin, where James Stanihurst tried to interest him in a proposed Irish university, he had to take to flight in order to escape arrest.[3] Campion still continued to devote himself to literary work, and during his exile he

[1] His life was written by Persons (unpublished; *cf. The Month*, CVI. [1905], 594), ALLEN (1582; new edition by POLLEN, London, 1908; *cf. Hist. Pol. Blätter*, CXLII. [1908], 140 *seqq.*), BOMBINO (Antwerp, 1618), SIMPSON (Edinburgh, 1867). *Cf.* B. Edmundi Campiani Opuscula, Barcelona, 1888. For some particulars of the life of Campion *cf.* the articles of POLLEN in *The Month*, Vols. XC., CV., CVI., CXV.

[2] "Primus erat princepsque gregis; cessere priores Partes, et palmam cetera turba tibi," a colleague wrote in verse of him after the death of Campion. (BRIDGEWATER), Concertatio, 66. SPILLMANN, II., 207. "All writers whether protestant or popish, say that he was a man of admirable parts, an elegant orator, a subtle philosopher and disputant, and an exact preacher, whether in English or Latin tongue, of a sweet disposition, and a well polished man." WOOD, Athenae Oxonienses, *ed.* BLISS, I., 475, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII., 402.

[3] For Cheyney (a conciliatory theologian), Stanihurst (not a Catholic!) and his plans, as well as for the chronology, *cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, CVI. (1905), 563, 566 *seq.*, 568; for Stanihurst see also BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 131. For the date of the departure of Campion for Ireland (August 1, 1570) *cf.* KNELLER in the *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie*, XLI. (1917), 175 *seqq.*

wrote a history of Ireland in English which ran through several editions.[1] In 1571 he went to Douai to devote himself to theological studies ; in 1573 he was received into the Society of Jesus in Rome, made his noviciate at Prague and Brünn, and at Prague devoted himself to preaching and pastoral work, and was everywhere held in the greatest esteem and admiration, even among the highest classes, on account of his brilliant qualities.[2]

When he was summoned to Rome and given his mission in England, Campion's only anxiety and desire was to be employed in nothing but prayer, preaching and instruction ; as Persons attests,[3] he was for this reason appointed as leader of the English mission. It was Campion's conviction from the first that he would meet with a violent death in England. He refused to be fitted out with new clothing in Rome, saying wittily that any clothes were good enough for one who was going to the scaffold.[4] In London he never passed the gallows at Tyburn without raising his hat.[5]

Campion's happiness would have been to work in silence for the welfare of his fellow-countrymen, but it was to the great advantage of the Catholic cause that his name was at once brought to the notice of all classes of the population, and became the object of denunciation in the sermons preached in the city.[6] Before Persons and Campion set out upon

[1] First in the chronicle of Holinshed, 1577 and 1586, then by Ware, 1633 ; a new edition Dublin, 1909. Shakespeare, who relies so much on Holinshed, also made use of the work of Campion in his Henry VIII. *Cf.* on the work, POLLEN in The Month, CVI. (1905), 561-576, CVII. (1906), 156-159. There is as yet no trace of any definite Catholic sentiment ; *cf.* CVII., 163. It is not known when Campion was formally converted ; *ibid.* CVI., 566 *seq.*

[2] For his stay at Brünn and Prague *cf.* SCHMIDL, Historiae Societatis Iesu provinciae Bohemiae, Pars I., Prague, 1747, 336 *seqq.*, 361, 389, 418, 420.

[3] In POLLEN in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 247.

[4] *Ibid.* 249.

[5] Persons in POLLEN, *ibid.* CV. (1905), 25.

[6] *Cf.* for what follows POLLEN, *ibid.* CXV. (1910), 50-65.

their apostolic journeys, Thomas Pound, who had bought a few hours of liberty from the chief warder by a gift of money, went to see them. He spoke to the two Jesuits of the great dangers into which they would probably soon fall at the hands of their enemies. They would be buried in a prison, their replies to their questioners would be falsified and changed, and they would be made to appear in the public eye as traitors and rebels against the queen. They could guard against this if they would now set down in writing the object of their coming, and the end they had in view by their work in England. This writing they should leave in the hands of a trustworthy friend, so that he might publish it when they fell into the hands of their enemies.

Persons at once wrote a short declaration which might be described as an opening of their campaign.[2] Campion went further. While his companion was waiting for him to start, he wrote in the space of half an hour a letter to the queen's Privy Council, in which he professed himself a priest and a Jesuit.[1] The object of his coming was nothing but his priestly work, and a fight against sin and ignorance ; he had no concern with politics, a thing which was forbidden to him. Going far beyond the suggestions of Pound, he went on to ask to be allowed to hold a public disputation on religion, and to speak and make answer as to the Catholic faith, in the presence of the royal Privy Council, the two English universities and the lawyers of the kingdom ; if the queen herself would honour the disputation with her presence, this would be very pleasing to him. It was no empty boasting that led him to make this proposal, but confidence in his own cause, and his conviction that no Protestant, nor all Protestants together, could maintain their doctrines by good and sufficient arguments. The members of the Privy Council, he hoped, would, after his exposition of the true Catholic doctrine, do honour to the truth, and listen to those who were willing to shed even their life's blood for its eternal triumph. "Every day so many

[1] Still unpublished ; *ibid.* 64.

[2] The best text *ibid.* 60-62.

innocent hands are raised to heaven for you by those English students, whose boldness never grows less, and who beyond the sea are acquiring virtue and knowledge for their state of life, firmly resolved never to give you up as lost, but either to win you for heaven or to die at the point of your lances. And as far as our Society is concerned, know that we have entered into a firm compact—we Jesuits throughout the world, whose numbers and increase will survive all the machinations of England—to bear the cross that you lay upon us, and never to despair of your conversion, so long as there is one of us left to taste the sweetness of your Tyburn, to bear the pains of your tortures, or to end our lives in your prisons. It was thus that the faith was planted; it is thus that it must be restored." If his proposals should not be accepted, and he himself should be treated with harshness, he hopes at least for reconciliation and friendship in heaven, where all injuries are forgotten.

If Campion's letter were to be published after his imprisonment it was bound to serve its purpose marvellously well; it would be impossible then to dare to spread at will false statements as to its author, since should the government fail to grant to him the publicity he so insistently demanded, that very fact would refute the accusations made against him. But, contrary to Campion's wishes, his letter was very soon generally known. Pound was very pleased with the document; he communicated it to his friends, and it was secretly spread far and wide. When Persons returned to London at the end of September, 1580, he found there "a number of copies";[1] and towards the end of 1581 two Protestant replies[2] were published, which very much increased the impression it had made.

By this premature publication the document assumed an entirely new significance; whereas before its purpose had been principally self-defence, now, as was shown by the title

[1] Persons in POLLEN, *ibid.* 57.

[2] By Charke and Hanmer, *ibid.* 59; *cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque, II., 588 *seq.*

attached to it by a strange hand,[1] it became a "challenge." Nevertheless, the effect of this premature publication was altogether good. The missionaries had been defamed as preachers of rebellion, but no conspirator had ever spoken so loyally, so nobly, and with such respect and fidelity towards his sovereign as Campion had done in this document. The Protestant ministers had maintained that Catholic doctrine could not stand against the proofs of Holy Scripture; now they were given the opportunity of putting their opinions to the test, if they had any confidence in their own cause. Moreover, the document had another significance which was of greater importance than any other. The Catholic religion, which had hitherto been relegated to obscurity, now stood out in the full light of day; the intimidated Catholics felt themselves filled with renewed vigour, and with lofty ideas of their spiritual superiority to the State Church.

If, however, the effects were to be lasting, Campion could not rest satisfied with a mere short pamphlet. Several suggestions were made to him for further works; he rejected them all, and to the general surprise declared that he would write, keeping to the general sense of his "challenge," concerning the desperate position of the heretics; that is to say, since heresy could only defend itself by acts of violence, this only proved that it was unable to adduce any reasonable motives. The result was the appearance of a work which Muret declared to have been written by the finger of God, which was reprinted more than fifty times, and which called forth many refutations.[2] The purpose of the work is clear from the title: "to our scholars; ten reasons why Campion has offered to his adversaries a religious disputation."[3] The first of these reasons is the Holy Scripture, which the heretics have had to mutilate in order to prove their opinions; the second is the sense of the Holy Scriptures, which they have been forced to distort

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 57.

[2] List of the editions and confutations in SOMMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque, II., 589-594, VIII., 1970.

[3] A facsimile of the title page of the first edition in POLLEN *The Month*, CXV., 21.

in clear contradiction of its context; and in like manner Campion proceeds to develop his original idea of the desperate position of the heresy, treating of the nature of the Church, of the Councils, of the Fathers of the Church, etc. Although this work was composed while Campion was travelling about England, and with no other help than the notes and summaries he carried in his wallet, it is full of quotations from the Fathers, from Luther, etc., which the careful Persons had verified by a friend of his before its publication. The student of former days turns to the Universities, both because he had declared his readiness to treat of these matters before them, and because Oxford and Cambridge had been made Protestant by force, but many there were still loyal to the Catholic religion.[1] Naturally the little book could only be published secretly and at great risk, but Persons had been able to secure a printing press, from which had already appeared a book against the attendance of Catholics at Protestant worship, and a reply to the attacks on Campion's "challenge."

After the publication of the "challenge" Persons had thought it wiser to advise Campion to withdraw from the neighbourhood of London into Lancashire. It was, however, there that a traitor was able to hand over the hunted man to his enemies.[2] On July 22nd, 1581, a market day, Campion was brought in chains to London, and thrown into the most terrible dungeon in the Tower. On July 25th he was taken

[1] *"Magnae sunt apud consiliarios reginae de Oxoniensi universitatae querelae, quod multi passim collegia sua relinquunt et ad nos advolare putentur. . . . Multi hoc vere adornarunt fugam ex illis academiis ad nos, sicut ex reliquis gymnasiis Anglicanis" wrote Allen to Aggazari on March 16, 1583, Reg. 2023, Vatican Library. *Cf.* for Oxford, ATHAN. ZIMMERMANN, Die Universitäten Englands im 16 Jahrhundert, Freiburg, 1889, 31 *seqq.*, 100 *seq*; B. CAMM, O.S.B. in *The Month*, CX. (1907), 15 *seqq.*, 161 *seqq*, Allen and many of his fellow labourers had been educated at Oxford; *ibid.* 166 *seq.*; the same was true of many of the English martyrs; *ibid.* 172 *seqq.*

[2] In greater detail in SIMPSON, 224 *seqq.*; SPILLMANN, II., 290 *seqq.*

up the Thames to the house of Leicester, as the queen was anxious to see this celebrated man.[1] This was followed by large promises, if he would consent to become an Anglican, and he was also repeatedly put to the torture. The victim was then allowed the religious disputation which he had asked for in his " challenge " ; although his memory was weakened, and his former vigour was gone, yet his intellect and his keen wit were still apparent, and in the opinion of most people the victory lay with him.[2] On November 20th sentence was pronounced on Campion and his fellow captives.[3] The indictment spoke of high treason in that he had organised a conspiracy against the queen at Rome and Rheims. There were no proofs of any such guilt,[4] and Campion had no difficulty in disproving it point by point ; nevertheless, a unanimous verdict declared the accused guilty of conspiracy. On December 1st, 1581, Campion was hanged and quartered at Tyburn ; with him a student from the English College in Rome and another from Rheims, Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Briant, suffered the same fate.

The effect of this public execution was very different from what the government had expected. The martyrdom aroused extraordinary excitement ; the Spanish ambassador wrote that 3,000 horsemen and a huge crowd of the populace had assembled, that the Catholics had been greatly encouraged

[1] Campion mentions his meeting with her in his interrogatory. SPILLMANN, II., 338.

[2] Even FRERE (219 *seq.*) admits that at the disputation and in his interrogatories Campion excited general admiration (" Personally attracted all men's admiration "). After three disputations " it was found by the government that all hopes of a victory were gone " and that the prisoner, instead of losing, was gaining in men's respect and compassion.

[3] Translation of the protocol of the debate at the second trial according to the *State Trials*, I., 1049 *seqq.* in SPILLMANN, II., 319-355.

[4] Thus MEYER, 127 : " The attempt to prove the conspiracy failed entirely, and was bound to fail because the conspiracy had no existence."

and that the heretics had gone away in shame ; men exposed themselves to the greatest risks in order to obtain some of the blood that had been shed or other relics of the martyr.[1] Allen was of the opinion that Campion had helped the Catholic cause more by his death than if he had continued his work for many years.[2] Walpole, who was later on a Jesuit, an eye-witness whom Campion converted to Catholicism by his death, estimated that roughly a thousand Protestant spectators of the martyrdom had received the same impression as himself.[3] Campion's own personality contributed no less to this impression. In spite of his natural quick temper he had borne with serene tranquillity his imprisonment,[4] the insults of the mob at his arrival in London,[5] and the unjust accusations of the judge. He thanked God in a loud voice for his condemnation, but his desire for a martyr's death had nothing about it of the boastful and proud spirit of the fanatic. He received the traitor who had handed him over to his death, with all gentleness, when the latter, under a sudden impulse of remorse, went to visit him.[6] His last prayer was for the queen, and his death moved many to tears.[7]

[1] Mendoza on December 4, 1581. Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. V., 200 *seq.*

[2] In SACCHINUS, P.V., l. 1, n. 280 ; Litterae annuae S.J., 1581. Rome, 1583, 210. "The execution," says FRERE (P. 220) "caused a veritable storm of protest. This was partly due to the reputation of Campion, and partly to the well-known partiality of the inquiry, and partly to the fact that the question whether these men were dying for religion or for treason was very real. The question was disputed throughout Europe, and prominent men like Allen on one side and Burghley on the other intervened in the discussion." FRERE (p. 221) replies to the question : "Taking Campion as example, it seems easy to argue that it was for religion, and hard to deny it."

[3] SPILLMANN, II., 372, 376, III., 376.

[4] *Ibid.* II., 295.

[5] *Ibid.* 296, *cf.* 307, 311.

[6] *Ibid.* 364.

[7] *Ibid.* 371 *seq.* "When Campion . . . returned to England . . . he was already well disciplined in the virtues of fortitude

The excitement against Campion and his companions among the members of the English government was increased by the fact that their mission coincided in time with the Irish disturbances of 1579, in which a Papal agent stirred up rebellion against Elizabeth.

and purity, and had attained to a gentleness of disposition which nothing could embitter, and to a greatness of mind which rose above all pettiness—qualities which gave a winning majesty to his personality and place him on a level with the martyrs of Christian antiquity. No other of the missionaries working in England had the power of calling forth enthusiastic admiration and commanding unselfish devotion to the same extent as this protomartyr of the English Jesuits." In MEYER, 193 (Engl. transl.).

CHAPTER XI.

GREGORY XIII. AND SCOTLAND.

HOWEVER unfortunate in their results and lamentably misinformed were the efforts of Gregory XIII. on behalf of the oppressed Catholics in the three northern kingdoms, it must nevertheless always remain a glorious page in the history of the Papacy that even during the desperate times of the religious revolution, it remained true to its ancient name for never allowing itself to be surpassed by anyone in the world for compassion and readiness to assist those in trouble.[1] The new Pope had taken his name out of veneration for Gregory the Great, the Apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, and he welcomed the idea of being able to restore in England that which his great predecessor had planted there.[2] From the very first he raised his voice in defence of Mary Stuart, so that for the honour of Europe there was at least one of its rulers who was not an inactive spectator of the violent trampling on rights which had taken place in the case of an unhappy queen. In the first weeks after the election of Gregory XIII., Mary received a letter of encouragement from him.[3] Marini, the Archbishop of Lanciano, whom he sent to Philip II. at the end of 1572, was instructed among other things to plead the cause of the imprisoned Queen of Scotland.[4] Mary's

[1] "Ab exordio consuevit thronus apostolicus iniqua perferentes defensare . . . et humi iacentes erigere secundum possibilitatem quam habetis: compassionem enim supra universos homines possidetis." Eusebius of Doryläum to Leo the Great, in AMELLI in the *Specilegium Casinense*, I., 135. *Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XI. (1886), 362.

[2] Beaton on February 22, 1573, in THEINER, 1573, n. 104 (I. 186).

[3] Of June 30, 1572, *ibid.* 1572, n. 72 (I. 63).

[4] CARINI, 29, 82.

ambassador in Paris, Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, who, by means of an agent, had laid before the Pope a plan for carrying off the young son of Mary to Spain by his relatives, the Guise, in order that he might be there educated as a Catholic, met with the kindest reception from Gregory, though the carrying out of the plan was rendered impossible by the death of Charles IX. and the Cardinal of Lorraine.[1]

The cautious Philip II. displayed less zeal. He had nothing but fair words for the demands of Marini and the nuncio, Ormaneto, but called attention strongly to the obstacles placed in his way by the rebellion in the Netherlands; he especially insisted that the enterprise against England ought to be carried out in common by the two Catholic powers of

[1] MAFFEI, I., 83 *seq.* Beaton's credentials, of February 22, 1573, and the letter of the Cardinal of Lorraine of August 8, 1573, in THEINER, 1573, n. 104 *seq.* (I., 186 *seq.*). *"Mentre era in vita Carlo card. di Lorena, fu da lui rappresentato a N. S. il pericolo grande in che si trovava il principe figliolo di Maria regina di Scotiâ, di essere allevato et nutrito nelle heresie dalle persone che gli manteneva appresso per educarlo la regina d'Inghilterra, se non era levato di Scotia et ridotto in parte dove fusse educato da persone catoliche proponendo insieme il modo et la via di lavarlo secretamente et ridurlo appresso il duca di Lorena suo parente, non ricercando altro di S. S. che l'autorità et il nome con dire che non mancava alla famiglia di Lorena il modo et le forze. Et S. B. ascoltò cosi volontieri questa proposta et cosi prontamente l'abbracciò, che con tutto che fusse mancato il suddetto card. di Lorena commandò al nuntio Dandino di trattarne con chi bisognava in nome suo et in particolare con Luigi card. di Guisa et con l'arcivescovo di Glasco ambasciatore di Scotia a chi era restato questo pensiero. Li quali ricercando da S. S. che oltre il nome facesse anco la spesa che si andasse, ella si contentò di pagare per questo conto sino alla somma di XV.^{m} scudi . . . Portorno di poi molte risolutioni del regno di Scotia che non fusse ne sicoro ne a proposito levarne quel principe, ma non restò per N. S. di applicarvi il pensiero. . . . Diede ordine che si mantenesse vivo il disegno et se ne tratasse et venisse alla risolutione." *Memorie di Dandino, *Cod.* D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

France and Spain.[1] The Pope therefore made every effort to arrange an agreement between the two governments, urging a marriage between the Duke of Anjou and a daughter of Philip. This plan came to nothing because France demanded Naples or Milan as a dowry for the Spanish princess.[2] Moreover, Philip had no other purpose in view, in this undertaking, at least so the nuncio thought,[3] than the deposition of Elizabeth and making Mary queen; he considered any conquest of England out of the question, because the English Catholics would never give their support to a foreign conqueror.[4] There was a feeling of irritation too in Spain because the French wished, after the fall of Elizabeth, to marry the Duke of Anjou to Mary Stuart and make him King of England. This explains the jealousy between the two powers and the impossibility of coming to an understanding. In April, 1572, an alliance was formed between France and England.[5]

In 1573, to the dismay of many Catholics, a treaty was made between Spain and her great enemy, Elizabeth. To the remonstrances of the nuncio Philip replied that it was only a case of a commercial treaty for two years. But even a commercial treaty definitely made any hostile attack upon England impossible, though even now Gregory XIII. and Ormaneto did not lose sight of the interests of that country. They brought pressure to bear upon Philip to make use of his friendly relations with the English queen to try and bring about her conversion. The mystification in which Elizabeth knew so well how to keep the world as to her private religious

[1] CARINI, 83.

[2] *Ibid.* 84.

[3] Ormaneto on February 19, 1573, *ibid.* 84 *seq.*

[4] Non penso che egli habbia spirito di occupar quel regno et farsene padrone, come non lo potrebbe fare ancora perchè gli Inglesi cattolici, senza li quali è quasi impossibile di far l'impresa, non vogliono aiuto esterno dal quale possino essere soggiogati, ma tanto che basti con loro a levar la pretensa Regina, et crear quella di Scotia. *Ibid.*

[5] KRETZSCHMAR, 45.

convictions made this attempt impossible, though Ormaneto felt fairly certain of its uselessness.[1]

In the meantime the English exiles in the Low Countries had watched with increasing bitterness the unending hesitation of Spain. They now had recourse to the Pope in order to obtain a letter of recommendation for one of their number, the theologian Nicholas Sanders,[2] and sent him to Philip II. armed with the Papal brief[3] and letters from several English nobles, to act as their permanent representative. The remonstrances of Sanders were not without their effect upon the Spanish king, though the latter dwelt upon the risk of the enterprise, in case it should fail, involving the English Catholics in terrible reprisals, as well as the many difficulties in which he was already involved without this, and lastly, when in spite of everything the nuncio continued to press for haste, his pecuniary straits. Ormaneto therefore begged the Pope, for the sake of the salvation of so many souls, to renew the subsidy granted by Pius V.[4] But even so nothing was done.

At length, after two years, about September, 1575, better news reached Rome. Philip at last seemed to be prepared to deliver a decisive blow, in order to turn the course of events in the north in his own favour. His half-brother, the ambitious Don John, who might be looked upon as a Netherlander on account of his mother, was to go as governor to the Netherlands, in order to crush the disturbances there, and then transfer his attention to England.[5] Don John threw himself into this scheme with all his heart; just as at Lepanto he

[1] Maffei, I., 85. Carini, 87 *seq.*

[2] From Northumberland, Leonard Dacre, Christopher Nevill, Francis Englefield to Galli on June 29, 1573, in Theiner, 1573, n. 105 (I. 87).

[3] On September 4, 1573, *ibid.* n. 106 (I. 188). Ormaneto speaks of his duty of assisting Sanders and of his arrival on November 15. Carini, 88. *Cf.* Bellesheim, Irland, II., 697 *seq.*

[4] Carini, 88 *seq.*

[5] Törne, 157 *seq.*

had delivered Christendom from its hereditary enemy, so he now dreamed, with no less glory to himself, of liberating the English Catholics and the whole Church from the tyranny under which they lay. He had even carried his schemes further still; he aimed at marrying Mary Stuart, and placing the triple crown of England, Scotland and Ireland on his own head.[1]

In order not prematurely to arouse Elizabeth against Spain, Philip wished for the time being to remain in the background. As Gregory himself had already suggested in March, 1575,[2] the enterprise was to have its origin with the Pope and the States of the Church alone; in the meantime Spain was to assist it with a money subsidy; only after the landing had been effected was Don John to intervene, and under the pretext of sending troops by sea to Spain, to land suddenly in England. Gregory XIII. agreed to this, but wished first to discuss the scheme with some men of English birth. By his invitation William Allen and Francis Englefield went to Rome, and there, in February, 1576, discussed Philip's plan with Galli and the Spanish ambassador. Both the Englishmen declared that the expedition against Elizabeth was both urgent and practicable, but they asked for the greatest haste in the matter,[3] and that it should be put into effect immediately, which, however, Philip declared to be impossible.

Soon afterwards it was learned with great joy in Rome that Don John had actually gone to the Low Countries; Gregory sent him 50,000 scudi and sent Sega to Flanders as nuncio, who was to assist the general as his adviser.[4] Nevertheless, in Rome the preparations were carried on without much energy. Philip had only paid half the 100,000 scudi he had promised, and the Pope was waiting for the

[1] That Philip really also sent Don John against England (contrary opinion in PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, 244 *seq.*) may be gathered from the correspondence of Zuñiga; *cf.* TÖRNE, 157 n.

[2] *Ibid.* 158.

[3] According to the dispatch of Zuñiga of February 29, 1576, in TÖRNE, 159 *seq.*

[4] KRETZSCHMAR, 50.

other half before he took the matter seriously. From the autumn of 1576 the expedition against England was postponed to the spring of 1577, and even then it was not ready. Don John found himself obliged to agree to an armistice, by which, certainly at the request of Elizabeth, he bound himself to send his troops home by land. With this all possibility of a landing in England was taken away from Don John.[1] Sega, who after the death of Ormaneto, had been transferred to Madrid, received in October of the same year instructions to refrain from any further negotiations for the English expedition, and merely to ask for help for Ireland.[2]

A most unfortunate expedition against Ireland actually took place.[3] The most celebrated military leader of Ireland, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, a scion of the celebrated family of the Earls of Desmond, had left his country in 1575 in order to ask for the help of the foreign princes against Elizabeth, on behalf of his afflicted country. In Paris and Madrid he met with nothing but fair words, but from the Pope he received real help; a letter from the Secretary of State on June 14th, 1575, assigned to him a sum of 1,000 gold florins. When, later on, Fitzmaurice appeared in person in Rome, Gregory XIII. promised him several ships equipped with munitions and provisions.

Unfortunately, the adventurer Stukely at that time enjoyed no less esteem in Rome than he had had in the time of Pius V.[4] Galli, the Secretary of State, believed firmly in him. Maurice Clenock, the superior of the English hospice, spoke of him as "sent from heaven" for the expedition against England; the influential Owen Lewis was his confidant and supporter.[5] When, in 1577, Don John was to attempt a

[1] Törne, 160 *seq.*

[2] Report of Sega in Kretzschmar, 198 *seq.*

[3] Bellesheim, Irland, II., 169 *seq.*; Kretzschmar, 53 *seqq.* Report of Sega, *ibid.* 194 *seqq.*; Maffei, I., 355-360. Pollen in *The Month*, CI. (1903), 69-85. J. Martin in the *Revue d'hist. dipl.*, XXIII. (1909), 161-182.

[4] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 242, and J. Martin, *loc. cit.*, 164 *seq.*

[5] Pollen, *loc. cit.*, 75. See *supra* p. 382.

landing in England from Flanders, Stukely was sent with a Papal brief to the Low Countries. Don John had no need of him, for the English expedition had already proved impossible, but Stukely returned to Rome with letters of recommendation to Philip and the Secretary of State.[1]

The failure of the English scheme only had the effect of urging Cardinal Galli to take up the matter of Ireland more zealously. It would not appear that the Secretary of State aimed at a real conquest; he only wished to assist the troublesome and impatient Stukely, and to annoy Elizabeth, by fastening "a thorn" as he expressed it, in the queen's side, just as Orange is in ours." For this purpose Stukely seemed to him to be the very man.[2]

On October 27th, 1577, Cardinal Galli wrote that the Pope was thinking of employing Stukely and Fitzmaurice against Elizabeth. Stukely sailed from Ostia in January 1578, but he did not go to Ireland. While he was at Lisbon he allowed himself to be won over by King Sebastian for his expedition against Africa, and Cardinal Galli, against his will, gave some sort of approval of this. At the battle of Alcàzar Stukely fell, a cannon ball carrying off both his legs.[3] Even at the time of Stukely's departure Bishop Odescalchi had written: "God

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 77.

[2] *Ibid* 78. *Di questo infelice successo et di quanto passava giornalmente li avvisi, che n'hebbe N.S. et Msgr. di Piacenza nunzio appresso il Re cattolico, che teneva cura di quel negotio, al quale S.S^{tà} haveva volentieri dato orecchio più per desiderio di far qualche profitto in quelle parti che non speranza di conseguirlo, furno loro dati dalla corte di Francia dal medesimo nunzio per il continuo commercio che teneva con chi haveva buoni avvisi d'Inghilterra. *Memorie of Dandino, Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 172 *seq.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 79. *Il Stucleo o non volendo disgustare il Re, o per la speranza d' accrescere le sue forze o pure, come lui proprio scrisse, che gli fusse fatta un po di forza con non lassargli pigliar in Lisbona quelle commodità che gli bisognavano per la lunga navigatione, si risolse di compiacer lo Re. Memorandum of Cardinal Galli, Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

grant that this handful of soldiers may not give the Queen of England a pretext for sending all the Catholics in England to their death" ; and he added that it had caused general surprise that the Pope had placed any confidence in that refugee.[1] Events justified this surprise. A little time before his death Stukely had openly expressed his true sentiments towards the Pope. Irritated by the fact that Fitzmaurice had been associated with him in the allocation of the Pope's subsidy, he said that he would make them repent of this, that he would sell the equipment of his ships, turn pirate, and lay waste the States of the Church themselves ; thus he had never had any intention of going to Ireland.[2]

The brave Fitzmaurice underwent many adventures. In December 1577, he set sail with one ship, and captured another, but as his provisions were exhausted, he was forced in 1578 to return to Spain. There he met in Madrid the man who was representing the English Catholics, the distinguished

[1] *" Quelli mille fanti che l'altro giorno scrissi a V. A. che si facevano per mandare in Avignone, si è scoperto poi che veramente vanno in Inghilterra guidati da un Signore Inglese che si trovava qua, il quale ha dato ad intendere al Papa che arrivandovi con detti fanti rivolterà tutto quel Regno, nel quale vi sono ancora più Catolici che Luterani. Così detti fanti s'imbarcheranno a Città vecchia sopra un orca di Fiandra comparsa pochi giorni sono in queste bande. Et piaccia Dio che questi pochi fanti non siano causa di fare che quella Regina non faccia tagliar il capo a tutti li catholici che sono rimasti in quella insula. . . . In somma sono molti che si meravigliano di S. S^{tà} che si habbia lasciato persuadere da questo Signore Inglese fuoruscito. Vogliono molti che il Re di Spagna tenga la mano in questo negotio per divertire quella Regina a soccorrere i ribelli di Fiandra." Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, January 4, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Odescalchi wrote to the duke concerning the expedition of King Sebastian on July 29, 1578 (*ibid.*) : *" Tengono che l'impresa del detto Re sia d'andare in Inghilterra," as English ships, in contravention of treaties, have attacked his fleet on its way back from the East Indies.

[2] Statement of Captain Cleyborn, in BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 172, 703.

English theologian, Nicholas Sanders.[1] The latter joined Fitzmaurice and accompanied him, not so much as a legate or nuncio as an accredited Papal agent.[2]

In the middle of July Fitzmaurice and Sanders reached Ireland with a few ships; they established themselves principally at Smerwick and urged the people to rise against Elizabeth. The Queen of England showed no little fear. She was afraid that Spain, which she had so long provoked and irritated would at last force her to a decisive battle. She had no small opinion of the military power of Philip; her ambassador in Spain, who had been a witness of the preparations against Portugal, had assured her on his return that the army of the Catholic King was greater than the united strength of France and England.[3] Philip actually allowed himself to be persuaded by the nuncio Sega to take some definite action. On September 13th, 1580, under the command of Bastiano San Joseppi, as "captain and general of His Holiness" a squadron of six ships set sail with 1000 sailors, 550 regular soldiers and 800 volunteers for Smerwick, and at once erected a fortress as a base for further operations.[4] Philip had great schemes in mind for further action against Elizabeth;[5] in the meantime he struck a severe blow at English commerce when, in December, 1580, he forebade all foreign ships to sail from the ports of Spain.[6]

Nevertheless the whole Irish expedition met with a

[1] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 167 *seq.*, 697 *seq.* With regard to Sanders, whom KRETZSCHMAR (p. 54) and BROSCH (VI., 576) wrongly describe as a Jesuit, *cf.* POLLEN in the *English Historical Review*, VI., (1891), 36 *seqq.*

[2] No brief containing his plenitentiary powers is known. In his correspondence he only appears as "Dr. Sander." POLLEN in *The Month*, CI., 80.

[3] PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 140, 195 *seq.* The viceroy of Ireland was given authority to treat with the rebels, and if necessary to promise them religious liberty. *English Hist. Review*, VI., 38.

[4] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 197 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 198 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.* 200.

disastrous end. In response to the call of Sanders and Fitzmaurice, the powerful Earls of Desmond and the whole province of Munster rose in arms; a guerilla war of skirmishes and small engagements was carried on until the end of 1581 and even longer, and covered southern Ireland with dead bodies and ruins,[1] without however securing any decisive result against the foreign domination. The auxiliary expedition under the command of San Joseppi had suffered in its preparations from the delays of the Spanish officials, whose inefficiency had once wrung from the lips of the nuncio, who was urging them to greater efforts, the saying "these people would make one wonder whether there is a sun in the heavens."[2]

As a matter of fact San Joseppi arrived too late; the garrison of the fortress at Smerwick surrendered after three days seige, and was cruelly butchered by the English with the exception of six of the leaders.[3] Of the commanders of the

[1] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 180. For the devastation caused by the war see Spenser in BROSCH, VI., 668.

[2] Letter of May 25, 1580, in POLLEN, in *The Month*, CI., 81.

[3] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 179. Mendoza on December 11, 1580, Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. V., 524. Among the prisoners was a priest, Lawrence Moore, a certain Oliver Plunket and William Walsh, the servant of Sanders. When these three refused the oath of fealty and supremacy, they were taken to a blacksmith and their arms and legs broken in three places, and left in this condition during the night; on the following day they underwent a traitor's death. (Sanders to Galli, January 19, 1581, *Eng. Hist. Review*, VI., 39). Many looked upon San Joseppi as a traitor: *Ma molti hebbero opinione che se egli voleva, poteva tenersi sicurissimo in quel forte et aspettare il soccorso degli Hiberni cattolici, il quale senza dubio gli saría venuto et cosi haveria potuto metter in gran travaglio la Regina Inglese. Ma egli si rese con gran biasimo de la fede et del valor suo et fu condotto in un castello presso a Londra dove fu tenuto alquanti mesi con trattamento non da prigione, ma da hospite amicissimo et honoratissimo. Il che accrebbe tanto maggiormente il sospetto che si havea di lui et massimamente che mentre stette in quel castello, mandò a Roma due volte a procurare del pontefice, lo facesse liberar con pagar 12^{m} scudi . . ., ma il pontefice andò

expedition Fitzmaurice fell as early as August 18th, 1579; Sanders died at the beginning of 1581 as the result of his hardships, in a wood near Limerick, and his body, to save it from the hatred of the English, was buried in an unknown grave, and none were found to betray it to the enemy.[1] Three of the Earls of Desmond met with death as the result of the insurrection.[2]

Apart from the great harm done to Ireland and the exhaustion of the Papal treasury,[3] Fitzmaurice's enterprise had no results beyond having irritated Elizabeth to an extraordinary degree, without having inflicted any notable damage upon her, or preventing her from interfering in the events in France and Flanders. The anger of the queen vented itself especially on persons who were altogether innocent, namely, her own Catholic subjects. It is easy to understand how men like Walsingham and Burghley did not let the opportunity slip for taking even more severe action against the Catholics under a legal pretext.[4] On August 21st, 1580, the Spanish ambassador Mendoza wrote that the queen had ordered the arrest of four earls, five barons and 300 gentlemen from fear lest the Catholics should rise in England as they had

tanto procrastinando questa resolutione per il sospetto che havea di lui, ch' egli si risolse di partirsi d' Inghilterra con pretesto d'esser fugito et andò in Fiandra, et conoscendo esser scoperto de le attioni sue, non hebbe più ardire di tornare a Roma ne in Italia, ma dopo alcuni messi s'infermò et morse in Fiandra. Memorandum of Cardinal Galli, Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 179.

[2] *Ibid.* 180 *seqq.*

[3] Gregory XIII. had spent more than 200,000 scudi on the expedition to Ireland. Giov. Corraro, Relatione of 1581, in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 282.

[4] Elizabeth herself attributed the Irish expedition rather to the influence of Philip than of the Pope. The French ambassador wrote on November 6, 1580, that the queen had spoken "honorablement "of Gregory, and did not wish any harm to this "pauvre bon homme, qui estoit si liberal de donner des royaumes qui n'estoient pas en sa puissance." POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 408.

done in Ireland ;[1] on October 10th in the same year he reported[2] that they were proceeding apace with the imprisonment of the Catholics in order to prevent an English rising ; the victims bore themselves with great patience in their trials and did not ask for their liberty in return for the payment of fines ; they freely admitted that without the strong support of foreign troops they were quite incapable of doing any such thing. Sweeping measures against the confessors of the Catholic faith could not fail to follow, with popular opinion excited as it was to the highest pitch.

The Irish expedition was especially disastrous to the coming to England of the Jesuits and the priests from the seminaries. When Campion and his companions set out from Rome they knew nothing of Sanders' undertaking ; it was with alarm that they heard of it at Rheims, because it was obvious that henceforward they too would be looked upon as political agents like Sanders by the English government. Among the English priests their coming gave rise to the same anxiety ; the two Jesuits declared that the Catholics might be satisfied by their sworn assurance that they had nothing whatever to do with politics, and that before the courts they would demand that their accusers should give proofs of their political machinations, which certainly could not be adduced, because they did not exist.[3] It was quite true that Campion's defence before his judges and the whole behaviour of the martyrs made it clear that they had had nothing to do in any way with the rebels.[4]

[1] Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 511. *Cf.* Dandino to Galli, September 26, 1580, in THEINER, 1580, n. 88 (III., 217).

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, CI., 82. *Cf.* Mendoza, October 23, 1580, Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. V., 518 : "Aqui de mes y medio á esta parte, han encarcelado á titulo de ser católicos más de 500 gentiles-hombres ingleses, temiéndose . . ., no se levantasen con los rumores de Irlanda."

[3] Persons in POLLEN, *loc. cit.* IC., 294 *seq.*

[4] One of the first accusers, the apostate Nichols, admitted publicly that he made his statement only out of fear of torture. LINGARD, VIII., 149 n.

Even before the capture of the missionaries the effects of what had happened in Ireland were shown in the recrudescence of laws against the Catholics. On July 15th, 1580, an order was issued that all Englishmen must within the space of four months recall their sons from educational establishments beyond the seas.[1] This law, which was directed against the seminary priests, was followed by another in January, 1581, which, by amplifying the statute of 1571, was intended to hamper their activities in England:[2] those who assumed the power to absolve, or exercised that power, and those who attempted to win over anyone from the state religion, or who abandoned it, were to incur, together with their accomplices, the penalties of high treason. The fine for saying mass was fixed at 200 marks, and 100 for hearing mass, and in both cases imprisonment for one year. Failure to attend the Protestant services was punished by a fine of twenty pounds sterling for each lunar month, which meant thirteen times a year; anyone who did not present himself for a whole year at his parish church must find two guarantors of his good conduct, each of 200 pounds sterling. In order that priests might not be lodged in a family under some other title, no one must employ a tutor without the permission of the bishop of the diocese; if this rule were infringed, the tutor was to be punished by one year's imprisonment, while the man who had employed him had to pay ten pounds sterling a month.

About 1581 the state of affairs concerning religion had thus been made quite clear. On the one hand national opinion towards the old religion was generally favourable; the mission of the Jesuits in particular had made this clear. It was equally clear, however, on the other hand, that by means of preaching and the care of souls alone, the old Church would never be able to secure the victory, since the government was quite determined to put an end entirely to all Catholic preaching, nor could there be any doubt that it had the power to enforce its will.

What was to be done under these circumstances became an

[1] *Ibid.* 142.

[2] *Ibid.* 143.

anxious question for zealous Catholics. The times were not yet ripe for the modern methods of a loyal opposition, the use of the press, the rights of assembly, etc.; on the other hand the time had gone by for a protest made sword in hand, as had been attempted in medieval style in 1569 by Northumberland, who was otherwise perfectly loyal to the king. Was it therefore necessary to adhere firmly to the principle laid down by Archbishop Heath when Elizabeth had inaugurated the first acts of violence against the Church of their fathers, who, when he was asked what they were to do, had replied: there is nothing to be done, but to suffer what God may will?[1] This view had actually been followed by the English Catholics during the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign;[2] politically, they had remained entirely passive, a party without a leader or a programme. If the queen was praised because at last under her rule England once more enjoyed the blessings of internal and undisturbed peace, this was due to her Catholic subjects, in that they had not imitated the example of their Protestant fellow-countrymen in the time of Queen Mary.[3] After the interlude of the ill-judged rebellion of 1569, the great mass of the Catholics adhered to this policy, and the conspiracies of Ridolfi and others had no roots whatever among the Catholic population. Were the Catholics then in future to look on with folded arms while their most sacred heritage, their religion, was persecuted? It seemed to them that a very easy means of defence was ready to their hands; if only Spain and France would take up arms seriously in order to put an end to the acts of violence against the sufferers, it seemed to them that Elizabeth had not the necessary strength to make an effective resistance. Quite apart from this, those two nations had just reasons for declaring war against Elizabeth.

Certain Catholics accordingly took measures which must not be judged by modern principles. According to the

[1] "Agere nihil, inquit, pati autem quaecunque Deus volet." *The Month*, CIV. (1904), 504.

[2] POLLEN, *ibid.*, IC. (1902), 43-60.

[3] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 401 *seqq.*

doctrines then in force, which were purely Christian in origin, and which had hitherto prevailed, the laws concerning the love of one's neighbour applied not only to private individuals, but to nations as such ;[1] if a nation was oppressed by foreigners or by those of its own race, then the others were bound to come to its assistance. The principle of non-intervention was not yet recognized. Thus even the most esteemed Catholics of recent times, such as Bishop Fisher of Rochester,[2] or Cardinal Pole,[3] had had no hesitation in appealing for the

[1] *Cf.* O. KLOPP, Das Jahr 1683 und der folgende grosse Türkenkrieg Gratz, [1883], 1-11.

[2] . . . nor do I see any appearance of their obeying the censure of the Pope unless they be accompanied with the remedies of which I have before written. And as the good bishop of Rochester says, who sent to me to notify it, the arms of the Pope against these men, who are so obstinate, are more frail than lead, and that your Majesty must set your hand to it, in which you will do a work as agreeable to God as going against the Turk. Chapuys to Charles V. on 27 September, 1533, in J. GAIRDNER, Letters and Papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII., vol. VI., London, 1882, n. 1164, p. 486. The good and holy bishop [of Rochester] would like you to take active measures immediately, as I wrote in my last ; which advice he has sent to me again lately to repeat. The most part of the English, as far as I can learn, are of his opinion, and only fear that your Majesty will not listen to it. Chapuys to Charles V. on October 10, 1533, *ibid.* 1249, p. 511.

[3] A long rhetorical discourse to this effect is to be found in Pole's letter " Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione," l. 3, c. 7. (ROCCABERTI, Bibliotheca Maxima pontificia, XVIII., Rome, 1698, 288 *seq.*). There *e.g.* it is stated (p. 288) : " Si amor reipublicae christianae te movet, ut regem Turcarum . . . bello aggrediaris, an non unde maius periculum reipublicae nostrae imminet, et ubi praesens iam malum, et novus hostis urget multo quam Turca infestior, eo potius cursum convertere te oportet ? " The English had not yet risen against Henry, only because they wished to wait for the intervention of the Emperor (p. 289). *Cf.* ATH. ZIMMERMANN, Kardinal Pole, Ratisbon, 1893, 102 *seq.* Sanders and Stapleton, Owen Lewis, Ely and Allen shared the opinion of Fisher and Pole in this matter. POLLEN in *The Month*, XCVII. (1901), 508.

assistance of the Emperor against the oppressive conduct of Henry VIII.; Fisher and Pole were thus of opinion that such an undertaking would be as pleasing to God as an expedition against the Turks, and the Imperial ambassador Chapuys wrote that England was for the most part in agreement with Fisher. The Protestants themselves were no exception in this; the Presbyterians of Scotland, the Huguenots of France and the Gueux of Flanders relied upon foreign assistance in their struggle against their lawful sovereigns, and Elizabeth herself had given them her help.[1]

It was nevertheless an unfortunate step to have asked for help from Spain for the Catholic cause. Since the time of Bishop Fisher the medieval idea of the state had lost much ground; almost every Englishman would only have accepted a Spanish conqueror unwillingly, and the interference of a foreigner would only have caused odium against the Catholic Church. Most unfortunately, there was added the fact that it was especially the Jesuits, priests and religious, who, with greater or less success, mixed themselves up in matters which were indeed at that time closely allied to religion, but nevertheless far removed from their real mission.[2] That their conduct on the whole was judged to have been mistaken even by the Jesuit Order, was soon made manifest at the next General Chapter of 1593. In one of the decisions arrived at on that occasion all interference in political questions was strictly forbidden to all members of the Society of Jesus.[3]

[1] *Cf.* W. Allen in LINGARD, VIII., 428.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Persons, dated Seville, May 10, 1596, in KNOX, II., 283, BELLESHEIM, Allen, 133, n. 1.: *Cf.* Persons' letter dated Seville, 10 May, 1596, in KNOX, II., 283. BELLESHEIM, Allen, 133, n. 1: Verissimum sane est, vehementer me cupere, ut haec ipsa de terrenis regnis nihil quidquam ad nos pertinerent; sed cum nostra peccata id effecerint, ut prostrata republica nostra res politicae atque religionis adeo sint immixtae atque perplexae, ut de unis restituendis sine aliis tractari non possit, . . . non possumus de secundo quoque non esse solliciti.

[3] Cong. V., decr. 47: Institutum Soc. Iesu, II., Florence, 1893, 275; *cf.* decr. 79, *ibid.*, 288.

A few years later this was followed by a Papal confirmation of this decision, so that no superior of the Order could any longer dispense in this matter in particular cases.[1]

The Catholics of the three kingdoms of Great Britain thought that there was a faint hope of help to be looked for in Scotland. It was therefore in that kingdom that the attempts to bring back better times for the old religion by means of political intrigues were renewed.

It was true that so far the position of the Catholics in Scotland as well as that of its Catholic queen had been well-nigh desperate. With the surrender of the Castle of Edinburgh on May 29th, 1573, Mary Stuart had lost her last fortress, the government was in the hands of her bitter enemy Morton, her only son was in his keeping, and was being brought up in Protestantism and hatred of his mother.[2] At first Morton did not show himself hostile to the Catholics in Scotland,[3] but even under his rule, between 1573 and 1575, several Catholic priests were put to death as such, while others were for the same reason banished from the kingdom, while others again were declared to be traitors to their country, and to have incurred the penalties of high treason.[4] The general assembly of the Scottish national church pronounced excommunication upon all Catholics who refused within eight days to accept the state religion ;[5] decrees were issued against pilgrimages, festival days, and sacred images or organs in the churches.[6]

If these prohibitions of Catholic usages were necessary, it is clear that Protestantism could not yet have taken deep root in the hearts of the people. Indeed, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII., the state of Catholicism in Scotland was not altogether hopeless. The Scottish Jesuit, John Hay,

[1] Edict of September 4, 1606, *ibid.* I. (1892), 133.

[2] *Cf.* *" Relatio de statu Mariae Scotiae Reginae," Cod. Barb., XXXIII.-110, Vatican Library.

[3] Bellesheim, Schottland, II., 131.

[4] *Ibid.* 136, *cf.* 140.

[5] *Ibid.* 138.

[6] *Ibid.* 139.

who visited his country in 1579, was of opinion[1] that a few men of influence, if they would only accept the old religion boldly, could quickly restore it. The general distress impressed the people as a scourge from heaven on account of the religious changes ; the bad faith of the ministers who promised to abolish the tithes, and yet after the lapse of three years still insisted on their payment, their sumptuous banquets in the face of their railing at the comfortable life led by Catholic priests, their covetousness of honours, as well as their marrying with women whose lawful husbands were still alive, had made the preachers of the new religion unspeakably hateful to the people. Theirs was the responsibility for the increasing decline of morality, the result of their doctrine that good works were devoid of merit ;[2] it was complained that the revenues of monasteries which formerly had sufficed for 200 persons were now no longer sufficient for one.[3]

The results of the Jesuit missions in Scotland after 1584[4]

[1] Letter to Everard Mercurian, November 9, 1579, in FORBES-LEITH, 160.

[2] *Ibid.* 158.

[3] *Ibid.* 162. Mendoza also wrote on the strength of the reports of the Jesuit Holt, who had come back from Scotland : in the country districts, especially in the north of Scotland, there is sympathy with the Catholic religion : men are angry with the pastors because they are married and give no alms. The cities are to a great extent Protestant. Yet one of the old priests, Holt states, distributed communion to more than 100 Catholics in Edinburgh last Christmas (*cf.* THEINER, III., 371). Of these old priests there are not more than half a dozen in the country : it is considered lawful to take part at the same time in sercet at Catholic worship and publicly at the Protestant (Mendoza, February 9, 1582, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 276). Mendoza is also of opinion on May 4, 1582 (Ibid. 369) concerning the Scottish people " que tiene aborrecimiento de los ministros y gente ecclesiástica que la man por su ruin vida, y tanto que de Escocia dice por ellos, que la palabra que predican era buena, pero su vida muy mala." *Cf.* the memorial of 1580 on the conditions in Scotland in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I., 72-80.

[4] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 152 *seq.* ; FORBES-LEITH, 207 *seq.*

prove that this description of the state of affairs was substantially true. That the ancient religion could still count upon a strong following in the nation was admitted, two years after the death of Gregory XIII., in a secret report to Walsingham. The Protestants, this report states, consist of a few members of the higher nobility, the lairds, or the lesser nobles, whose sons and younger brothers are for the most part occupied in commerce by land and sea, and most of the merchants in the towns. Of those who were indifferent about religion many, who formerly had been adherents of Mary Stuart, would join the Catholics, and thus the latter could count upon the greater part of the nobility, and as far as power was concerned, were superior to their adversaries.[1] The following are named as friendly to the Catholic Church in a memorial of a Scottish priest who was sent to Allen in Rome in 1582: the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Argyll, Huntly and Eglington, and Lords Hume and Seton.[2] Catholic priests still lived in secret with the Catholic families; these were to a great extent English fugitives, who as foreigners were allowed greater freedom of movement than the natives.[3] An attempt was made to provide against the extinction of the priesthood by the establishment of Scottish seminaries. One such was commenced in 1576 at Douai, but was afterwards transferred to Pont-à-Mousson. Mary Stuart as well as Gregory XIII. contributed to this establishment.[4] At the request of the Scottish queen Bishop Lesley was instructed to attempt to recover the Scottish monasteries in Germany for their own nation. The Emperor Rudolph II. supported these attempts

[1] Archibald Douglas on November 17, 1587, Calendar of Hatfield Papers, III., 295; *cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 406 *seq.*

[2] Attached to the letter of Allen of February 18, 1582, in THEINER, 1582, n. 62 (III., 371).

[3] *Ibid.* 371. *Cf.* Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 274 *seq.*

[4] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 221 *seq.* MEYER, 96 *seqq.* Mary's letter of July 31, 1581, in THEINER, 1581, n. 57 (III., 300). For the Scottish priests in Paris see BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 153, n. 1.

by a letter of recommendation to the princes and cities of Germany, dated October 8th, 1578.[1]

Although the state of affairs at home was not entirely unsatisfactory, the Catholic party could not hope to rescue their country from the oppression of England without foreign assistance. In this respect, too, the adherents of Mary Stuart had by no means yet given up all for lost. Even though the princes remained more or less indifferent in the queen's regard, there still remained as a last resource the Pope with his authority and influence. It was to him that Mary's envoys in Paris, Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, and Bishop Lesley of Ross, had recourse, in order to win the Catholic powers over to their sovereign's cause by his mediation.[2]

At first Gregory XIII. naturally could not do more than send encouraging letters to the captive queen.[3] When, in 1575, Philip II. showed himself prepared for an undertaking against England, provided that the Pope would give his adherence to the plan,[4] Gregory XIII. concurred, but the plan came to nothing owing to the delays and hesitation of Philip, as was again the case in 1577, when Don John was to attempt a landing in England from the Low Countries, with a view to supporting Mary Stuart; Gregory XIII. had

[1] BELLESHEIM in *Hist-polit. Blättern*, CIII. (1889), 35, CVII. (1891), 706. *Cf.* Lesley to Castagna, nuncio at Cologne, June 23 and July 23, 1579, in BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 720 (*cf.* 219), and THEINER, 1579, n. 102 (III., 106).

[2] Beaton, February 22, 1573, in THEINER, 1573, n. 104 (I., 186); Lesley, February 24, 1574, *ibid.* 1574, n. 94 (I., 307). *As early as November 1, 1572, Arco, the Imperial ambassador in Rome, had heard some hints of a plan for an alliance between the Pope, Spain and France "con tanto utile della religione." State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Briefs of June 30, 1572, and August 18, 1577, in THEINER, 1572, n. 72; 1577, n. 82 (I., 63, II., 337).

[4] The dealings of Philip II. with his ambassador in Rome (March-September, 1575) in W. STIRLING MAXWELL, Don John of Austria, II., London, 1883, 105-112. POLLEN in *The Month*, CI. (1903), 76.

placed 50,000 scudi at his disposal for his expedition.[1] With like want of success in 1579 and 1580 did Mary Stuart and the nuncio in Madrid, Sega, attempt to urge Philip II. to undertake the conquest of England.[2] Mary especially brought pressure to bear to get her son withdrawn from the influence of the Protestants and educated in the Catholic religion under the care of the Guise or Philip II.[3]

In addition to all these hopes and frustrated attempts, in the meantime a lucky star had risen for the Catholic party. Morton was overthrown in 1578 by the two Earls of Argyll and Atholl, and James VI., though still but a minor of twelve years of age, was declared independent.[4] Atholl was a zealous Catholic and exercised a great influence over the young king.[5] Gregory XIII. thought that the time had come to open new relations with the northern kingdom; he sent the Bishop of Ross as his ambassador with letters to James VI., the Scottish people, Mary Stuart, Henry III. and the leading Catholics of France.[6] But the step was premature; Atholl was suddenly carried off by death;[7] and Morton again came

[1] *Ibid.* 77. KRETZSCHMAR, 47 *seqq.* RITTER, I., 524. The instructions of Philip II., November 11, 1576, to Don John concerning the invasion of England, in KERVYN DE LETTERHOVE' Relations, IX., 15-21.

[2] PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 101, 137 *seqq.* Report of Sega in KRETZSCHMAR, 194 *seqq.*

[3] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 193. *Cf.* Beaton to Galli, November 13, 1578, in THEINER, 1578, n. 82 (II., 439).

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 154; FORBES-LEITH, 134 *seq.*

[5] "Tanta erat apud adolescentem principem auctoritate, ut loco parentis coleretur." Lesley to Cardinal Galli, June 20, 1578, in THEINER, 1579, n. 104 (III., 108). "Is vere catholicus princeps . . . id unum expetebat . . . ut avtia Christianorum eligio Scotiae restitueretur" (*ivid.* 107).

[6] All of July 5, 1578, published in THEINER, 1578, N. 89-90 (II., 437).

[7] *Cf.* the letters of Lesley to Galli, May 15, June 20, July 19, 1579, in FORBES-LEITH, 134 *seqq.*, 137 *seqq.*; THEINER, 1579, n. 104 (III., 108 *seq.*, 110).

into power;[1] Lesley had to content himself with trying to influence his country by letter.[2] It soon became clear, however, that a successor for Atholl had been found.

In 1579, at the desire of King James,[3] his young cousin Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, and a cousin of Darnley, came to the Scottish court, and rose in the king's favour from day to day. Aubigny had been brought up as a Catholic in France, and before his departure from Paris had presented himself before the Papal nuncio, promising to work on behalf of Catholicism with James VI.[4] He sought not only to withdraw his royal patron from English influence, and bring him into closer touch with his mother, but also gradually to win him over to the Catholic cause. Mary Stuart worked in the same sense; when in 1580 James put forward a suggestion that he should be recognized by her as sharing the throne, Mary agreed, provided James would embrace the Catholic faith.[5] On the other hand, Aubigny favoured Mary's plan for sending her son abroad into Catholic surroundings. At the beginning of April, 1580, it would seem that this plan was on the point of being carried into effect with the consent of James.[6]

Naturally Elizabeth, through Morton, tried to oppose

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 154 *seq.*

[2] Lesley to Gregory XIII., July 9, 1580, in THEINER, 1580, n. 91 (III., 219).

[3] Lesley to Galli, May 15, 1579, in FORBES-LEITH, 136.

[4] Lesley to Galli, July 8, 1579, in THEINER, 1579, n. 105 (III., 110). The Pope approved the decision of Aubigny to go to Scotland (Letter of Galli, June 15, 1579, mentioned *ibid.*). Lesley also rested his hopes for the recovery of Scotland to the Church in the head of the Hamilton family, the next successor to the throne after the Stuarts (*ibid.*, 111).

[5] PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 309.

[6] "Scribit insuper D. d'Aubignius, nimium [minimum ?] abfuisse, quia 6 die Aprilis Principem nostrum de ipsius consensu, ex adversae factionis potestate ereptum, in castrum Dumbartonium perduxisset, unde in Galliam brevissimus est traiectus." Lesley to Galli, July 9, 1580, in THEINER, 1580, n. 91 (III., 220).

the French newcomer.[1] But these attempts only made it clear how deeply rooted Aubigny's influence was, and they led to the fall, not of the latter, but of Morton. On December 31st, 1580, the regent, who hitherto had been all-powerful in the Council of State, was arrested as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley, and after he had confessed his knowledge of the conspiracy, was executed on July 2nd, 1581. On August 8th, 1581, the king created his favourite Duke of Lennox.[2]

James VI. thus seemed to have embraced the cause of the Catholic religion and a Catholic policy, and the most joyful hopes sprang up among the Catholics. Elizabeth might continue to issue persecuting laws as before, but what was the use of all her blows if her lawful heir, the future successor to the threefold crown, inclined in the opposite direction?[3] If ever there was a time when the friends of the Catholic religion must not remain passive, it was now. If the present favourable opportunity were allowed to pass, without being turned to advantage, it would probably never return.

It was above all Campion's companion, Robert Persons, who insisted upon this, and he gradually gave up his pastoral labours for politics. Persons thought he had the gift of exercising great influence by his words and writings; this belief was pardonable, for all are in agreement as to the remarkable qualities of this man. He had not yet attained to the height of his wide-spread activity when William Allen described as incredible the readiness, the prudence, the zeal, the political skill and literary ability of this friend of his.[4] Moreover, he was one of the most talented writers of his

[1] Bellesheim, Schottland, II., 147.

[2] *Ibid.* 146.

[3] The Spanish ambassador on the other hand thought that the fall of Protestantism in England would mean its fall everywhere; "Segun todo juicio humano medio para poderse extirpar la muchedumbre de herejes de Europa." Mendoza, November 11, 1581, Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. V., 181.

[4] Sacchinus, P. V., l. 1, n. 288.

age, whose English style was extolled by Swift as a model of simplicity and clearness ; above all, he was without a rival as a polemical writer.[1] The first thing which led him on to this new line of action naturally had nothing in itself to do with politics. When he heard of the course of events in Scotland, he begged the well-informed secular priest, William Watts, to come to him in London, and induced him to go north in order to win over the young king to the cause of the Church.[2] Soon afterwards, at the beginning of August, 1581, Persons left England, where, after Campion's arrest, which had taken place on July 17th, he might indeed die for the Church, but could no longer work for it.[3]

About ten days later Watts set out for Scotland. Besides Persons, others as well had given him tasks to perform ; six English nobles through him invited the Duke of Lennox to interest himself in obtaining the liberation of Mary Stuart, and to overthrow, if not Elizabeth herself, at any rate the

[1] Character sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIII., 416. Taunton himself, his most determined adversary, says of him : " Look at him from almost any point you will, he was great." (ETHELRED L. TAUNTON, The History of the Jesuits in England, London, 1901, 395). D'Israeli says of his writings (Amenities of Literature, London, 1867, 438) : " Parsons may be ranked among the earliest writers of our vernacular diction in its purity and pristine vigour, without ornament and polish. . . . His English writings have not a sentence which, to this day, is either obsolete or obscure." In TAUNTON, *loc. cit.*, 475. *Cf.* MEYER, 169.

[2] Persons to Aquaviva, September 26, 1581, in H. MORUS, Historia Missionis Anglicanae, St. Omer, 1660, 116 ; FORBES-LEITH, 166-174.

[3] He puts forward as the motive for his flight that he had been sought for in England so eagerly that, besides the constant annoyance to the Catholics, many priests had fallen into the hands of the spies who were seeking him (Persons to Aggazari, August 24, 1583, in THEINER, 1583, n. 85, III., 475). Mendoza also says, December 11, 1581, that Persons could not return to England without being immediately taken by his enemies. Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 206.

statesmen who were governing England. If the King of Scotland were to declare himself a Catholic, many of the English nobles and the greater part of the people would side with him; the help of the Pope, Spain and France ought to be equally forthcoming. As soon as the king crossed the English border with an army, the six nobles would stir up rebellion in the north of England, acclaim him as heir to the throne and liberate his mother, while Spain would give assistance. If Elizabeth would not accept the restoration of the Catholic religion she should be deposed.[1] Lennox did not show himself averse to this plan, but even before his answer reached Watts the renewed persecution of the Catholics had placed the greater number of the six nobles in question in prison, so that the scheme came to nothing.[2]

As had been the case in England, so did the rise of Aubigny lead to fresh projects abroad.[3] Philip II., in contrast to his previous attitude, now seemed to be willing to assume the position of a leader. He not only placed at the disposal of his ambassador in London 2,000 ducats for the purpose of sending preachers to Scotland,[4] but through Prospero Colonna he promised the Pope to make an attack upon England, if Gregory, by forming a defensive alliance among the Italian states would prevent a counter-attack on the part of France. But in all probability, as far as the King of Spain was concerned, all he really cared about was an Italian alliance and a declaration by the Pope against France.[5] Gregory XIII., therefore, revoked even the concessions of May, 1581, into which he had allowed himself to be led,[6] and Philip, as far as England was concerned, reverted to his policy of waiting and fair words. It was in vain that a cousin of Mary, one of the Hamiltons, asked for help for the Queen of Scots and her son;[7] it was equally in vain that Aubigny, after fruitlessly

[1] Mendoza, September 7, 1581, *ibid.* 107 *seq.*
[2] Mendoza, October 20, 1581, *ibid.* 147.
[3] PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 309-320. KRETZSCHMAR, 58 *seqq.*
[4] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 310.
[5] *Ibid.* 311.
[6] *Ibid.* 312.
[7] *Ibid.* 313.

approaching Henry of France, joined with Mary Stuart in approaching the Pope, the Guise and Spain. Philip, on whom everything depended, asked Mary to send a representative for the negotiations to Lisbon, and promised a subsidy in money for the Scottish Catholics, but otherwise maintained his attitude of reserve.[1] When, too, the nuncio Taverna, at the beginning of 1582, took steps on behalf of Ireland, Philip only spoke of his war in Flanders, which he said tied his hands. The proposals of the Catholic nobles in Scotland only met with evasive replies from Granvelle.

If then the Pope wished to profit by the favourable opportunity he would have to intervene himself, and this he did. At the end of 1581 the Secretary of State wrote to the nuncio Castelli in Paris that he might discuss with Archbishop Beaton, Mary's envoy, how it would be possible to withdraw King James from the influence of the heretics. To convey him overseas to a Catholic country, as Mary Stuart had often suggested, would have been impossible, and might well cost the young prince his throne ; on the other hand, it might be possible to attempt, through Aubigny and the King of France, to surround him with loyal Catholics.[2] At the beginning of 1582 the Jesuit William Crichton was sent to Paris by the Pope to confer with Castelli and Beaton about the state of affairs in Scotland ; at Rouen he went to see Persons, and at Eu the Duke of Guise. When he continued his journey to Scotland, Crichton met by chance at Dalkeith the Jesuit, William Holt, who had been sent to the north by Persons for missionary work, in the disguise of a teacher of Italian ; he had stayed a long time at the court of James, and was now returning from a visit to London with a letter from the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, promising the Duke of Lennox the support of Spain.[3]

Thus Lennox at the same time received favourable news from two quarters, from the Pope by the hands of Crichton

[1] *Ibid.* 315-320.

[2] Galli to Castelli, December 11, 1581, in KRETZSCHMAR, 121.

[3] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 321 *seq.*

and from Spain by those of Holt; Crichton, who had understood as definite promises the general expressions made use of by the Pope, and by the nuncio in Paris, thought he could promise an auxiliary force of 15,000 men. Full of joy, the Duke at once put forward a plan for the liberation of the whole of Great Britain from the yoke of Elizabeth and from heresy.[1] An army of 20,000 men was to set out from Scotland under the command of King James and Lennox, and march against England; at the same time the Irish and the English Catholics were to rise in rebellion. Crichton took the plan to France, where Guise reduced the 20,000 men suggested to 16,000, but otherwise promised to assist the undertaking with an expeditionary force.[2] After several conferences, in which the Papal nuncio, Castelli, Beaton, Allen, Persons, and above all Guise, took part, it was decided to agree to the Duke of Lennox's proposal, and to send Crichton to Rome and Persons to Lisbon to further its execution with the Pope and Philip II. At the end of May both of them set out upon their journey.[3] The noble-hearted Guise, for whom the plan meant the liberation of a persecuted queen, and his own relative, looked forward enthusiastically to the expedition against England. "In a month or two," he exclaimed, "we shall be either conquerors or dead."[4] Castelli wrote to Rome[5] that a more glorious or advantageous undertaking, as far as he could judge, was difficult to imagine, much less to carry out.

As Galli told Castelli,[6] Gregory XIII. too welcomed the project with as great joy as if it had been a question of setting free the Holy Land. Galli added, however, that long years of experience had taught him that things are often set forth in fair words which cannot afterwards be put into practice;

[1] Given from Dalkeith, March 7, 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 124-128.

[2] *Ibid.* 64, 128 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 65 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 65.

[5] On May 22, 1582, *ibid.* 135.

[6] On May 28, 1582, *ibid.* 146 *seq.*

the Pope, therefore, wished to see the undertaking begun before he promised his support. Gregory adhered firmly to this principle even when a memorial was sent to him by Persons through Castelli,[1] and Crichton had arrived in Rome.[2] In an autograph letter, however, he tried to win over the King of Spain to an expedition against England.[3]

In his financial difficulties,[4] and in the midst of his many other undertakings, Philip felt himself unable to embark upon a war against England, which would only have strengthened French influence there. He charged his ambassador in France, Tassis, but of course too late, to hold Persons back from his journey to Lisbon,[5] so that when the unwelcome envoy reached the court of Spain, for a long time he was not received ;[6] it was only through third parties and in vague terms that the king assured him of his good will.[7] At last, when Gregory XIII., who for many months had received no reply to his autograph letter, complained bitterly to Crighton of the delays of Spain, Philip summoned the English Jesuit to his presence, but only in his turn to throw all the blamc on the Pope.[8]

However unimportant all these occurrences may have been, they are nevertheless characteristic of the sentiments that prevailed at the Papal and Spanish courts. The Spanish Council of State was annoyed, after the receipt of the Pope's letter, that in a matter which principally concerned religion the Pope should show so little zeal, and should wish to lay the whole burden on the shoulders of Spain.[9] In Rome it was thought that the obstinate silence of the king could only be excused if Philip had it in his mind to embark upon the

[1] Of May 22, 1582, published *ibid.* 135-146.
[2] Galli to Castelli, June 11 and 25, 1582, *ibid.* 147, 148.
[3] Galli to Taverna, June 25, 1582, *ibid.* 148 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* 76.
[5] *Ibid.* 71.
[6] Taverna to Galli, August 6, 1582, *ibid.* 151.
[7] Report of Persons on his stay at Lisbon, *ibid.* 157.
[8] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 334.
[9] Taverna to Galli, Madrid, August 6, 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 151.

undertaking without the previous knowledge of the Pope ; it was indeed felt that it would have been better for the clergy to have appeased God by their prayers, and leave other matters to laymen.[1] At length, on September 4th, Philip resolved, not indeed upon any promise, but to send a reply to Gregory XIII. His participation in the English expedition, so he said, depended upon two things : one, the amount of the subsidy which the Pope was willing to grant, the other, the success of the Spanish arms in the war with Don Antonio about the Azores.[2]

In the meantime a fresh success on the part of the English Protestant party in Scotland, had for the time being put an end to all plans against England. Although Lennox outwardly professed himself a Protestant and had subscribed to a formula of faith by which he accepted the doctrines of the Scottish church, and rejected the Papacy,[3] nevertheless the Protestant ministers had not abandoned their attempt to withdraw the king from his influence. Lennox had become particularly hateful to them on account of the favour which he had shown to the episcopal system, which Morton, with the consent of Knox, had already tried to introduce in 1572.[4] When, at the end of August, 1582, James went hunting near Perth, Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, enticed him to his castle, and carried him off to Stirling, where he was kept in a mild form of imprisonment, though his life was by no means safe

[1] Galli to Taverna, September 3, 1582, *ibid.* 152.

[2] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 334 *seq.*

[3] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 146. It is interesting that in spite of this Lennox did not consider that his hypocrisy was justified by the worthiness of his purpose. As he himself says, he knew well enough that his denial of the faith could not be justified before God : " quoy considerant [the weakness of the Scottish Catholics] je m'estois delibere de ne plus dissimuler pour sauver la vie temporele du roy, combien que je luy sois proche parent, *et perdre mon ame et la vie eternelle*, ains me retirer en France et le laisser en proye a ses ennemys." Lennox to Gregory XIII., March 7, 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 123.

[4] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 130, 135, 142 *seq.*

from the designs of Elizabeth.[1] Lennox withdrew to the fortress of Dumbarton; his part was played.

The person who was most deeply cut to the heart by the news of James' imprisonment was his unhappy mother, who now saw her own misfortunes hanging over the head of her only son. When at length she received the news of this occurrence, so terrible for her, she wrote to Elizabeth the celebrated letter,[2] in which she enumerated all the plots and treacherous schemes whereby the Queen of England had brought her Scottish rival to an ever increasing unhappiness, so that now she found herself broken down even in body, and, as she affirmed on her honour, looked for no other kingdom than that of heaven, which she saw awaiting her as the blessed end of all her tribulations and adversities. She only asked now for a Catholic priest, which had hitherto been denied her, and for two waiting maids to assist her in her illness and weakness.

But although, physically speaking, Mary's course was run, her spirit was still unbroken; she no longer desired any earthly kingdom for herself, but she did not sit with folded hands when the liberty and life of her only son were at stake. She sent ambassadors to France and Rome, she wrote to Beaton and to Madrid, she implored the King of Spain at least to give help in money, and urged the Guise to come to the assistance of James even in default of Spain.[3]

The energy of Guise was indeed increased, rather than

[1] *Ibid.*, 150 *seq.*

[2] Of November 8, 1582, in LABANOFF, V., 338 *seqq.*; OPITZ, II., 208-218.

[3] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 339. KRETZSCHMAR, 81 *seq.* Her ambassador to the Pope (BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 151, n. 1) was the Jesuit Henry Samerie, who was with Mary as a doctor under the name of de la Rue. For him see POLLEN in *The Month*, CVXII. (1911), 11 *seqq.*, 136 *seqq.* His letters of credence to Gregory XIII. in THEINER, 1582, n. 65 (III., 373). Allen also wrote to the Pope on September 12, 1582, after he had received the news of the capture of James; in THEINER, 1582 n. 64 (III., 372 *seq.*).

cooled, by the persecution of his cousin James VI. Like Mary, he thought of taking action, even without the help of Spain; he wrote in this sense to Gregory XIII.,[1] who was also assured by Beaton that the prospects were now better rather than worse.[2] The Pope, however, now had serious doubts as to whether it would be possible to accomplish anything without the help of Spain,[3] and he tried once more to win the consent of Philip to the undertaking, and promised to contribute a quarter of the expenses.[4] He informed Guise that even if Spain would not or could not co-operate, the Holy See would do all that lay in its power.[5]

As the result of the pressure brought to bear by Mary Stuart, this much at least was accomplished, that Henry III. of France sent as his ambassadors to Scotland to assist Lennox, first Fénelon, and then Meyneville. But it was no longer possible to help Lennox. At the end of 1582, by an order extorted from the king, he was banished to Dumbarton, and at the end of May, 1583, he died in France.[6]

Meyneville found James VI. fairly well disposed towards the Catholic religion. The king, wrote the ambassador, will have nothing to do with all these arrogant preachers, and has detected many errors in their version of the Bible. When Meyneville convinced him that his only hope lay in the intervention of the Catholic powers, he promised not to persecute the Catholics. The divisions among the Protestant nobles gave rise in the king's mind to the hope that he might soon be able to free himself from their dominion.[7] Meyneville's return

[1] Galli to Castelli, October 15 (25), 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 155.

[2] September 9, 1582, in THEINER, 1582, n. 64 (III., 372).

[3] Galli, *loc. cit.*

[4] "E poi per levar affatto a S. Maestà ogni pretesto . . .S.S^{tà} si è resoluta di far qualche cosa di più de le forze sue etc." Galli to Taverna, October 24 (November 3), 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 158.

[5] Galli to Castelli, October 29 (November 8), 1582, *ibid.* 159.

[6] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 157 *seqq.* PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 341 *seq.*, 475.

[7] Castelli to Galli, May 20 (30), 1583, in KRETZSCHMAR, 165. When the king gave a banquet to the French ambassador, who

to France in May, 1583, thus gave a fresh impetus to the expedition against England; a further conference was held at the house of the nuncio to France,[1] and a plan was drawn up for a landing in England.[2] According to this plan, Spain was to deliver an attack in the north, and the Guise in the south. But the strained relations between Spain and France, and between the French government and the Guise, the friends of Spain, had increased after the expedition of Alençon to the Low Countries.[3] The carrying out of the enterprise had therefore of necessity to be postponed, nor was it of any avail when Gregory increased his subsidy of 4000 ducats by another 3000.[4]

After all these disappointments hope was again renewed, when in June 1583 James succeeded in escaping from his captivity. In the following August further discussions were held in Paris, the results of which were conveyed by Persons to the Pope and by Crichton to the King of Spain.[5] Gregory welcomed the plan with enthusiasm. He even thought of renewing the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and pronouncing her deposition, a step which had not been contemplated during the discussions of the two preceding

had asked for the right of Catholic worship for himself, the Church of Scotland ordered a fast, and excommunicated all who took part in the banquet. It seemed to give pleasure to the king to irritate the pastors. BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 156 *seq.*

[1] Castelli to Galli, June 1 (11), 1583, in KRETZSCHMAR, 166.

[2] By Castelli, who was sent to Rome on June 10 (20), 1583, *ibid.*, 168-171. The memorial concerning the easiness of an invasion of England, placed by Theiner (1583, n. 9, III., 480 *seq.*) in the year 1583, obviously belongs to the first year of Sixtus V.; *cf.* e.g. 481, col. 1, under 2: the insurrection of 1569 was "ante sedecim annos"; 483, col. 1: The Papal States are at peace "per felicissima *novi* pontificis *auspicia*"; Belgium has returned almost entirely to its obedience, etc.

[3] KRETZSCHMAR, 94 *seqq.*

[4] Galli to Castelli, *ibid.*, 171 *seq.*

[5] POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 395. Instructions for Richard Melino (i.e. Persons), August 12 (22), 1583, in TEULET, Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse, V., Paris, 1862, 307.

years.[1] Allen was to be appointed Bishop of Durham, and was to accompany the expedition as Papal legate.[2] The attitude of Philip, however, naturally made the publication of the two documents, which had already been drafted, impossible, though Gregory did not yet give up hope of being at last able to win over the king to his views. He was prepared to grant as a subsidy a tax upon the Spanish clergy up to 400,000 scudi.[3] He replaced the nuncio Taverna, who was not very acceptable to Philip, by his friend Sega.[4] But all was in vain. On June 24th, 1584, the French nuncio wrote that the English and the Scots who had knowledge of the matter had lost all hope; on August 6th of the same year Tassis reported that Philip estimated the cost of the expedition at two million crowns, and that it would therefore be necessary to wait for some future date.[5]

In London, in spite of everything, the changed attitude of the Scottish court had at first given rise to considerable anxiety. In order to obtain definite information concerning the vague rumours of negotiations between the King of Scotland and Rome, they did not scruple to have recourse to the most undignified measures. A supposed autograph letter from James VI. was prepared, in which the King most respectfully turned to the Pope, and recommended as his ambassador a pretended young relative, John Stuart, by whose means James had found the way to the light in the midst of the darkness.[6] A spy, who

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, MEYER, 243 *seq.* Persons moreover in his memorial sent to Rome on May 22, 1582, had urged the excommunication (KRETZSCHMAR, 144 *seq.*). The minute of the bull of excummunication bears the date September 24, 1583. MEYER, 244.

[2] *Ibid.* Persons had also suggested the appointment of a bishop of Durham. KRETZSCHMAR, 143 *seq.*

[3] On August 15, 1583, in KRETZSCHMAR, 98 *seq.*

[4] Sega arrived in Madrid on October 1 (11), 1583; *ibid.* 99 *seq.*, *cf.* 212 *seqq.*

[5] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 395.

[6] The letter of March 10, 1584, in THEINER, 1584, n. 113 (III., 602).

acted the part of this zealous Catholic relative, was sent to sound the views of the Scottish party in Paris and at the Roman Curia, and to ask the Pope himself in James's name what was the best way to bring Scotland back to the faith.[1] In Paris the supposed John Stuart found favour with Guise, Seton and Beaton,[2] but in Rome he was unmasked as an impostor and his letter of recommendation discovered to be a forgery.[3]

By the time this unmasking had taken place Elizabeth had but little to fear from the Catholic leanings of James, but at the beginning of 1584 the hopes of the friends of Allen and Persons still ran high. James sent Lords Gray and Fentray from Scotland to the Duke of Guise to urge him to negotiate.[4] The most ardent Catholic among the Scottish nobles, Lord Seton, again received his office of ambassador at the court of France after the escape of the king from his imprisonment.[5] On February 19th, 1584, the King of Scotland personally had recourse by letter to Guise, as well as to the Pope.[6] On March 22nd Mary Stuart wrote to Allen full of hopes,[7] and at the end of October she again urged forward the negotiations,[8] as after the coming spring it would be too late. The personal effect upon herself, the Queen of Scotland,

[1] The diplomatic instructions of James on the subject, *ibid.*

[2] THEINER, 1584, n. 114 (III., 603); *cf.* the letter of Beaton to the Pope on April 16, *ibid.*; that of the French nuncio Ragazzoni on April 2, *ibid.* 805 *seq.*, and that of Guise of April 15, 1584, *ibid.* 807, 808.

[3] The letter of Galli to Ragazzoni on June 18, 1584, mentioned in that of Ragazzoni of July 9, 1584, *ibid.* 808; Ragazzoni to Galli, July 23, 1584, on the reasons for the spuriousness of the letters of credence, *ibid.* 809.

[4] His credentials, January 22, 1584, in THEINER, III., app. 801.

[5] The son of Seton, on April 17, 1584, *ibid.* 806. Lord Seton was charged to treat with the King of France, but only after he had an interview with Beaton. Beaton to Galli, March 19, 1584, *ibid.* n. 109 (III., 596).

[6] Both letters in THEINER, III., App. 802, 806.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1584, n. 110 (III., 599 *seq.*).

[8] Letter to Allen, October 28, 1584, *ibid.* (III., 600).

of an armed landing must not be taken into consideration, for she was firmly convinced that she could not lay down her life in a better cause ;[1] she looked upon as assured the loyalty of her son to the common cause and his filial love for herself.

The unhappy queen was not aware that by that time she had been betrayed and deserted even by her only son. As early as February 19th, James had written to Guise that the power of his enemies and the rebels was increasing from day to day owing to the help given them by Elizabeth in order to stir up the nation to revolt and deprive him of his life. He could not resist any longer ; Guise must therefore bring pressure to bear upon the princes and the Pope to give prompt and powerful help, because otherwise he would in a short time be forced either to destruction or to yield himself into their hands and submit to their detestable wishes and designs ; he made a similar declaration to the Pope. The prompt and powerful help that he asked for was not forthcoming, and accordingly the young prince, who was precocious indeed, but weak in will, did what he had threatened to do, and threw himself entirely into the arms of Elizabeth.[2] The English queen had already received detailed information concerning the secret negotiations in Paris from James's ambassador himself, for Lord Gray, on his return from Paris to Edinburgh had betrayed his sovereign by communicating his secrets to Elizabeth.[3]

[1] "Iam enim statui nunquam mihi vitam felicius, quam in hoc tempore et causa finire posse, quod pro mea hac in re resolutione semel tandem tibi dictum velim." THEINER, III., 600.

[2] BELLESHEIM, Scottland, II., 164.

[3] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XII.

Persecution in England and Scotland.—Rise of the Puritans.

By the middle of 1584 it was certain that the attempt to bring about any intervention by force of arms on behalf of Catholicism and Mary Stuart had completely failed. Henry III. of France at the end of May informed the Scottish queen in clear and definite terms, through his ambassador in England, that he could do nothing for her ; that he would even willingly see the crown of Scotland upon the head of Elizabeth rather than make common cause with the hated Guise and with Spain, even on behalf of his own cousin.[1] In the following month the Duke of Alençon died, the last of the Valois, except the king, who had no children ; thus France found herself faced with a civil war, and could no longer think of any foreign undertaking. On the other hand Spain's relations with England had become so much worse that, in spite of all negotiations, open war was inevitable. Among the partisans of Spain amongst the English Catholics there was a feeling of disappointment. At the beginning of 1584 they had realized that the Pope was not only their principal friend, but the only one who was prepared to make any sacrifice. The constant failures of the political intrigues had led Allen and Persons to the conclusion " to give up all thought of such things, and to concentrate upon the way they had previously followed, namely that of spiritual means, and thus, even though it should only be after a long

[1] Mauvissière, May 22, 1584, in Mémoires de Mons. de Castelnau, Seigneur de Mauvissière, I., Brussels, 1731, 595. Theiner, III., 599.

time, bring matters to a decision."[1] A letter from Allen in 1584 informed the Catholics of this decision and of recent events and advised patience.[2]

The knowledge that they had been abandoned by the Catholic powers, and that they had been thrown helplessly into the hands of those who would tyrannize over their consciences, led some of the English Catholics to a desperate step. In 1580, Humphrey Ely, a doctor of canon law and theology, was sent by some of the English nobles and by the Jesuits to Madrid, to the Papal nuncio Sega, and proposed to him a question of conscience. These nobles, Ely declared, had made up their minds to attempt to kill Elizabeth if the Pope would assure them that by so doing they would not commit a sin. They wished for this assurance because it was a case of an undertaking in which they might very easily be killed, and would thus have to appear before the judgment seat of God without any opportunity for repentance or expiation.[3]

The meaning of this singular question was explained in the

[1] "Dr. Allen and I . . . had resolved, to leave cogitation of such matters and to follow only our spiritual course, whereupon all dependeth though in longer time." POLLEN in *The Month*, IC., 399.

[2] *Ibid.* 397 *seq.*

[3] Tra le altre cose che mi dice questo dottore Umfrido Elei, una me ne ha detto con molto secreto in nome di alcuni nobili de la isola [e] de li medesimi padri Gesuiti, et è che li sodetti nobili si risolveriano di tentare di ammazzare la regina di mano propria, ogni volta che si assicurassero, almeno con la parola . . . :, che S.S^{tà} gli assicurasse che per questo non caderiano in peccato, per il pericolo che gli instaria de la morte lor propria in tentar cosa tanto grave et pericolosa. Sega to Galli, November 14, 1580, in MEYER, 426. The Jesuits mentioned were Persons and Campion. That they approved of the nobles' project is not likely; in other ways the English Jesuits, as far as is known, always pronounced against such schemes (see further, infra, p. 450, and SPILLMANN, III., 388, IV., 57). In the present case they referred the petitioners to the declaration of a higher authority, and in the same sense, Ely, in their name, addressed the request to the nuncio.

nuncio's reply. Sega answered[1] that these nobles should, or so it seemed to him, let their consciences be quieted by the words of the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, as this gave to all her subjects the right to take up arms against the queen. In reply to a question addressed to Rome, the Secretary of State confirmed the view of the nuncio, and described the project of the questioners as meritorious.[2] In order to understand this reply and the question which elicited it, the following must be taken into consideration. Its foundation was to be found in the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth, which had only been revoked by Gregory XIII. as far as its effects upon the Catholics were concerned. Since the queen was deposed, and therefore unjustly retained the sovereignty of England, it seemed a legitimate conclusion, both to the questioners and to the nuncio that it "was lawful to take up arms against her" or that it was permissible to raise an armed rebellion on a larger or smaller scale against the government, after the manner of that of Northumberland in 1569. On that point the nobles in question had no hesitation; their doubt only referred to the question whether, in the event of a similar rising, it would be lawful to lay hands upon the queen herself, or whether the sacred person of the sovereign must in any case be respected. In the view of the nuncio, as well as of the Secretary of State, the permission to "take up arms" against the pretended sovereignty of the queen also included the other right of using them if necessary against the person of the unlawful sovereign. If the nuncio and the Secretary of State

[1] Io gli ho risposto che per le parole de la sentenza di Pio V. di sa. me. pare que questi si potriano assicurare, poichè particoi larmente dà lizenza a tutti li vassalli di poter pigliar le armcontra la regina impune. In MEYER, 427.

[2] "Non è da dubitare che tenendo quella rea femina d'Inghilterra occupati a la christianità dui regni si nobili, et essendoi causa di tanto danno a la fede cattolica et de la perdita di tanti milioni d'anime, ciascuno che la levasse dal mondo col fine debito del servitio di Dio, non solo non peccaria, ma anco meritaria, massime stante la sententia contra di lei di Pio V. sta. me." Galli to Sega, 12 December, 1580, edited for the first time by MEYER, 428.

approved of the killing of Elizabeth this was in conformity with the principles of law then in force. Gregory too, with whom the Secretary of State undoubtedly consulted before he sent his letter to the nuncio, concurred in this view.[1] That Gregory did not approve of political murder as such, a thing that at that time was spreading like a contagious disease, is shown by the fact that later on he expressly condemned as unlawful an attempt upon the life of Henry III.[2] If he did not give a like reply to the Englishmen when they asked their question, it was because the case of Elizabeth was substantially different. She had been expressly excommunicated and deposed; for that reason, according to the laws of that time, she was a usurper, and a rising of her subjects against her *with all its consequences* was looked upon as lawful.[3] Gregory XIII.,

[1] "Quanto poi a V. S. in caso che lei fosse incorsa in alcuna irregularità, N. S. le dà la sua santa benedizione." Galli to Sega, 12 December, 1580, in MEYER, 428. *Cf.* Sega to Allen, 12 March, 1581, BELLESHEIM, Allen, 277.

[2] "Au reste, le Pape ne trouve pas bon, qu'on attente sur la vie du roi, car cela ne se peut faire en bonne conscience; mais si on pouvait se saisir de sa personne et ôter d'auprès de lui ce qui sont cause de la ruine de ce royaume . . . on trouverait bon cela." P. Claude Matthieu au duc de Nevers de Pont-à-Mousson, 11 February, 1585, in *Les Mémoires de Mons. le duc de Nevers, I.*, Paris, 1665, 657.

[3] MEYER [Engl. transl.] (p. 267) says: "Gregory XIII. adopted without hesitation all the political methods of his time. He alone among the Popes of the counter-reformation regarded assassination, when employed in the church's service, as a work well-pleasing to God." Meyer continues (p. 271) with reference to the letter from Galli to Sega (quoted *infra*, p. 441, n. 2). "These words go far beyond what canon law permits to be done to excommunicate persons. Excommunication in canon law corresponds to outlawry in civil, to kill an excommunicate person is not regarded as murder by canon law, but rather as a deed which calls for penance, 'lest the discipline of the church suffer harm,' and because impure motives can easily prompt the deed. Inasmuch as Gregory represents the assassination of Elizabeth as 'meritorious' and as 'a good work,' he, who previously was

as a logical canonist, found all the less reason for departing from the principles then in force, in that he deemed Elizabeth to be incorrigible and the cause of the loss of millions of souls.[1] The nuncio urged Ely to hurry on the execution of the plan

such a stickler for legal exactitude, abandons the standpoint of the canonists and takes his stand among the advocates of the doctrine of political murder." To this account, which is free from all animosity, as was only to be expected from so serious a scholar as Meyer, the following objections may be made : Urban II., c. 47, C. 23, q. 5 indeed says that he (in the case presented to him) does not consider a man a murderer who, in an access of zeal for his mother, the Church, has assaulted an excommunicate person. But this is not a pronouncement of the general principle that the killing of one who is excommunicated—which is described by Urban II. himself, *loc. cit.* as a " flagitium "—is not murder and may be freely allowed. Phinees and Mathathias (Numb. 25, 7, and I. Macc. 2, 26) were manifestly not looked upon as murderers, but that is very far from putting forward their actions as lawful or normal. Their zeal for the honour of God, indeed, led them to overlook the fact that they were not appointed to punish the guilty ; in their case, the *author* is praiseworthy, but not the *action* in itself (*cf.* E. MICHAEL, Ignaz v. Döllinger, 1894, 548 *seq.*). As for Gregory XIII. it is clear that his starting point was the bull of Pius V. ; according to that, Elizabeth was not a lawful sovereign, but a usurper, and the attempt to get rid of a usurper by means of a rebellion was in his opinion lawful. Therefore it is going too far to say that Gregory XIII. indiscriminately welcomed all the measures adopted by lay policy, or looked upon the assassination as justified by its good end. He did not succumb to the contagion of a disease then prevalent, but was guided by canonical principles. In the translation of the reply of Galli in Meyer, the point " since that guilty woman of England rules over two such noble kingdoms " is not well put. The word " occupati " here bears as is shown by the allusion to the bull of excommunication by Pius V., which immediately follows, the sense of " usurpati."

[1] His successor formed a different judgment of Elizabeth, for he hoped for her return to Catholicism. He therefore definitely rejected any proposal to kill Elizabeth. Further particulars in Vol. XXII. of this work.

as quickly as possible.[1] But the latter only got as far as Rheims on his return journey to the English nobles, and no more was heard of the projected insurrection.[2]

Elizabeth remained upon her throne for more than twenty years without having to fear any act of violence against her person on the part of the oppressed Catholics, for the rising of 1569 was expressly directed against the queen's ministers, and not against the queen herself.[3] For the first time during the years 1580-1587, and again between 1593 and 1594, was there much talk of any such plan. In some cases something of the sort was actually suggested by certain persons, but for the most part it was a case of groundless rumours, or of plans that were not taken seriously, and were put forward by charlatans, who wished in this way to raise money.

Even before the above mentioned mission to the nuncio in Spain, an English noble had gone from Flanders to Owen Lewis in Rome, and had offered in return for a reward of 10,000 gold crowns to bring about the assassination of Elizabeth. It makes very little difference, he wrote, whether the queen is removed by means of an armed expedition or secretly by means of a well planned attack. "But I am by no means inclined to any such schemes," wrote Owen Lewis two years later to the Secretary of State; "it does not at all beseem me as a priest to have anything to do with deeds of blood, so I gave him no reply."[4] We hear nothing more of this affair; there is reason to suppose that it was only the work of an impostor, who wished to act the spy and traitor against Rome.

Three years later a similar scheme was laid before the Duke of Guise. A similar refugee from England represented himself as being a secret Catholic at the court of Elizabeth, who was angry with the queen because she had caused some of his Catholic relatives to be put to death; in return for a reward

[1] Letter to Galli, November 14, in MEYER, 427.

[2] Ely became a priest and a professor at Rheims; see POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 605 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 207.

[4] From the letter of Lewis, March 1, 1582, in POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 604.

of 100,000 francs he declared his readiness to carry out a bloody revenge. At first Guise allowed himself to be tempted by the plan, though after a few weeks this courtier of Elizabeth had taken his departure, probably because he had been detected as a rogue.[1] Guise, who had again been strengthened in his determination to undertake an expedition against England by this proposal, and who needed a money subsidy for that purpose, informed the Spanish ambassador and the French nuncio of this offer. He expressly told the nuncio, however, that he was not asking for any subsidy from Gregory for the murder of Elizabeth,[2] and the nuncio replied that it was not fitting even to write to the Pope about such things. He was of opinion that Gregory would be very well satisfied with whatever way in which God might punish his enemy, but that it was not right that the representative of God should bring about that punishment by any such means.[3] On the other hand it would seem that the nuncio did nothing to dissuade the duke from his purpose, and remarked very emphatically for a man in his position upon the coldness with which he spoke of such matters. Gregory XIII., whom the Secretary

[1] Castelli, the nuncio in Paris, to Galli, April 22 (May 2), 1583, and Galli to Castelli, May 13 (23), 1583, in KNOX, Letters, 412 *seqq.*, published again in KRETZSCHMAR, 161 *seqq.*; *cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 607. According to BROSCH (VI., 579) Persons too was involved in the plan. But at the beginning of May, 1583, Persons was still in Spain, and only left Madrid on April 30 (*cf.* KRETZSCHMAR, 163). When he reached Paris at the end of May (*ibid.*), the plan had already been abandoned (*cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 613). KRETZSCHMAR too (p. 103, 112) attributes to the Jesuits plans for assassination, but without giving proofs.

[2] Ne per questo fatto esso duca dimanda alcuno aiuto a Nostro Signore. KRETZSCHMAR, 162.

[3] Io quanto a far morire questa mala donna, le ho detto che non ne voglio scriver a N. S., come faccio, ne dico a V. S. Ill^ma^ che gli lo dica; peroche se bene io credo che a N. S. fussi di contento che Dio per qual si voglia modo castigasse questa sua nemica, tuttavia non converrebbe far si che il suo vicario lo procurasse per questi mezi, et esso si quietò. KRETZSCHMAR, *loc. cit.*

of State nevertheless informed of such a project, expressed himself upon the subject exactly as the nuncio in France had foretold.[1]

In 1585, at the request of Morgan and Paget, two of Mary Stuart's agents in Paris, a certain George Gilbert again went to the Duke of Guise and submitted to him a fresh plan for the murder of Elizabeth. Gilbert, however, was soon discovered to be an impostor.[2]

The conspiracies which have been spoken of so far, principally on account of any seriousness that may have been attached to them, had not placed the queen in any great danger. Far less had she any need in 1583 to be on her guard against a wretched man named John Sommerville, who was subject to periodical attacks of madness, and in one had publicly cried out that the queen was a serpent and that he intended to kill her with his dagger. In our days the unhappy man would have been placed in an asylum, but in the time of Elizabeth men did not judge so kindly of such things. Sommerville himself, his father-in-law, Edward Arden, the high sheriff of Warwickshire, three of his relatives and their chaplain, were all arrested and condemned to death in October, 1583, on a charge of high treason. The sentence was carried out in the case of Edward Arden, while Somerville hanged himself in prison. Contemporaries attributed the barbarous severity of this sentence to the influence of Leicester, who was an enemy of Arden and covetous of his possessions.[3]

[1] "et perche la S.S. non puo se non sentir bene, che in qual si sia modo venghi levato d'oppressione quel regno et restituito a Dio et a la religion mostra santa." Galli to Castelli in KRETZSCHMAR, 163. If a criminal should lose his life by a crime, it is possible to rejoice that he can do no more harm, without thereby excusing or justifying the crime. It is right therefore to interpret the phrase "in qual si sia modo" of Gregory XIII. in this sense for otherwise he would be made out as approving *any sort of crime* against Elizabeth, which would certainly be going too far.

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 610 *seqq.*

[3] See POLLEN in *The Month*, IC., 616; LINGARD, VIII., 167 *seq.*; Rishton, Diarium, October 30 to December 23, 1583, in SANDERS, App.

A few days after Sommerville, Francis Throckmorton, the son of a former chief-justice of Chester, was thrown into the Tower.[1] An unfortunate suspicion had attached to him because some confiscated letters seemed to show that he had been in correspondence with Paget and Morgan, Mary Stuart's agents in Paris. Other arrests followed. The indictment against Francis Throckmorton accused him of conspiracy against the life and sovereignty of the queen, and of treasonable negotiations with Francis Englefield, with whom he was supposed to have conspired for an invasion of England by foreign powers; he was also accused of having drawn up for treasonable purposes a list of the English ports suitable for a landing, and also of having, for the same purpose, been in correspondence with Thomas Throckmorton.[2] On the fourth occasion on which he was put to the torture, Throckmorton admitted that he had written this list, as well as another containing the names of the leading English Catholics, and that these lists had been made for the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, for the purpose of promoting an expedition by Guise against England. This confession was later on retracted by Throckmorton, then once more admitted, and on the gibbet, immediately before his execution, again retracted. The extent of his guilt cannot therefore be precisely estimated; at any rate, there is no proof of his participation in any conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth. The Spanish ambassador had to leave London in consequence of the confession of Throckmorton.

There is no reason to feel surprise at the fact that after 1580 the English Catholics several times spoke of acts of violence against Elizabeth. At that time, such ideas were, so to speak, in the air, so that, on the other hand, it would have been wonderful if at any rate individual Catholics had not fallen victims to them. Mary Stuart went in constant dread of being secretly poisoned; in 1574 she was openly warned of her danger by the Earl of Shrewsbury. In the same year Burghley

[1] RISHTON, *loc. cit.*; POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 616-618; LINGARD, VIII., 168-170; KRETZSCHMAR, 104 *seq.*

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 616 *seq.*

took into his service an assassin, and caused him to put his powers into force against the Earl of Westmoreland; in 1581 Elizabeth and Walsingham took steps to have Philip II. and Gregory XIII. murdered;[1] in 1578 Burghley wrote, in a dispatch describing the danger of Don John's bringing about the complete triumph of the Spanish cause in the Low Countries, that the queen, as a sovereign, might lawfully do anything for the preservation of herself and her people,[2] and the murder of Don John was actually planned at the house of Leicester, with the consent of Elizabeth.[3]

If Burghley allowed himself to be guided by such principles, there can be nothing surprising in the fact that from 1581 onwards a whole series of purely imaginary conspiracies against the life of Elizabeth was attributed to Catholic priests before the courts, and that not a few were put to death on

[1] PLATZHOFF, 81-84.

[2] "The queen's majesty, being a sovereign, may lawfully do anything for preservation of herself and her people." PLATZHOFF, 82.

[3] "Aqui se trata en casa del Conde de Lecester de matar á su Alteza." Mendoza, May 8, 1578, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 227. "Aqui há muchos dias que se platica, en casa de Lecester el matar á S.A." the assassin sent was Edmund Ratcliffe (Mendoza, May 16, 1578, *loc. cit.* 231). "El de Parma ha mandato hacer justicia de los ingleses, que escrebi á V.M. á los 16. de Mayo, que habian partido de aqui con órden de matar al Sr. Don Juan." When the queen received news of the execution of Ratcliffe, she said to Walsingham that this was the result of the advice which he and others had given, and these were the difficulties in which she found herself in consequence. Walsingham was so much affected by this remark that he fell into a fever (Mendoza, January 15, 1579, *loc. cit.* 308). *Cf.* the note to Don John concerning Ratcliffe, about August 12, 1578, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, X., 714. Ratcliffe had obtained a recommendation to Don John from Beaton (*ibid.* 689). The murder of the Duke of Guise was spoken of in England before it took place "porque sabiam que se habia de hacer." Guaras to Zayas, November 7, 1574, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 70.

the strength of these accusations. Burghley was well aware of how much help he could get in his struggle against the Catholics by exciting public opinion against them. At the trial of Campion and his companions the accusation was made against them that they had plotted at Rheims, Rome, and elsewhere for the deposition and murder of the queen. As the exact dates, months and years of these pretended plots were given, and as, on the other hand, we can tell where these priests were at those times from the diaries of the English colleges at Douai, Rheims and Rome, their fictitious nature is clearly proved; the dates given in the indictments are, without a single exception, false. It was nevertheless on the strength of such an indictment that Campion and his two companions were executed on December 1st, 1581; and seven other priests on May 28th and 30th, 1582.[1] On April 2nd, 1582, the priest Payne suffered a similar fate, because one witness, who was absolutely untrustworthy, swore to a story of his having participated in such an attempt.[2] On March 4th fourteen other priests were brought before the courts on a similar accusation; five of them were condemned to death.[3] Very similar was the case of the printer, William Carter, who was hanged in 1584 on the charge that in 1580, in a book which he had recently published, he had instigated the murder of Elizabeth by alluding to the story of Judith. As a matter of fact, nothing but blind prejudice could have put any such interpretation upon the passage.[4]

Of far greater importance for the purpose of passing more severe laws against the Catholics, and exciting popular opinion, than all these pretended plots, were the machinations of a government spy: William Parry had been successful in obtaining a letter from the Papal Secretary of State, which might

[1] The contents of the accusation in POLLEN in *The Month*, 1C (1902) 614 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 606. SPILLMANN, II., 347, 396.

[3] POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 615.

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 429 *seq.*, note J, where the text in question is printed with the reply of Carter.

be interpreted as giving approval to an attempt upon the life of Elizabeth.[1]

Ever since 1570 Parry had given his services to the Lord Treasurer, as an informer in various countries. When he came back to England in 1577, he dissipated the fortune of his wealthy wife, and attempted to murder his principal creditor, but escaped the hangman, probably through the influence of his powerful patron. He then went to France to play the spy for Burghley among the exiled English Catholics. At Lyons Parry was received into the Church by the Jesuit, Crichton, and then informed him that he was aiming at liberating the Catholics of England by killing Elizabeth. Crichton strongly dissuaded him from this course, and told him that such an act was quite unlawful.[2] Parry then went to Venice, to the Jesuit Palmio, and secretly hinted to him that he had a plan for a great deed for the welfare of England, but wished

[1] For Parry see LINGARD, VIII., 176 *seqq.*; DAN. BARTOLI, Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Gesù: L'Inghilterra, l. 4, c. 10, Turin, 1825, 102-113; POLLEN, *loc. cit.* C. (1902), 72-77.

[2] After Crichton had replied twice over "quod omnio non liceret," Parry once more entered upon a discussion with him that is not without interest. Crichton adduced the words of Holy Scripture (Rom. 3, 8): that we may not do wrong that good may come, and therefore may not procure even the greatest good by means of the smallest culpable act. It is not enough that an action should have a good end, it must also be done in a good and right manner, which was not the case with Parry. ("Dixi, Deum magis amare adverbia quam nomina, quia in actionibus magis ei placet *bene* et *legitime* quam bonum; ita ut nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene et legitime fieri possit, quod in hoc casu fieri non potest"). If others decide otherwise, they may perhaps be understood in the sense that they adopt a permissive attitude, and wish to leave each one to his own conscience, or perhaps that in their writings they allow themselves to be guided by their compassion for the English Catholics, rather than by a decisive judgment; it is, however, certain, that a private individual may not do such things without a special revelation from God. Crichton from the Tower to Walsingham, February 20, 1585, in BARTOLI, *loc. cit.*, 111.

first to obtain the opinion of some learned theologians. Palmio refused to mix himself up in the matter, and referred him to the nuncio, Campegio. Through the latter Parry asked for a passport so that he might be able to go to the Eternal City, without fear of the Inquisition. His request was granted, but Parry did not go to Rome, but instead tried to extract by deceit from the English priests in France an approval of his pretended attempt ; but all his efforts were in vain.[1] On the other hand, he found a hearing from Morgan, Mary Stuart's lay agent in Paris. Having been introduced by him to the nuncio, Ragazzoni, he entrusted to the latter a letter for Rome, which in substance contained no more than a request for a plenary indulgence, and a certificate that he had always lived as a good Catholic in spite of certain adventures in political matters.[2] Ragazzoni sent the letter on December 18th, 1583, but added that he was keeping a watch upon Parry ; on December 25th he repeated that the Pope must not trust those who were working on behalf of the English exiles, as several of them were spies.[3]

On January 1st, 1584, Parry renewed his offer, which this time he amplified by a fuller explanation. By the grace of God he was thinking of at once carrying out an undertaking by which he aimed at the general good, the peace of the whole of Christendom, the bringing back of England to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and the liberation of Mary Stuart. If he should succeed, he made one request of the Pope ; as he was embarking upon so dangerous an undertaking without any ulterior motives, and without asking for any promises or rewards, he only begged the Pope to grant him a plenary indulgence, and to regard him as a faithful son of the holy Catholic and apostolic Roman Church. Ragazzoni sent on this request on January 8th, 1584, but for the third time added

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 178.

[2] A survey of the whole correspondence on the question in POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 74-76.

[3] Crichton had already put him on his guard from Lyons on July 17, 1583, THEINER, III., App. 754.

the warning "Parry is too well known, and his reputation here is bad."

Although it might have been thought that the warnings were sufficient, nevertheless the Secretary of State fell into the trap with, so to speak, open eyes. He did not look for any action on the part of Parry, but to have granted him a simple plenary indulgence ought to have seemed to him a dangerous step to take. He therefore wrote to Ragazzoni, with incredible imprudence, that the matter referred to in Parry's two letters was of such a nature, that so long as he did not ask anything further, nothing would be lost by believing him.[1] At the same time he sent the letter which Parry had asked for. The Pope, this letter states, had seen Parry's petition of January 1st; he rejoiced at the good intentions of the petitioner, and at his resolve; he exhorted him to carry out his design, and sent him his blessing and the desired indulgence; he would reward in every way he could the services rendered, all the more so that Parry, in his modesty, asked for nothing.[2] No sooner had Parry received from the Pope a reply to his request than he returned to England, and in the presence of Burghley and Walsingham described to the queen what he had done, and maintained that the Pope had urged him to kill Elizabeth. A few weeks later he handed over as proof of the truth of what he said, the letter from Galli containing the concession of the indulgence which was now generally known.

It is easier to excuse the Pope in this matter than Galli; as the Secretary of State had presented Parry's request to him as a matter of small importance, he had neglected to examine the letter carefully. But wherever the blame may lay, the unfortunate granting of the indulgence was a terrible blow for the English Catholics. For many years

[1] "Le due lettere del Parri sono in materia che non si perde niente dandogli credito, sinche non passa in altro." Galli, January 30, 1584, in POLLEN in *The Month*, C., 75.

[2] Galli to Parry, January 30, 1584, *ibid.* 75 *seq.* This reply was undoubtedly drafted by a secretary of Galli at the request of Parry.

Catholic priests had been suspect, as conspirators and regicides, and as such had been condemned by the courts, but now, although these calumnies were, as before, quite without foundation and quite unjust, their constant reiteration could not fail to make an impression upon the masses of the people. When the edict of Philip II. against Orange in 1582 gave rise to an attempt upon the prince, it increased in the queen of England and her ministers the fear of similar results from the bull of excommunication of Pius V., while the actual murder of Orange on July 10th, 1584, fanned the feeling of irritation in England to fever heat.[1] Associations were formed everywhere the members of which bound themselves by oath to hound to their death anyone who made an attempt upon the life of the queen, as well as all those to whom such an attempt should be advantageous. This association was obviously directed against Mary Stuart; when, however, the form of oath of the associates was read to the captive queen, she at once offered to sign it, but this was refused.[2] But the Catholics were unable to take part in this because the oath was taken in the Protestant church. The association thus became an exclusively Protestant organization, and became a means for the spread of Protestantism.[3]

The autumn of 1584 brought fresh disaster to the Catholics. The Jesuit Crichton, on his way to Scotland, was captured by a Dutch pirate. and contrary to the law of nations was handed over to England. Unfortunately, Crichton was still carrying a copy of the plan of attack upon England of 1583, although the undertaking had become impossible owing to the attitude taken up by Philip II., and thus the dangerous document had lost all value. Crichton's confessions completed the disaster; the secret treaties between Spain and Rome were now common property.[4] Burghley knew very well how to turn this fresh occurrence to the disadvantage of the

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 71.

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 172. She wrote a similar statement on January 5, 1585, which she then signed. *Ibid.*, 183.

[3] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 70.

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 172.

English Catholics, and when all these misfortunes had, one after another, stirred the resentment against the Catholics beyond all bounds, there now came the letter of the Secretary of State to Parry, in which the Pope seemed to give his approval to the most desperate measures which the most perverted will had, contrary to all truth, imputed to the English Catholics.

The ground was therefore ready for the most harsh and severe enactments. At the end of November, 1584, a legislative scheme was laid before Parliament, embodying especially the objects of the above-mentioned association for the personal safety of the queen. In the case of any attack upon England or upon the queen's person, all who should take part in such an undertaking, or for whose advantage it should be made, were to forfeit all right to the English throne, and to be put to death ;[1] in other words, summary justice was to be executed upon the Catholics, and Mary Stuart was to be punished, even for enterprises for which she was not responsible. Elizabeth was a sufficiently shrewd judge of public opinion to reject such unheard of proposals. Persecution to the point of death, she laid down, must only be employed in the case of those who had been declared to be traitors by a commission of 24 members ; Mary and her descendants were only to be excluded from the throne in the event of the murder of the Queen of England.[2] In January, 1585, there followed a fresh severe enactment against the Catholics, the putting into force of which deprived them of all spiritual ministry. According to this, every Jesuit or other priest who should be found in the kingdom after 40 days was to be considered as *ipso facto* guilty of high treason ; anyone who gave shelter to or assisted a priest was guilty of felony, as sharing in an act of high treason. Severe penalties were also inflicted upon all those who knew where a priest was lodging and failed to notify the authorities within twelve days ; in like manner, the students of any foreign seminary who did not return within six months, the parents who sent their sons to such

[1] *Ibid.* 174 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 175.

establishments, and lastly, all who gave assistance to the seminarists, were equally to be held guilty.[1]

The supreme injustice of this new law drove the victims to take the risk of addressing a petition to the queen. All Catholics, both priests and laymen, this petition stated, looked upon Elizabeth as their legitimate and true queen; they looked upon it as absolutely unlawful to lay hands upon her person; neither priests nor the Pope himself could give permission for such an act, and if any of their number held the opposite opinion, they declared his view to be infernal and abominable, heretical and contrary to the Catholic faith. If Catholics withheld themselves from Anglican worship, this implied no reflection upon their loyalty as subjects. They begged the queen to refuse her approval to any law which deprived them of all their priests. A courageous Catholic was found, who, in the middle of March, took it upon himself to present this petition; he was in consequence thrown into prison, and only death set him free a few years later.[2]

In Parliament only one member dared to raise his voice against the anti-Catholic law,[3] and this exception came from a quarter whence it was least to be looked for, namely, from Parry, who had been rewarded for his services by a seat in Parliament, though he had by no means been adequately rewarded in his own estimation. Parry's boldness led to his immediate imprisonment, though he was set free on the following day by the queen. After a few weeks, however, he again found himself in prison, this time in the Tower. He had once more taken to his old trade of spying, and probably in order to involve a fellow spy, Neville, and ruin him, had tried to urge him to murder Elizabeth. Neville apparently agreed, but then proceeded to denounce Parry as guilty of high treason. The unhappy man perished on the scaffold. In the Tower he drew up a confession in writing in which he once again maintained that Cardinal Galli had approved of the murder

[1] *Ibid.* 176. SPILLMANN, III., 39 *seq.*

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 182, *seq.*

[3] On December 17, 1584, *ibid.* 176.

of Elizabeth. This confession was read before the court, but when the judge prepared to pronounce sentence Parry denied the whole thing; neither had he thought of regicide, nor had the Cardinal urged him to it. Even on the scaffold he maintained his innocence, and when Topcliffe produced Cardinal Galli's letter, he once more declared that there was nothing of the kind in that letter.[1] Any attempt to discover the true meaning and motives of the unhappy man's conduct must always remain vain; perhaps the easiest explanation is that at the end he was mad.

Parry died on March 2nd, 1585.[2] On the 29th of the same month Elizabeth gave her approval to the law against the Catholics. During the same year she caused to be conveyed to France and set at liberty 70 imprisoned priests released from English prisons.[3] But this act of comparative leniency must not deceive us as to the gravity of the situation; with the law of 1585 the persecution of the Catholics reached its highest point.

During the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign the laws against the old religion had been enforced with some degree of moderation. It had been deemed sufficient to exclude Catholics from public office and from places of influence, and with making the coming of fresh priests impossible. Gradually the government became more strict; this was the case after the rising of the Catholics in 1569, after the conspiracy of Ridolfi,[4] and after the massacre of St. Bartholomew,[5] which gave an opportunity to the Protestant bishops and some of the preachers to demand of the queen the blood of the Catholic bishops and prisoners.[6] On all these occasions the persecution

[1] *Ibid.* 179 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 181.

[3] SANDERS, 332 *seqq.* Allen on February 28, 1585, in THEINER, 1585, n. 19 (III., 634 *seq.*).

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 226 *seqq.* POLLEN in *The Month*, CIV. (1904), 508.

[5] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 513.

[6] Despues que se supo aqui el destroco de Paris, se fueron los obispos a la Reyna, diziendole quanto le ymportava, porque no

became severe enough; a Catholic document of 1572 complains that all the prisons were choked with the members of the greater and lesser aristocracy, that even ladies and widows were punished for having secretly heard mass, that hardly anyone could pass from one town to another without being questioned, that hardly a letter arrived that had not been opened, and that no conversation could be held by the best of friends without being overheard.[1]

A specially bloody campaign against priests and Catholics followed the events of 1569, at first only in exceptional cases.[2] It was different when, in 1575, the first seminary priests arrived, and when, after a few years, the fruits of their labours were manifest. Now the government could no longer count on the dying out of the priests, and therefore began to interfere with greater severity, especially when, by the coming of Campion, the Catholics were filled with fresh courage, and many who had wavered openly declared themselves for the Church.[3] In 1577 the first seminary priest, Cuthbert Maine, died as a martyr.[4] Until the time of Elizabeth's death about 124 priests and 61 laymen followed him.[5] They generally

uviesse alborotes y tumultos en el reyno, que mandasse luego hacer execucion en los obispos, con los otros mas religiosos y seglares que estan presos por la religion chatolica, a lo qual la Reyna no quiso consentir (KERVYN DE LETTERHOVE seq. 513). Burghley sought to pacify London, porque con la nueva de lo de Paris los de aquella seta, qu'esta mayor parte, han hecho consultos y mostrado de querer hazer movimientos contra los Chatolicos, como en Paris se hizo contra los hugonotes, y ha passado tan adelante esto que no ha faltado algunos destos predicadores que lo dixessen publicamente en los pulpitos, procurando conmover la gente e ello. Antonio Fogaca to Alba on 8 September, 1572 (*ibid.* 514).

[1] "A treatise of treason" in POLLEN in *The Month*, CIV., 509.

[2] SPILLMANN, II., 109 *seqq.*

[3] Burghley and Walsingham had already decided upon a renewal of the persecution even before the coming of the Jesuits. POLLEN, in *The Month*, CXV. (1910), 54 *seq.*

[4] CHALLONER, I., 28 *seqq.* SPILLMANN, II., 150.

[5] According to the list in CHALLONER, I., 11 *seqq.*

suffered the death appointed for traitors, that is they were hanged, disembowelled while still alive, their heart and bowels torn out, and their dead bodies quartered.[1]

Others were called upon to suffer for years, in such a way that, by comparison, death at the hands of the executioner seemed almost desirable. The son of the Duke of Norfolk who had been executed in 1572, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, was thrown into prison at the age of 28, and there awaited his death for ten years.[2] Thomas Pound lay for 30 years in various prisons, and was for a time in an underground dungeon, deprived of all light.[3] Many less distinguished or less wealthy had their lives cut short by their privations in the filthy dungeons of the prisons.[4] At the beginning of July, 1580, the ordinary prisons were so filled with Catholics that old castles were demanded of the bishops or suspect nobles, in order that the prisoners might be taken there.[5] A few months later Persons[6] wrote that the gentry and the common folk, men and women, were everywhere thrown into prison, and that even boys were loaded with iron chains. Execution was generally preceded by cruel torture. The prisoners were laid upon the bed of torture and racked, or suspended by their

[1] The text of these sentences translated in SPILLMANN, I., 110 *seq.*, *cf.* III., 10 *seq.* Of the few women condemned, Margaret Clitheroe was pressed to death in 1586 under a door loaded with stones, because she had concealed a priest (LINGARD, VIII., 452); two other women were condemned to the stake, but afterwards pardoned. CHALLONER, I., 315.

[2] Biography by A. F. RIO, translated by K. ZELL, Freiburg, 1874; *cf.* LINGARD, VIII., 185, 291 *seq.*

[3] FOLEY, III., 567 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* the list in CHALLONER, I., 17 *seq.*

[5] Allen to Cardinal Galli, in THEINER, 1580, n. 88 (III., 215). POLLEN in *The Month*, CXV. (1910), 55.

[6] To Galli on September 17, 1580, in THEINER, 1580, n. 88 (III., 216). Owen Lewis also wrote from Milan on October 13, 1580: "Numquam ita saevitum fuit in catholicos in Anglia atque nunc, quae res eos facile moveret ad arma contra Reginam, si caput et auxilium haberent, vel certe sperarent." Fasc. 62 of the Favre Mss. in the Library at Geneva.

thumbs until they swooned, or their maimed bodies were compressed in iron bands in the so-called "scavenger's daughter";[1] in some cases recourse was had to that torture which in Spanish popular opinion is reserved for Antichrist,[2] namely when wedges were thrust under the finger nails.[3] Besides these there were the money fines for non-attendance at divine worship, the amount of which, for those times, can only be described as unheard of,[4] the search for hidden priests, for Catholic books and objects of devotion, in the course of which helpless women and children were threatened with drawn swords without any regard for their state.[5]

It was inevitable that under the protection of the laws the lowest dregs of the population should seek to take advantage of this state of affairs. There was every opportunity for them to enrich themselves from the property of the Catholics, and every use was made of it.[6] An army of paid spies and

[1] *Cf.* LINGARD, VIII., 423 *seq.*; Diarium in App. in SANDERS, 350.

[2] "Entre otros usan uno que en España se imagina la gente, que como el mayor de todos ha de obrar el Anticristo, que es meter hierros entre las uñas y la carne." Mendoza, August 12, 1581, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 83.

[3] *e.g.* in the case of Campion and Bryant. SPILLMANN, II. 274, 300.

[4] More fully in LINGARD, VIII., 448, n.R., and especially in F. A. GASQUET, Hampshire recusants, a story of their troubles in the time of queen Elizabeth, London, 1895. George Cotton paid, for 20 years, 260 pounds sterling a year (*ibid.* 31); a certain Neve a tailor, and his wife were each condemned to pay 140 pounds sterling, for having refused to attend the church during the last six months (*ibid.*). A third of the fine went to the queen, a third to the poor, and the remaining third to the informant. During the last 20 years of the XVIth century, the government treasury received 6,000 pounds sterling a year for the fines of these who disobeyed, and in 1601 the sum reached 9,226 pounds 19 shillings and four pence (the whole of the queen's revenues were 400,000 pounds sterling in 1601).

[5] LINGARD, VIII., 422, n.F. and POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, CV. (1905), 283 *seq.*

[6] Jessopp in SPILLMANN, III., 54.

informers was spread everywhere by Walsingham, even in the seminaries on the continent, and poisoned the closest ties of friendship and blood.[1] Bloodthirsty natures such as those of the infamous Topcliffe,[2] and Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, President of the North from 1572 to 1595,[3] saw the opportunity for satisfying their cruelty and employed it in every possible way. An agent of Walsingham, a certain Vane, who had managed to get himself received into the seminary at Rheims, seriously contemplated removing at one blow by poison Allen and all the students in the establishment.[4] Even the English in Flanders, who by leaving their country had escaped from dangers to their conscience, were made to feel the heavy hand of Elizabeth. On the strength of a treaty of 1495 she demanded their extradition, and the Spanish regent, Requesens, granted the demand in 1575, so as not to injure the commerce with England.[5] Gregory XIII. assisted these unfortunates as far as he could.[6]

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 166. MEYER, 144 *seqq.* For the principal spies in the English seminary in Rome *cf.* the report of the visitation of Sega in 1596, in FOLEY, VI., 13-19; *ibid.* p. xix., extracts from the letters of the spies. Naturally every attempt was made to discover the spies in the seminaries, which may explain certain complaints of eavesdropping, etc. (MEYER, 87 *seq.*).

[2] "Anything of inhumanity that the wildest phantasy can imagine was incarnate in this example of unspeakable vulgarity," says Meyer very rightly (p. 54); *cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 277 *seqq.* He had full authority to torture priests in his own house at will, without witnesses. MEYER, *loc. cit.*

[3] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 273 *seqq.* After the death of Huntingdon, the number of Catholic recusants in the archdeaconry of Richmond increased in two years to 20,000 (*ibid.*); *cf.* for him Jessopp in SPILLMANN, III., 53.

[4] Sega, *loc. cit.* 7, 61.

[5] LECHAT, 98 *seqq.*, 115 *seqq.*; MEYER, 210 *seqq.* Among the exiles were also to be found some who had taken no part in the rising of 1569, e.g. Englefield. LECHAT, 115.

[6] To the Archbishop of Cambrai, April 15, 1575, in THEINER, 1575, n. 112 (II., 133), to the Bishop of Liège, August 17, 1777, n. 82 (II., 337); brief in favour of Norton, May 1, 1577, *ibid.*

Even worse cruelties than in England were employed against unhappy Ireland.[1] In order to extort a certain confession from him, in 1584 the feet of Archbishop O'Hurley of Cashel were enclosed in metal boots which were filled with oil, and then left to become red-hot in the fire, until whole pieces of the flesh fell away.[2] It is also related of Bishop MacBrien that in 1584 leaden boots were made for him to force him to deny the faith.[3] Twenty-two wretched old men, some of whom were blind and crippled, whom the Catholic army had not been able to take with it in their retreat from Mohomack in 1580, were questioned about their faith, and when they declared that the Pope was the supreme head of the Church, were shut up in a church, which was then set on fire.[4] The Irish Franciscans had many martyrs,[5] and their self-sacrificing labours in Ireland compelled the admiration of their very enemies.[6]

[1] The *" Discorso sopra il regno d'Irlanda diretto a Gregorio XIII." deals with the oppression of Ireland by the English: Urb. 854, p. 408 *seq.* Vatican Library. This brings out the unhappy state of that nation.

[2] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 200, 202. Nugent and Georhagan to Galli, June 4, 1584, in THEINER, III., 818.

[3] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 203.

[4] Duodeviginti senes catholici, impotentes, caeci et claudi, viri simplices et idiotae in oppido quod dicitur Mohomack ab exercitu catholico relicti, ne militibus impedimento fuissent, ab haereticis inventi sunt; et de sua fide examinati fuerunt, qui omnes uno ore profitebantur fidem catholicam. Interrogati utrum Papam an reginam pro capite ecclesiae haberent, Papam aiunt. Tunc absque mora in templum dicti oppidi divo Nicolao dedicatum palea coopertum omnes coniecti sunt portisque clausis vivi cremati fuerunt. A° 1580 Iunii 26. MORAN, Spicilegium, I., 104.

[5] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 189.

[6] "There also arose," says BROSCH (VI., 545), "a dangerous enemy to English Protestantism in the army of the Mendicants, who did not reach the heights of the Jesuits in discipline, but were unrivalled in their spirit of sacrifice. Who could cope with men who went on foot from place to place, who were content

Especially evident in the behaviour of the government was their contempt for everything which an upright mind looks upon as the greatest possessions of humanity; truth, morals and religion. It was clear that the Catholics who suffered themselves to be drawn to the Anglican churches were acting against their conscience, but in spite of all the professions of Protestant liberty of conscience violence continued to be employed. The spies in the English seminaries had at their reception to take the same oath as the other students. They made this promise without any intention of keeping it; for many years they professed Catholic belief and piety, they frequented the sacraments, and were ordained priests; in other words they sacrificed honour, character, morals and religion to the interests of the state, and the government encouraged such things, which were even worse than the cruelties they practised against the priests, since they ruined not the bodies of men, but their souls.

The question may be asked whether the attitude of Elizabeth may be described as religious or political persecution. This question is easy to answer. Elizabeth wished at all costs to destroy the Catholic religion in England, and the attempt to destroy a religion can only mean, so long as words retain their meaning, a persecution of that religion. Of course the motives for which the queen wished to get rid of Catholicism were to be sought, as far as she was concerned, in political considerations. Elizabeth had, from the very first, been quick to see what misfortunes religious differences implied in those days in the life of a nation. The whole of her foreign policy was based upon the religious differences of her neighbours, and by forming alliances with the Presbyterians across the Tweed, with the *gueux*, and the Huguenots, she held Scotland, Spain and France

with a dunghill or a heap of straw for bed, who shared their last morsel or begged bread with the Celtic inhabitants, and were their only solace in their sorrows?" Brosch adds, however, that "in them there was to be found a faint reflection of the pure Christian spirit." The lives of the Protestant pastors was in strong contrast to this self-denial. *Cf.* the testimony of the poet Spenser, *ibid.* 548, and BELLESHEIM; *loc. cit.*, 675.

in check, and completely paralysed those powerful adversaries. Hence came her suspicion that the Catholics of England would in like manner avail themselves of the help of some foreign power against their own sovereign. Hence too came her efforts to bring about religious unity in the kingdom by the destruction and persecution of the Catholic religion. It is possible too that in the case of Elizabeth hatred of the ancient Church had its part; generally speaking, however, she was very little influenced by religious considerations.[1]

The enemies of the Catholics knew very well how to let loose men's passions against them by every kind of fable and invention. Thus, in a pamphlet of 1572 the story was spread that at the Council of Trent, the Pope, together with the Emperor and the Kings of Spain and France, had entered into a conspiracy to kill the Protestants in Scotland and France.[2] In 1575 there appeared, with the tacit consent of the

[1] "Just as it suited her, she behaved as an unrepentent Protestant, or as a half-hearted and secret Catholic," says BROSCH (VI., 588). Guaras, who expressed the hope to Burghley that little by little England might be brought back to the obedience of the Pope, received the reply (in accordance with the views of Elizabeth) that in matters of religion the queen did not think like the Genevans or the Huguenots; she was of opinion that in the Church there must be a single head; if the College of Cardinals would change its ways, the queen would accept their doctrines (Guaras to Alba, October 12, 1572, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 550; Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. IV., 40). On the other hand, in the credential letters of November 5, 1582, for William Harebone, her envoy to the Sultan, Elizabeth styled herself: "The immoveable and most powerful upholder of the true faith against the idolaters who falsely confess the name of Christ." (Jos. v. HAMMER, Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches, II., Pesth, 1834, 513). Later on she represented the Catholics to the Sultan as idolaters, and the Presbyterians and Huguenots as a kind of Mahometans (*ibid.* 576). *Cf.* AL. PICHLER, Geschichte der kirchl. Trennung zwischen Orient und Okzident, I. (1864), 507.

[2] Guaras to Alba, November 18, 1572, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. IV., 59.

government a publication full of the "most incredible falsehoods and lies" concerning the Spanish Inquisition;[1] in 1580 we hear of a broadsheet with pictures representing the "three tyrants of the world," namely the Pope, Nero and the Turks;[2] in the following year Leicester spread the report that a plot was in preparation for the slaughter of all the Protestants, beginning with the queen.[3]

The queen had seen for herself in the reign of her elder sister how odious were executions for purely religious motives. Although Elizabeth's motive was simply the destruction of the Catholic religion, she nevertheless always made it appear that the victims of her religious persecution were merely political offenders, who, by their violation of the laws, or as conspirators and regicides, had incurred a well-deserved fate. If the Catholics were dragged by force to the Anglican services, it was stated that the queen did not wish to do violence to their consciences, since each could believe and think what he liked interiorly.[4] Maine, the proto-martyr of the seminary of Douai, was not condemned as a priest, but on the pretext that a Papal bull had been found in his baggage,[5] which was absolutely illegal, since the possession of a Papal document did not come under the law. Later on the charge of high treason was brought against priests,[6] and by means of stories of conspiracies, for the most part quite fictitious, the attempt was made to get even the Catholics to believe it.[7]

Falsehood was an outstanding feature of Elizabeth's political

[1] Guaras to Zayas, July 4, 1575, *ibid.* 84.

[2] Mendoza, March 23, 1580, *ibid.* 472.

[3] Mendoza, January 9, 1581, *ibid.* 538.

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 134. *The Month*, CIV. (1904), 509.

[5] Not the bull against Elizabeth, as was thought by RANKE (I., 389), FROUDE (XI., 54) and MEYER (p. 126), but a copy of the Jubilee bull of 1575, which had nothing but an historical interest. *Cf.* MORRIS-HOFFMANN, I., 124; where the bull found on Maine is printed. In the English edition of his work (London 1916, 150), Meyer has corrected the mistake.

[6] *Cf.* more fully *supra*, p. 458.

[7] *Cf.* more fully *supra*, p. 440 *seq.*

methods, but it may be said that this miserable trifling with truth never showed itself in such an outrageous way as in the trials of priests, wherein the honour and lives of men were being dealt with who, from the moral point of view, were the flower and glory of their country. All the while these priests were busy with the care of souls in England they always scrupulously avoided all meddling with politics. William Allen—although political aims were by no means foreign to his own labours—carefully kept his students away from such matters; at the seminary at Douai, for example, the questions whether the Pope had the power to excommunicate or depose sovereigns were never to be touched upon.[1] Even the English government knew very well that the priests were no conspirators; the interrogatories of Campion and his companions, for example, afford such incontrovertible proof of this, that no historian could ask for more, and the same thing applied in the case of the great majority of the English Catholics. In September, 1582, at the very moment when men were so eagerly discussing the invasion of England on the continent, one of Walsingham's spies wrote to his master that, in spite of the most painstaking search, he had not been able to discover any plans for an insurrection on the part of the English Catholics. Leicester, at the same time, complained, as also did Walsingham, that Elizabeth would not believe that the great increase of the "papists" involved any danger to her kingdom; "may the Lord in His mercy, open her eyes," he adds.[2] Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador between the years 1583-1585, was unable to discover any wish to rebel among the English Catholics. He also speaks of their steadfastness in their faith, and wonders that not a few of the Protestants were returning to Catholicism. On the other hand he describes the Catholics as paralysed by fear; there is in existence no sort of union among the landed gentry of the nation to throw

[1] BELLESHEIM, Allen, 132. FRERE (p. 212) also says: "Allen, while he played his own part in political machinations abroad, kept his college free from all that side of the question."

[2] Cal. of State Papers. Domestic, 69, quoted by POLLEN in *The Month*, CI. (1902), 408.

off the Protestant yoke, and no one dares to express any opinion on such subjects. As far as he is aware, no Catholic is in touch with Guise.[1] The French ambassador, Castelnau de Mauvissière, wrote of the English Catholics that they continued to console themselves with the hope that their queen had more sympathy with them in her heart than she showed in her laws and her policy. Even the Protestants always had the fear lest she should show favour to the Catholics in the event of her marrying a Catholic prince. Elizabeth herself recognized that the Catholics were her best subjects.[2] Loyalty to the queen often manifested itself in a very touching way in the case of the martyrs. Generally their last prayer upon the scaffold was for the queen herself. Felton, who had fastened to the gates of the archiepiscopal palace the bull of excommunication of Elizabeth, immediately before his excution drew a precious diamond ring from his finger and sent it to her.[3]

In order to fasten the crime of high treason upon the priests, in spite of the absence of visible proof, Burghley had recourse to a desperate expedient. Relying upon the bull of excommunication of Pius V., he presented to the accused the so-

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 409. "Con ésto envio á V. M. copia de una carta de la de Escocia, respondole acerca de los católicos que de ningun manera no sólo conviene declararles nada, mas aun tentallos, por estar demasiadamente amilanados, como lo he escripto a V. M. por diversas veces." Mendoza on 28 March, 1583, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 488. "Yo no sé verdaderamente que haya aquí algunos católicos principales que traten con el de Guisa." Mendoza on 16 July, 1583, *ibid.* 516. On November 30, 1583 (LECHAT, 142) Aless. Farnese remarks that according to the opinion of the English refugees in Flanders, the Catholics of England would not take up arms before a landing was effected on their shores. They wished this landing to be made in the name of the Pope, for otherwise both Catholics and heretics would combine to resist the foreigner.

[2] Castelnau, May 27, 1579, August 30, 1580, April 9, 1581, in POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 408.

[3] SPILLMANN, II., 116.

called "bloody question":[1] What would you do if the Pope or the King of Spain were to send an army to England to restore the Catholic religion? It was not sufficient for the accused to say that in the existing circumstances they recognized Elizabeth as their lawful sovereign; it was insisted that they should give an express assurance that they did not recognize any circumstances in which—according to the international law of the middle ages—an armed attack by a foreign power would be lawful, or in which the Pope could proceed to the deposition of the queen. To answer this question without reservation in the sense demanded by the government was impossible; any evasive or conditional reply was at once taken as proof of treasonable opinions. On the strength of this "bloody question" the government was thus naturally able to punish any Catholic as a traitor. But at the same time they placed in the hands of their adversaries the proof that those who were condemned in this way died for their religion, and when the government set itself in these trials to search into men's thoughts, it was made manifest that they had no tangible proofs against the accused priests in order to prove, either their treason, or as far as facts went, their treasonable opinions. Burghley himself thought it necessary in 1583 to take his pen in hand in defence of his procedure. William Allen answered him, and among other things pointed out that even the Protestant reformers held that in certain circumstances resistance to a government by violence was justified,[2] that the Protestants of France, Scotland and

[1] *Cf.* for this POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, CIV. (1904), 513 *seq.*

[2] See CALVIN (Praelectiones in Daniel, c. 6, v. 22): "Abdicant enim se potestate terreni principes, dum insurgunt contra Deum imo indigni sunt, qui censeantur in hominum numero. Potius ergo conspuere oportet in ipsorum capita, quam illis parere, ubi ita proterviunt, ut velint etiam spoliare Deum iure suo et quasi occupare solium eius, ac si possent eum e coelo detrahere" (Corp. reform. vol. LXIX: Calvini opera, XLI., 25 *seq.* A detailed work, of about 1575, in Flanders concerning the right of the people to depose princes; see KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VIII., 51-58; *cf.* MARNIX, *ibid.*, 113.

Flanders had acted on this supposition, and that Elizabeth herself had approved of this principle when she gave assistance to the insurgents of those nations.[1]

A short time after the death of Campion there fell into the hands of the government the document in which Gregory XIII. granted that mitigation of the bull of excommunication of Pius V. which had been asked for by Persons and Campion.[2] Burghley published this Papal declaration in his apologetic work of 1583 as a proof that Campion, in spite of all his declarations to the contrary had, together with Persons, come to England to put the bull into execution![3]

As a matter of fact, nothing more could be gathered from the concession of Gregory XIII. than the fact that he wished to tranquillize the consciences of the English Catholics, and to moderate the bull of his predecessor; but this mitigation is an outpouring of the burning sympathy shown by the Pope on so many occasions for the English Church. Gregory had taken his name in memory of the great Pope who first sent the missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons, and it is quite certain that the mind of Gregory XIII. often adverted to the fact that his name ought to be an incentive to him to become in his turn the apostle of England.[4] The support which he gave both the English seminaries sprang from the same idea; he did everything in his power for the English exiles who had been driven from their country for their faith;[5] lastly

[1] ALLEN, a true, sincere and modeste defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith both at home and abrode against a false, seditious and slanderous libel intitled: The Execution of Justice in England, Ingolstadt 1584., *cf.* BELLESHEIM, Allen, 105 *seq.*; LINGARD, VIII., 428, n.H.

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 390.

[3] MEYER, 120 *seq.* Gregory XIII. also gave another decision concerning the duties of the English Catholics; this stated that in all matters concerning the state they were to recognize Elizabeth as true queen: "externo honore et verbis observarent." POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 96.

[4] *Cf. supra* p. 404; MEYER, 242.

[5] *Distributio 500 sc. a gloriosissimae memoriae S. S^{tis} decessore indulta et a S. D. N. Gregorio XIII. continuata et Religiosis

it was Gregory who conferred on the victims of the judicial murders in England the supreme honour with which the Catholic Church is wont to crown moral grandeur ; he allowed their bodies to be treated as relics, and opened the way to their veneration and cultus in the Church, when he caused the church of the English College in Rome to be adorned by the painter Circiniani with the representation of their martyrdoms.[1]

Besides the Catholics, there was another very powerful party in England which also refused to have anything to do with the state church, and which hated and resisted its worship as well as its bishops. This was the growing party of the Puritans.

et Pauperibus Anglis in Belgio exulantibus in eleemosynam collata nec sine novo S. S^tis^ annuatim consensu ratificata (Conventui monialium S. Brigittae sc. 200 ; Conventui Carthusianorum sc. 50 ; sacerdotibus Anglis, qui in Belgio praedicant sc. 50 ; D. Thomae Fremano sc. 20 etc.), Encyclical of January 21, 1582, to the whole of Christendom on behalf of the English refugees. Bull. Rom., VIII., 383 *seq.* ; *to Philip II., recommending to him two nobles, Brevia XXI., n. 283, p. 218, Papal Secret Archives ; to Don John, Jan. 26, 1578, in THEINER, 1578, n. 96, III., 435 (to recommend Norton and the English Carthusians, who had been exiled from Bruges to St. Quentin, and the Brigittines at Malines) ; to Philip II., April 9, 1578, *ibid.* n. 87, p. 436 (to recommend the Prior of England [Richard Shelley] ; to the King of France (for Lesley), March 27, 1574, *ibid.* 1574, n. 94, I., 307 *seq.* (*cf.* II., 133) ; to Philip II., for Westmoreland and Dacre, September 5, 1580, in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 273 ; *cf.* THEINER III., 701. *Cf. supra*, p. 460 ; A. BERTOLOTTI, Relazioni di Inglesi col governo pontificio nei secoli XVI.-XVII. e XVIII. The documents collected in the Roman archives, in *Giornale araldico-genealogico-diplomatico*, XV., anno 1887-1888, Pisa, 1888. 112 *seqq.* For the Brigittines and Carthusians *cf.* LECHAT, 25, 132 *seqq.*

[1] The decree of the Congregation of Rites, confirmed by Leo XIII. on December 9, 1886, on the beatification of 54 English martyrs, in *Katholik*, 1887, I., 549 *seqq.* KNOX, Letters of card. Allen, 186. MEYER, 91. Ecclesiae anglicanae trophaea sive sanctorum martyrum, qui pro Christo catholicaeque fidei veritate

It is a strange thing that the fiercest enemies of the Catholics, Leicester, Burghley, Walsingham, and the terrible persecutor, Huntingdon, were either open Puritans, or at any rate inclined much more to Puritan ideas than to the state church.[1] The persecution which was being carried on on behalf of religious unity and the official church against the old religion thus came from men who substantially had no love for the state church. The Catholics themselves attributed their sufferings much more to the Puritans than to the queen.[2] This fact throws a new light upon the motives of the persecution; since, as far as the Puritans were concerned, it was not politics but religious hatred which incited them to the struggle, and the same thing is true of the ministers who so often spurred men on to hostility and to the destruction of the Catholics.[3]

The attitude of the government towards the Puritans also throws a light upon its behaviour towards the Catholics. As the future was to show, Puritanism was far more dangerous to the state and church of Elizabeth than the recognition of the Pope, but the political sagacity of Burghley and Walsingham, who feared everything from Rome, was blind

asserenda antiquo recentiorique persecutionum tempore mortem in Anglia subierunt passiones, Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum depictae, nuper autem per Io. Bapt. de Cavalleriis aeneis typis repraesentatae, Romae, 1584 (36 copper plates representing the English martyrs of ancient and modern times). *Cf.* Gasquet, English College, 118 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* for Leicester, Frere, 115 *seq.*, 185, 226; for Burghley, *ibid.* 229; for Walsingham, Mendoza, April 22, 1578, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 221; Camden calls Walsingham "a strong and resolute maintainer of the purer religion" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, LIX., 127); of Huntingdon he says: "He was of a mild disposition, but being a zealous puritan, much wasted his estate by a lavish support of those hotheaded preachers" (*ibid.*, XXV., 127). According to Mendoza on February 27, 1581 (Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V. 550), Huntingdon was "Gran puritano y enemiguisimo de la Reina de Escocia" *Cf.* Pollen in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 273.

[2] Pollen, *loc. cit.*, IC. (1902), 407.

[3] *Cf.* e.g. *supra*, p. 456.

to the danger which threatened them from the Puritans.[1] Anyone who wishes to form a true judgment of the persecution of the Catholics must keep both these things before him,

[1] See more fully *infra*, p. 474 *seq.* On Nov. 15, 1573, Antonio de Guaras wrote to Alba (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 844) : " Esta semana, por comission de la Reyna, se ha dado orden para que, en este pueblo y en todo el reyno, se tome nota de los que son conocidos por Catolicos y Puritanos. . . . *La persecucion solamente es contra los Catolicos*, porque todo es disimulacion contra los Puritanos por ser los mas finos y apasionados hereges de la opinion dellos, y ay muchos que estan en gran autoridad, que son los principales dellos, y tanta discordia por ello que se teme de alteracion." Persons also writes from Paris on 24 August, 1583, to the rector of the English College, Rome : " Catholici . . . dimicant fortiter pro sua fide. Queruntur enim cum libris, tam etiam scriptis et sermone, se solos plecti et vexari, cum boni et fideles subditi sint ; Puritanos vero, qui manifestos se produnt Reginae inimicos, liberos esse ab omni vexatione. Hoc regni consiliarii audiunt, sed dissimulant tamen, quia maxima ex parte et ipsi Puritani sunt (THEINER, 1583, n. 85, III., 476). Mendoza also wrote on July 16, 1583 (Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 513) : The sect of the Puritans increases greatly " siéndolo muchos principales del Reino." Six nobles of their number had taken counsel with the French Huguenots as to whether they ought not to take up arms against the queen, to depose or kill her, because she would not enter into their ideas of reform, and would not kill all the Catholics " pidiéndoles parescer si podian tomar las armas contra la Reina para deponella de la corona, poniendo otro en su lugar ó matalla, por concertarse su religion y evangelio." The letter was intercepted, and the six nobles summoned before the Council, but were not punished " que es bueno para la sevicia que usan con los católicos." A book was published by the Puritans in Zeeland and Middelburg, which taught among other things that superiors are no longer superiors if they do not regulate their conduct in accordance with the Gospel, and that in that case anyone may depose or kill them " en cual como falten, ipso facto tiene poder cualquiera para descomponellos ó matallos." The Council wished to interfere, but as Leicester, Walsingham and Redefort adhered to Puritanism, this was not done.

and for the same reason the history of the Popes must not fail to deal briefly with a party which in the future exercised so important an influence upon the fortunes of England.

The Puritan tendency of English Protestantism had its beginning at the time when some of the ministers in the reign of Queen Mary fled to Geneva, and there absorbed the doctrines of Calvin; on their return to England they naturally could not accept certain half-Catholic institutions of the national church. At first the fight was confined to apparent trifles; of the sacerdotal vestments of Catholic times, the simplest of all, the so-called rochet or surplice, a linen garment worn over the ordinary dress, was still in use for Anglican worship. A campaign against this "anti-scriptural relic of papistry" as well as against other things of a like nature, was begun with a great display of zeal.[1] Archbishop Parker resisted the innovators, whereupon the struggle became much more far-reaching; the new party declared the office of bishop to be unscriptural, and aimed at a presbyterian constitution by which the community was to be ruled by a body of elders.[2] Some of the supporters of the new views then began to form a separate community, against which the government then proceeded to take action.[3]

But the new movement would not allow itself to be restrained. The infant state church by the grace of Elizabeth had as yet no roots in the hearts of the people; in comparison with it the Puritans had at any rate the merit of being logical; to this must be added the fact that the state bishops were often quite unworthy men.[4] Elizabeth looked upon the ap-

[1] FRERE, 54 *seq.*, 111-128. One of the "gross points of popery" was the fur collar which the higher ecclesiastics were careful to wear. This was given up in 1571, as being tainted with superstition, a concession which naturally encouraged the Puritans to make further demands.

[2] FRERE, 126.

[3] *Ibid.* 126 *seq.*

[4] "There were many upon the bench of bishops who were unworthy of their place there, and the proportion of these did not diminish as Elizabeth's reign went on." (FRERE, 156 *seq.*).

pointments to bishoprics, as well as the vacant sees, as sources of revenue, and once the new bishops had taken possession of their sees they tried to recoup themselves for their expenses by doing to their subordinates what the queen had done to them.[1] Thus the Church "was daily sinking deeper into a sea of corruption."[2] Puritanism made capital of this state of affairs, and its opposition to the national church became daily more bitter, its progress more daring, and its supporters more numerous. Its leaders up to this time, Sampson and Humphrey, had only become familiar with Calvinism at a mature age, and had always preserved many memories of the state of affairs of their youth; Thomas Cartwright, however, a Cambridge professor, who took the leadership of the party in 1570, had grown up among the ideas of Geneva. He had the boldness to direct open attacks from the pulpit at the episcopal constitution of the church, and though in Cambridge he found an adversary in Whitgift, the greater part of the university was on his side.[3] Whitgift himself later on, as the second successor of Parker in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, proved himself the most bitter enemy of the Puritans;[4] but though he opposed their destructive efforts in the matter of ecclesiastical discipline, he nevertheless sympathized strongly with their views as far as doctrine was concerned,[5]

Elizabeth's bishops, says Frere (p. 303), for the most part, were little else but sponges; the queen first squeezed them herself and then left them to extract what they could from the benefices assigned to them. "In the early part of Elizabeth's reign," it is stated, *ibid.* 304, "the clergy were both unlearned and ill bred. . . . The married clergy suffered from the dubious position of their wives, for clerical marriage was not yet authorised by statute."

[1] FRERE, 191.

[2] "a Church which was daily sinking deeper into a sea of corruption." *ibid.* 191. Under Elizabeth there were benefices in the hands of boys of fourteen. *Ibid.* 162.

[3] FRERE, 155 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 223-236.

[5] "He was decidedly in sympathy with the Calvinists in his doctrinal standpoint, and in this respect he joined hands with the puritan party." *Ibid.* 224.

while his predecessor, Grindal, had entirely adopted Puritan ideas.[1] Even among the masses there were to be found many zealots, and a general consensus of opinion against the "abuses." When in 1572 there appeared a pamphlet with the title "An Admonition to Parliament,"[2] which expressed itself strongly against the bishops, against the Book of Common Prayer, and against the abuses in the church,[3] its two authors, Field and Wilcox, who were quickly discovered, were indeed imprisoned, but the people flocked to their prison as to a shrine:[4] the order that all the copies of this book should be handed over to the bishops was paid so little attention to that not even one copy was delivered to the Bishop of London.[5] The Parliament to which the admonition had been addressed counted many Puritans among its members; many times proposals of a Puritan tendency were laid before it, and if none of these became law, this was due solely to the intervention of the queen.[6] Elizabeth kept a jealous watch over Parliament, especially with regard to her supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. In 1572 she forbade the House of Commons to pass bills on religious questions, which had not first been submitted to the clergy,[7] and in 1576 she again declared that she did not wish Parliament to interfere with such matters.[8] The primate of the English Church found his hands almost entirely tied. Grindal, Parker's successor, had experience of this when the queen demanded of him the suppression among the Puritans of the so-called "prophesyings"; or the suppression of those private gatherings at which each person present

[1] *Ibid.* 110, 191.

[2] *Ibid.* 178 *seqq.*

[3] This work called the archiepiscopal court "the putrid slough and the poisonous well of all the pestilences which infect the kingdom." The Book of Common Prayer is called "a faulty book, taken and dug out of the Papal dunghill of the breviary and the missal." FRERE, 179.

[4] *Ibid.* 182.

[5] *Ibid.* 185.

[6] *Ibid.* 161, 177, 198 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.* 177.

[8] *Ibid.* 199.

was allowed to speak according to his own ideas concerning some scriptural text proposed to him. Grindal refused, appealing to his conscience, and at the end of his letter insisted that the queen should leave religious matters to the bishops and theologians. Elizabeth retorted by suspending Grindal from the exercise of his episcopal office for six months, and, passing over the head of the archbishop, sent her orders directly to his suffragans.[1] The " prophesyings " nevertheless went on, in spite of the royal orders, though under another name.[2] For the most part the government behaved with extraordinary leniency and consideration towards the Puritans. Some of the preachers were, it is true, deprived when they had made themselves too noticeable, and here and there one or two were sent to prison,[3] but harsh treatment was only really meted out to the extreme left of the party, the adherents of Robert Browne, who had formerly separated himself from the national church in order to form a community composed solely of the " more worthy," and denied not only the validity of the Anglican consecration, but also the spiritual supremacy of the queen. In spite of this, Browne, who was a relative of Burghley, was for a long time treated with great consideration, until in 1581 he thought it wise to fly to Middelburg in Holland with his friends.[4] This sect gave the Puritans their first two martyrs ; two of Browne's disciples, who obstinately denied the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth had, in 1583, to expiate their unpardonable crime on the scaffold.[5] Thus it was no longer only the Catholics who were threatened with a violent death for their faith. But it was at once shown at the execution of these first two Puritans that the two religious confessions approached such an eventuality with an entirely different religious outlook. Whereas the Catholics could be

[1] *Ibid.* 193 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 194 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 172 *seqq.* Puritan writers estimate that 100 pastors were removed from their posts, " but truthfulness was never the Puritans' strong point," remarks Frere (p. 174).

[4] *Ibid.* 202 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 204.

dragged to their death without any fear of their being forcibly set free by their friends, in the case of the Puritans there was at once rebellion. It was found necessary to postpone judicial action in the case of one of the accused, in order to calm the populace, while the other was for the same reason taken to the scaffold immediately after his condemnation.[1]

In the same year 1583, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, Cartwright's former adversary at Cambridge, deemed it necessary to start a bitter campaign against the Puritans. During the last ten years that sect had made great advances; the "Admonition to Parliament" of 1572 had been followed in 1574 by the "Book of Discipline," to which all the adherents of the Geneva opinions bound themselves by subscription.[2] During the years preceding the appointment of Whitgift, meetings had been held, especially in London, against the Book of Common Prayer and the episcopal office; sixty ministers from the west of England came on May 16th 1582 to Cockfield to promote resistance to the Book of Common Prayer; a further meeting gave the demands of the sect a definite form by means of series of decrees.[3] A few weeks later, Whitgift, who had now taken possession of his office, addressed a letter to the ministers, which they were all required to sign under the penalty of being removed from their posts.[4] This demand raised a storm of opposition, both from the ministers and from the laity;[5] when the commission appointed by Whitgift demanded under oath from the suspect ministers a profession of faith on certain points,[6] Burghley who, in spite of his secret leaning towards the Puritans, officially supported the national bishops, showed his displeasure. The

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.* 195 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* 225,
[4] *Ibid.* 224.
[5] *Ibid.* 227 *seq.*
[6] This was the celebrated *ex-officio* oath, which was afterwards eagerly disputed. It was called *ex-officio*, because the sole juridical title on which it was demanded, was the office of judge (*officium*) of the one who exacted the oath,

procedure of the commission," he wrote, "is conceived after the Roman fashion" and "smacks too much of the Roman Inquisition" in saying which the ingenuous statesman naturally and very properly condemned the "bloody question" of the Catholic trials which he had himself devised. Whitgift defended himself, and Burghley thought it wise to let him have his own way. The resistance offered by the ministers to the archbishop was of no great importance; out of 800 fifty refused to sign[1] and only a few turbulent ones were sent to prison.[2]

Once more in 1584 the Puritans attempted to induce Parliament to approve their designs, but once more all their attempts were defeated by the opposition of the queen. After many discussions the two Houses at length agreed upon a decree for the strict observance of the "Sabbath," but the queen refused her assent, and the matter was heard no more of. A further plan for reform did not even reach the House of Commons for discussion, while another reached the House of Lords, but out of consideration for Elizabeth, the peers prudently rejected it. The complaints of the people against the bishops were brought before Burghley and Whitgift, who answered the complainants with scorn, so that the latter did not dare to make any reply. Moreover, the queen then informed the members of the House of Commons that they were not to interfere in matters which did not concern them; in the speech from the throne at the dissolution of Parliament Elizabeth declared that the reform of the clergy was her affair. In the full persuasion of her authority over the Church itself she at the same time sent the bishops a public warning that she would remove them if they did not busy themselves in bettering the state of affairs.[3] No Pope and no prince of the XVIth century had ever dared to treat their bishops in such a way.

It seemed to Elizabeth that she had attained to the height of her power. She was mistress of the seas, and within the boundaries of England she was more king than a Charles V.,

[1] FRERE, 229 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 234.

[3] *Ibid.* 230-233.

and more Pope than a Gregory VII. or an Innocent III. The state bishops could not move a finger without her permission ; the proud nobles humbly bowed their heads before her, and she cut off the heads of the Catholics who would not bend to her will ; as for the stiff-necked Puritans, she thought, it would seem, that she could pulverise them by her enactments, and perhaps ignore them as insignificant and inconsiderable persons. Her great ambition of raising herself up to unlimited sovereignty in matters temporal and spiritual seemed to have been attained.

Elizabeth had set herself a gigantic task when, on her accession to the throne she had aimed at reconstituting on a Protestant basis the religious unity of England, which was still to a great extent Catholic. From the moral point of view one must naturally condemn a policy which could only be carried into effect by violating the consciences of thousands, by depriving thousands of their possessions, their worldly position, and of all happiness in life, and by inhumanly sacrificing to a vile tyranny hundreds of noble lives. Undoubtedly all this showed the great administrative genius of Elizabeth and Burghley. It needed courage even to form the idea of so gigantic an undertaking, and a profound understanding of English conditions to look upon it as practicable. The sagacity of Burghley, the real " king of England,"[1] who was able, by a well-weighed policy, to combine an iron severity towards the recalcitrant with consideration towards the obedient, his skill in stirring up public opinion in England against the Catholics, and his logically persistent government through many years, actually succeeded in reducing the religion of ancient England, once supreme from sea to sea, to a handful of despised helots. But in spite of everything what short-sightedness was displayed in the political outlook of Burghley and his sovereign ! It might be supposed that both of them

[1] " Antonio de Guaras mesmes me dict qu'en effet c'est le roy d'Angleterre." Champagney to Requesens, January 28, 1576, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VIII., 137." [Burle] es el todo deste Reino y la ánima de la Reina." Guaras to Alba, October 12, 1572. Corresp. de Felipei II., vol. IV., 39.

knew no more than the upper classes of English society, who for that matter had often shown themselves ready to embrace even Islam at the royal command,[1] and that they had not even a notion of what religion really means, or of what deep roots it takes in the hearts of a sane people. Thus the king-made state church which was to unite the nation was a failure ; a fierce vendetta followed upon the criminal attempt to enforce it, and this, wonderful to say, did not come from the persecuted Catholics, but from the kindly treated Puritans. In contrast to the national church of Elizabeth Puritanism waxed strong, and it was due to it that, in less than half a century after the death of the queen, the political life of England passed through its time of greatest peril, and her second successor was brought to the scaffold.[2]

Without intending it Elizabeth afforded to the Holy See the most wonderful recognition that it has ever received. The view has certainly been expressed that the English martyrs were not so much martyrs for Catholicism, as for the idea of the supremacy of the Papacy over all sovereigns,[3] that they died for the power of the Pope to depose secular rulers,[4] and thus for a political ideal and not for a principle of faith. But they were above all things persecuted and gave their lives because they would have no part in the separation of England from the universal Church, and thus for the principles of the Catholic faith concerning the unity of the Church and the authority of the Holy See ; even if they did assent to the principle which gives rise to this objection, it would be more true to say that they died for the claim, which the Pope put

[1] See Vol. XIV: of this work, p. 408.

[2] Mary Stuart had warned Elizabeth in 1584 : " Pour Dieu, prenez garde," she wrote to her, " que pied à pied vous ne laissiez tant croistre ceote faction puritaine que, si vous n'y pourvoyez en temps, ils vous donneront la roy à vous-mesme, m'asseurant que diverses choses s'exercent en ce royaume pour l'advancement de leurs dessins." LABANOFF, VI., 155 ; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Marie Stuart, I., Paris, 1889, 71.

[3] RANKE, Engl. Gesch., I., 390.

[4] FRERE, 221.

forward as to his right of deposition, and because they would not disobey the Holy See even in matters which were not defined dogmas. Moreover, the bull of excommunication was only a pretext for the persecution ; it would soon have passed into oblivion and been hardly known if the government had not again and again called attention to it.[1] It was to the English government, then, and its repeated insistence upon the bull, that the Roman See owed the fact that its loyal sons equally insistently affirmed the duty of obedience to the vicar of Christ, and that so many of them sealed their loyalty to him with their blood.

In how many ways, during this century of religious upheaval, men had tried to drag the successor of St. Peter and his claims in the mud, by means of songs and pictures, in sermons and lectures, in broad-sheets and folio volumes ; in how many ways had they tried to take from him the last remains of reverence in the hearts of the people, by scorn and derision, and with all the artifices of eloquence and learning, sometimes with coarse abuse, sometimes in polished periods ! But now it had been shown that not only people of the common folk, but often men who belonged to the greatest and most wealthy families, who were possessed of all the culture of their age, were more ready to renounce their riches and their rank,

[1] So said the martyrs themselves, and so said W. Allen (LINGARD, VIII., 426). FRERE (p. 176) says : " The princes of Europe either did not take the bull into consideration at all, or like France, paid little attention to it, while it is probable that England generally had hardly heard of it, or heard of it only by the answers put forth to it." Moreover, to speak precisely, it is not true to say that Pius V. by his bull concerning Elizabeth, inflicted deposition on her. In the opinion of the Pope, the English queen had forfeited her crown by her heresy long before the issuing of the bull ; he himself affirmed and declared that this was the case. *Cf.* Paul III. on Henry VIII. : " Se ipse illo regno et regia dignitate privavit, ita ut sola declaratio privationis adversus eum supersit." (RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 11). It is impossible to appeal to Pius V. to prove that the Popes claimed the right to depose princes.

their liberty and their country, and even their honour and their life, than their loyalty to the man whom they venerated as the vicar of Christ. The Papacy could have had no more glowing testimony, since they who gave it, by their very testimony proved that they were capable of the greatest sacrifice and the most sublime moral grandeur, and were worthy to be looked upon, from this point of view, as the flower of their age.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The peace of St. Germain, which was so favourable to the Huguenots, was to be sealed by the marriage of Margaret, the daughter of Catherine, to the Calvinist Henry of Navarre. For the validity of this marriage, however, the Papal dispensation was required, and this Pius V. had refused to grant so long as Henry remained a Huguenot. Without letting this fact stand in the way, the marriage contract between Margaret and Henry of Navarre was signed in April, 1572, and soon afterwards an alliance was formed between France and England.[1] This was an important victory for the anti-Spanish party, while at the same time the preparation of an armada placed Philip II., in difficulties that were all the greater because, after the capture of Brielle, the insurrection in the Low Countries had become more violent. Would France seize upon this opportunity of giving assistance to the insurgents? The French Huguenots, and above all Coligny, employed every means to bring this about. Charles IX., an immature youth, passionate and easily led, agreed to their plans; only Catherine de' Medici shrank from a breach with the power of Spain. She had indeed good reasons for acting with circumspection; Queen Elizabeth had proved herself a very doubtful ally, who would not allow France to obtain possession of the coasts of Flanders. The interests of her co-religionists in the Netherlands were, as far as the Queen of England was concerned, an entirely secondary consideration in comparison to the pressing political question of the domination of the Channel. All Coligny's attempts to win over England to intervene in the Low Countries were in vain. The news that was received of the undecided attitude of the Protestant princes in Germany

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 143.

was very discouraging, and still less could France count upon the much desired help of the Turks.[1]

While the balance was thus wavering between the two parties a crisis occurred in consequence of the defeat inflicted upon the volunteer Huguenot levies under the command of Genlis on July 17th, 1572, near Mons. Coligny was deeply affected by this, and strove more than ever for a rupture with Spain, for which purpose the Queen-Mother must be forced to yield to the opposition, and the Huguenots obtain the upper hand in France.[2] It was also very opportune for Coligny that Catherine and her younger son, Henry of Anjou, were at that time visiting the sick Duchess of Lorraine; thus Coligny's influence was able to work upon the weak king, and the Venetian ambassador reported that the war was decided upon.

The return of the Queen-mother to Paris (July 30th, 1572) once more made everything uncertain. It was not only the fear of a war against the great power of Spain which filled her with dismay; she, whose predominant passion was the desire to rule,[3] feared no less the loss of that authority over her son which Coligny threatened to usurp. At two plenary meetings of the council on August 6th and 9th, Catherine caused the question of the war to be gone into thoroughly once more. The reasons urged by Morvilliers, the want of money and the uncertainty of foreign help, did not fail to make an impression; the decision was adverse to Coligny, and it was resolved to maintain the peace. But the king continued to support Coligny as much as possible.[4] The latter was by no means disposed to abandon his plans against Spain: "Madame," he said to Catherine, "the king is avoiding a war which promises to bring him great advantages; God grant that he may not run into another which he cannot avoid." These words might have referred to the war in the Low Countries,

[1] See BAUMGARTEN, Bartholomäusnacht, 153 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SEGESSER, Pfyffer, II., 147.

[3] "Affetto di signoreggiare," says the Venetian, Sig. Cavalli, (ALBÈRI, I. 4, 321) was the prevailing passion of Catherine.

[4] See BAUMGARTEN, 211 *seq.*, 220 *seq.*

but Catherine saw in them a threat, as though the admiral had it in mind to stir up another civil war.[1] There could be no doubt that Coligny had the power to do so; throughout France the Huguenots, who were wonderfully organized both for military purposes and in their finances, looked upon him as their leader.[2] The Queen-mother realized this very clearly, as well as the fact that she could only secure a complete triumph by succeeding in freeing her son once and for all from the influence of the dangerous and powerful leader of the Huguenots.

In the meantime the day on which the marriage of Henry of Navarre and Margaret was to take place in Paris was at hand. This celebration had been postponed on account of the death of the Queen of Navarre and the illness of the Duchess of Lorraine, and also because it was still hoped that the granting of the dispensation, which was necessary on account of the Calvinism of the bridegroom, but which had been steadily refused by Pius V., might be obtained from the new Pope, Gregory XIII. As all efforts to obtain this were seen to be vain, Cardinal Charles de Bourbon was tricked by a forged letter from the French ambassador in Rome, which stated that the Pope had granted the dispensation at the request of the Cardinal of Lorraine. In consequence of this Cardinal de Bourbon blessed the marriage on August 18th, without the bridegroom being present at the mass.[3] The Huguenot nobles

[1] See SOLDAN, II., 433 n. 17; RANKE, Französ. Gesch., I.[2], 315. *Cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., lxvii.

[2] See SEGESSER, II., 139 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., liv. *seq.*, lxvii. *seq.*; RAUMER, Briefe, I., 292 *seq.*; *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXXX. (1906), 489 *seq.*; PALANDRI, 168 *seq.* SAULNIER (Bibl. de l'Ecole d. Chartes, LXXI. [1910], 305 *seq.*) thinks that the rumour of the granting of the dispensation may be referred to the brief of July 7, 1572; however, in this the Pope only exhorts Cardinal Bourbon to work for the conversion of his nephew. The command of Charles IX. not to allow any courier to go to Italy, was intended to prevent the discovery of the fraud to which it was intended to have recourse in the matter of the dispensation (See BEZOLD in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLVII., 564).

had flocked to Paris in great numbers with 4000 armed men to take part at the marriage of Navarre. The Guise too were there with a splendid following. There was a succession of riotous festivities and unbridled merry-making. While the heedless young king gave himself up to empty amusements, his mother was deep in her nefarious plans.

Catherine de' Medici hated Coligny with all the ardour of an Italian, because he threatened to shake her authority over the king and to upset her policy. She had often entertained the idea of removing this dangerous man by an attack upon his person.[1] Now, however, she made up her mind to do so, both so as to avoid all risk of France becoming embroiled in a war with Spain, and to recover her former ascendancy over the helpless king.

For the carrying out of this attack it was to her advantage to make use of the as yet unsatisfied blood-feud of the Guise. For that reason Catherine came to an understanding, not only with Henry of Anjou, but also with the young Duke of Guise and his mother, the Duchess of Nemours, who could not forget how Coligny had hailed the murder of her first husband as the most happy event for France and the Calvinist religion.[2] The king was not admitted to the plot by his mother, and only Catherine's confidants knew of it. It would seem that the latter cherished more far-reaching designs, whereas Catherine only aimed at the removal of Coligny.[3] But the shot that was fired by Maurevel on August 22nd did not kill the admiral, but only wounded him. Still in possession of the king's confidence, and protected by the Huguenots, who demanded with threats the punishment of the criminal, Coligny was now much more dangerous than before. If Catherine already had reason to fear a Huguenot rising if the war policy were to be abandoned, what sort of retaliation had she not cause to expect if it were discovered

[1] *Cf.* PLATZHOFF, Mordbefugnis, 52 *seqq.*

[2] See *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXII., 42 *seqq.*

[3] PHILIPPSON infers this from the report of Salviati of August 24, 1572 (Römische Kurie, 183). *Cf.* also MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 105 *seq.*

that, not the Guise and Alba, but the Queen-mother herself, had guided the blow of Maurevel? All her spies brought news of the threatened rebellion of the Huguenots. They are so angry, says Cavriana, that they have declared that if the king will not give them justice, they will take it with their own hands. According to the Venetian, Michele, the Huguenots had threatened that the arm of the admiral would cost another 40,000 arms. Téligny, Coligny's son-in-law, and Rochefoucauld, were, as the nuncio Salviati learned, uttering the foulest insults against Catherine.[1] Coligny had been wounded without his life being imperilled; one word from him would set his party, which was splendidly organized from the military point of view, in motion.[2] Under these circumstances, it seemed that nothing but another and greater crime could bring safety, namely the death of Coligny and those of his followers who were in Paris. This was the course resolved upon by Catherine, to whom might be applied the poet's words: "This is the curse of an evil act, that it must needs go on producing evil."[3]

[1] See the reports in DESJARDINS, III., 813; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Huguenots, II., 551 *seq.*; H. DE LA FERRIÈRE, Le XVI.e siècle et les Valois, 320 *seq.*; THEINER, I., 328 *seq.*, 335. *Cf.* DUHR in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXIX., 129 *seq.* RANKE (Französ. Gesch., I.[2], 324) is of the opinion that the state of affairs was such that Catherine feared, not only for her position, but even for her life.

[2] *Cf.* SEGESSER, II., 154 *seq.*

[3] The true view of the genesis of the massacre of St. Bartholomew as the result, not of a long premeditated plan, but of a sudden decision, is already to be found in the memoirs of Tavannes and in the "Discours du roy Henry III.," published for the first time in 1623. Even though modern research has shown that the latter is not the work of Henry III. (see BAUMGARTEN, 257 *seqq.*; SEGESSER, II., 159; MONOD in *Rev. Hist.*, CI., 316 *seq.*), it has nevertheless, on the strength of the diplomatic reports, come to a decision in the negative on the much discussed question as to whether there was premeditation or not (see as to this the conspectus of K. HAID in *Sammler*, Innsbruck, 1906, n. 5, and PLATZHOFF in the periodical *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1912).

On the afternoon of August 23rd the king was told the truth about the attempt which had been made against Coligny, and in spite of the resistance which he first offered, a consent was extorted from him for the order which led to the massacre of the following night.[1] Coligny was killed first, and then the other principal leaders and Huguenot nobles who were there. The horrors of the Paris Matins, as the massacre was called in memory of the Sicilian Vespers, reached their height when the masses of the populace were let loose. Many, when they learned of the king's commands, supposed that a Huguenot conspiracy had been discovered, others wished to be avenged for the cruelties which the Calvinists had hitherto employed against the Catholics. In many cases it was personal enmity, rapine and murder which inspired them. Some Catholics

In this matter importance attaches to the critical historical study by Baumgarten of the years immediately preceding the bloody event, which *definitely* discards the view that all that was done by the French monarchy after August, 1570, was nothing but a preparation for August 24, 1572. Quite independently of Baumgarten and almost at the same time, Segesser had come to substantially the same conclusion. The gap in the reports of Salviati which Baumgarten laments has in the meantime been bridged by Philippson. From the report of the nuncio of August 11, 1572: of which he hopes "to be able soon to publish something more satisfactory" Philippson believes (Kurie, 132, 137) that the conclusion may be drawn that Catherine formed the plan of killing Coligny at the latest on that date.

[1] Although the events in Paris between August 22 and 24, 1572, have been treated of so often, a strictly critical account which satisfies all requirements is still wanting. The same defect also marks the recent accounts by HECTOR DE LA FERRIÈRE (La Saint-Barthélemy: La veille—le jour—le lendemain, Paris, 1892; *cf.* MARCKS in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXII., 341), Thompson and Merki. Both the characteristic reports of Joachim Opfer on the "horrenda tragoedia," dated Paris, August 24 and 26, 1572, which were published with errors in the dissertations in the *St. Gallisch-Appenzellischen Gemeinnützigen Gesellschaft*, 1858, 109 *seq.*, may now be seen in a more correct edition in the *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, XII. (1918), 53 *seqq.*

also fell victims ; for example, the learned Pierre Ramus was killed, the victim of a rival philosopher, whose scientific shortcomings he had exposed. Other Catholics were saved from death, not without risk, by the Jesuits.[1]

Royal letters to the prefects of the provinces, dated August 24th, had sought to represent the massacre as a private feud of the Guise and Châtillon, but two days later Charles IX. found himself obliged to take the responsibility upon his own shoulders. He did this by accusing Coligny and his adherents of high treason.

In view of the predominant position held by Paris, one cannot be surprised that, at the news of what had happened there, the passions of the populace broke out in the provinces as well. In several cities, especially where the Catholics had suffered harsh treatment during the frequent occupation by Calvinist troops, the people now rose up against their enemies. In this way, at Orléans, Bourges and Lyons, and later on at Rouen and Toulouse, there was more or less a repetition of what had occurred in the capital. The disturbances in Provence, the Dauphiné, Languedoc, Auvergne and Burgundy were but small, while Champagne, Picardy and Brittany remained quite peaceful. The fate of the Huguenots in the provinces, and whether they were killed or spared, depended for the most part upon the attitude of the governors. Moreover, it was not all Catholics who took a bloody revenge. At Nîmes, where the rivers had run with the blood of murdered Catholics, the inhabitants had so great magnanimity as not to touch a hair of the heads of their mortal enemies. At Vienne the archbishop, Gribaldi, saved the threatened heretics from death, nor in other places were there wanting cases where the Catholics afforded shelter to the persecuted Calvinists. At Lisieux, where the Bishop,

[1] See SOLDAN, II., 457 *seq.*, 461 *seq.* ; FOUQUERAY, I., 629 *seq.* *Cf.* also DUHR, Iesuitenfabeln, 197 *seq.* The Protestant L. Geizkofler relates in his Selbstbiographie (ed. A. WOLF, Vienna, 1873, 49 *seq.*) how he and his companions were saved on August 24, 1572, by a Catholic priest.

Jean Le Hennuyer, protected the Huguenots, they almost all returned to the Church.[1]

The number of the victims cannot be decided with certainty. That it has been very greatly exaggerated, as is wont to be the case in almost all terrible occurrences, is beyond all doubt, and it is significant that the numbers become greater the further the writers are removed from the date of the event. According to the lowest estimate 2,000 men died in Paris, and 3,000 in the provinces.[2]

The Protestant world was filled with consternation and horror at what had happened in France. The rumours that had long been current at a conspiracy between the Catholic powers and the Pope for the violent destruction of Protestantism now seemed to have been fully confirmed. According to some, the plan had already been formed in 1565 at Bayonne, at the meeting between their French Majesties and Queen Elizabeth of Spain, who was accompanied by the Duke of Alba; according to others the marriage of Henry of Navarre had been arranged only for the purpose of luring the Huguenots to their ruin. A decisive influence was given to this view by the circumstance that the Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles de Guise, in order to prevent once and for all any return on the part of the French crown to a conciliatory attitude towards the Huguenots,[3] had caused Camillo Capilupi to celebrate, in a long work, at first in manuscript and afterwards printed, the massacre of St. Bartholomew as the concluding act of a policy which had been systematically followed for years past. This version soon passed into literature, especially among the Huguenots, and only recent critical historical research has placed any such supposition in the domain of legend.

It is now beyond dispute that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was not the final act of a long prepared plan, cautiously

[1] BORDEAUX, Hennuyer et la St. Barthélemy à Lisieux, 1844.

[2] *Cf.* SCHMIDT, Gesch. von Frankreich, III., 146 n.; FUNK in *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, II., 940 *seq.*; DUHR in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXIX., 135 *seq.* See also CHALEMBERT, Ix.: THOMPSON, 450; MERKI, 466.

[3] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, 251.

formed and kept absolutely secret, and no one any longer doubts that it sprang entirely from personal and political motives, and in no way from religious ones.[1] These latter had no existence for Catherine except when they seemed necessary for her private ends. At heart indifferent to all religion, and devoid of all moral scruples, she planned the attack on Coligny for the sole purpose of keeping the government of the kingdom in her own hands. The attack was not directed against the Huguenots, but against the leader of a powerful and well-organized party, who wished to impose his will on the king in the matter of foreign policy, and was making ready to assume the power into his own hands.[2] When the attack failed, Catherine acted merely on the spur of the moment, and anticipated what she feared from Coligny and his followers. With the Guise, too, what came first was not Catholic interests, but their own, since everyone in France at that time, according to the shrewd opinion of Salviati, was guided by that alone.[3] But once the carrying out of the bloody act of vengeance had been entrusted to the Guise, it was quite inevitable that the passions of the French people, inflamed by the long civil and religious wars, should break loose, for the people longed to be avenged upon the cruelties of the Huguenots, and, inspired by the desire for national unity, would no longer tolerate in their midst the alien Calvinist body.[4]

The complete destruction of the Huguenots was by no means the intention of Catherine and of her temporizing policy, and she accordingly spared the two other leaders, Condé and Navarre. Content with having recovered her complete ascendancy over the king, she had no intention whatever of letting herself be dragged at the heels of the Guise and Spain, and there can be no sort of doubt that she intended to pursue

[1] *Cf.* PLATZHOFF, Die Bartholomäusnacht: *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, CL. (1912), 54.

[2] See SEGESSER, II., 162.

[3] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 129.

[4] See ELKAN, Die Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht, Heidelberg, 1905, 16.

her former policy.[1] After the massacre, one of the first acts of Charles IX., who was now completely under her dominion, was to give the assurance of French protection to Geneva, the head-quarters of Calvinism, which fancied itself threatened by Spain and Savoy. Catherine also sought, after the tragedy of August 24th, to resume her former relations with Orange, Elizabeth of England, and the Protestant princes of Germany; of any sort of rapprochement with the Pope and Spain there was no trace whatever.[2]

Catherine tried in every way to obviate the anticipated indignation of the Protestant powers by carefully contrived statements as to the real genesis of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, so as not to allow any idea of vengeance to arise. She assured them that it was not from any hatred of the Huguenots, nor because of any principles she entertained, and still less because of any agreement with any other power, but only as an act of necessary self-defence, and to render void and punish the treasonable conspiracy of the admiral and his associates, that the king had adopted a course which was certainly exceptional, but which was necessary in this case. In these declarations there was developed a formal theory of the rights of life and death possessed by sovereigns, and to the question as to why the crime of Coligny had not been punished by the ordinary legal methods the reply was made that to do so would have provoked a civil war.[3]

It was quite characteristic of Catherine that she spoke in quite another sense to the Catholic states of Italy, the Pope and Philip II. To them too she spoke of the conspiracy of Coligny and the Huguenots, but at the same time she tried to suggest the belief that in her zeal as a Catholic she had long planned some such act of vengeance upon the heretics and rebels. As this suggestion of a religious motive very soon took its place in contemporary literature, it is scarcely to be wondered at that Protestant polemics laid the responsibility

[1] See BAUMGARTEN, 250; PLATZHOFF, Frankreich und die deutschen Protestanten, 58 *seq.*

[2] See SEGESSER, II., 167, *cf.* III. n. 2.

[3] See PLATZHOFF, Morbefugnis, 59 *seq.*

for the massacre principally upon the shoulders of the Pope. To-day it is well known that no sort of blame attached to Gregory XIII., and that he had no part either in the planning or the carrying out of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.[1] Any

[1] *Cf.*, to mention only the more recent non-Catholic authors, PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 120 *seqq.*, 132, and PLATZHOFF, Mordbefugnis, 55. With them is included TÖRNE (Gregor XIII. und die Bartholomäusnacht. Supplementary article in *Oefversikt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, LI. [1908-09], Afd. B. n. 1); Törne remarks: Philippson "has shown, with a demonstrative power that is convincing, that the celebrated Paris night of St. Bartholomew can in no way have been pre-arranged between the Pope and the King of France, and that in any case the two Popes, Pius V. and Gregory XIII., had no previous warning of it" (p. 1). The question still remains undecided, and with the material in our possession so far cannot be definitely settled, as to what value must be attached to the assertion of the Cardinal of Lorraine, when he afterwards expressly boasted that he had had previous knowledge of the plot against the Huguenots. According to a conference by L. Romier, addressed to the Institut de France on October 24, 1913, and published in the *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, I. (1913), 529 *seq.*, the said Cardinal, the Duc d'Aumâle and Henry of Guise, had already formed the plan as early as April 15, 1572, of killing the leader of the Protestants on the occasion of the marriage of Navarre. Doubt, however, has in the meantime been thrown upon this view by Valois and Picot (see *Acad. d. Inscript. et Belles Lettres.* Compte-rendu, 1913, 512 *seq.*); MARIÉJOL (Catherine de Médicis, Paris, 1920, 194) describes it as a mere hypothesis. Romier is further of the opinion that the Cardinal had informed the Pope of his design. In any case, it can only have been a question of purely general considerations of the favourable opportunity for a blow against the Huguenots afforded by the marriage of Navarre, which, as is clear from the report of Castagna of August 5, 1572 (see THEINER, I., 327; *cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., lxxviii.) was still as it were in the air. That Gregory XIII. "ne prit aucun part à la préparation et à l'execution du massacre", is looked upon as certain even by Romier. A further contribution to the controversy in question is afforded by a *report of Arco of July 31, 1572, which I discovered in the State Archives,

such participation was definitely excluded by the extremely strained relations between the Holy See and the French court, and also by the fact that the Papal nuncio, Salviati, no longer enjoyed the full confidence of the Pope.[1] At that time they were engaged upon very different subjects in Rome.

During the summer of 1572 Gregory was above all occupied with his plan for a prosecution of the war against the Turks begun by his predecessor. All his thoughts and actions were directed to getting the fleets of the league to put to sea as soon as possible, and to winning a decisive victory over the Crescent.[2] But the realization of this hope was seriously threatened by

Vienna. This is manifestly the report to which later on Maximilian II. referred when speaking to the French ambassador, when he said that they had written to him from Rome before August 24 concerning the marriage of Navarre: that at that time "all the birds would be in a cage, so that they could all be captured together" (Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., cxvii.). In connexion with the use made of this report, which he has reproduced with some slight alteration, by GROEN VAN PRINSTERER (IV., 13*), as a polemic against the Holy See, H. CARDAUNS (Köln. Volkszeitung, 1872, n. 239), has already shown that the version of the French ambassador is adduced there for a contentious purpose, namely to represent the motives of the French court as being purely political, and on the other hand to throw the blame for the religious fanaticism upon Rome. The complicity of the Pope cannot be proved on the strength of Arco's report. The words of a writer so hostile to Rome as Acton may be quoted here; on p. 55 he remarks "that the marriage was celebrated in manifest opposition to the Pope, who remained steadfast in his refusal of the dispensation, and was thus acting in a way that could only serve to upset the plot." MARTIN (Gallicanisme, 107 *seq.*), who accepts as certain the preparations for a blow against the Huguenots before August 22, of which the French in Rome were also aware, remarks that Salviati did not approve of this plan; of the attitude of the Holy See he says: "La cour de Rome ignora tout du project jusqu'à sa réalisation" (p. 107).

[1] Romier has again called attention to this in the *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, I. (1913), 560.

[2] See *supra* p. 325.

the relations between Spain and France, which had become more and more strained from the spring onwards. The outbreak of war between the two kingdoms must render any action on the part of the allied fleet impossible, and it was therefore one of Gregory's principal anxieties to maintain a tolerable understanding between Spain and France. For the accomplishment of this task in France, it seemed at first that no one was better fitted than Antonio Maria Salviati, who, on account of his earlier sojourn in that country was acquainted with the state of affairs there, and who had influence there on account of his relationship to Catherine. When Salviati was sent to France on June 11th, 1572,[1] the principal duty laid upon him was the maintenance of peace.[2] When, on account of the threatening attitude adopted by France, the remaining of Spain in the league seemed doubtful, the mission of Ormaneto to Madrid as nuncio extraordinary was projected. He too, with the same end in view was instructed to try to prevent war between Spain and France. By the time Ormaneto, who was then in Padua, reached Rome on June 27th, more reassuring news had arrived from France. The Pope nevertheless sent him on his journey, so as not to give occasion fo the idea that he was more afraid of France, whither Salviati had been sent, than he was of Spain.[3]

Salviati's position in France was one of much difficulty,

[1] See the *brief of that date in the Papal Secret Archives, XLIV., 21. *Cf.* the account of PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 121 and the Comment. de Rebus Gregorii, XIII. in RANKE, Päpste, III., 56 *seq.* For Salviati see Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 138; *cf.* also GARAMPI, 315. In the Colonna-Lante Archives, now in the possession of Prince Barberini, there should be, according to Mgr. Mercati, further papers concerning the mission of Salviati to France.

[2] See in App. n. 31 the *report of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See the *letter of Galli to Salviati, dated June 30, 1572, Nunziat. di Francia, CCLXXXIII., 9, Papal Secret Archives. The *instructions for Ormaneto, dated July 4, 1572, in Cod. 467, p. 126 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome.

because he was suspected of entertaining Spanish sympathies.[1] The reports which he and the nuncio Frangipani, who was still in Paris, sent to Rome in July, 1572, were once again very disquieting. They both clearly realized what great influence the Huguenots had over the weak king, to make him decide upon a war with Spain. The principal means which they employed for this purpose, according to a letter from Salviati on July 6th, was to persuade Charles IX. that the refusal of the dispensation for the marriage of Navarre was entirely the result of the intrigues of Spain, which was aiming at stirring up discontent and civil war in France.[2] Two days later Salviati reported that the king was sparing the Huguenots so as to make use of them in case of an attack on the part of Alba.[3] Salviati wrote on July 21st that the Huguenot volunteer levies, which, under the command of Genlis, Coligny's trusted friend, had crossed the frontier of the Low Countries, were clearly acting with the consent of Charles IX., who was holding frequent secret conferences with Coligny, and that the eagerness of the Huguenots to involve the King in a war with Spain was greater than ever. With the idea of definitely bringing about a breach between the two powers, they were everywhere spreading the news that the war was decided upon. One day recently, when the king had retired to bed to sleep, he had nevertheless sent for the admiral, and conversed with him for a long time.[4]

The chief hope of being able to prevent a breach between the two great Catholic powers was Catherine herself, who, in an autograph letter to the Pope had assured him of her pacific intentions. Salviati was therefore warned on July 26th to counteract the intrigues of the other party as much as possible, but the Pope's representative realized better every day how difficult a task this was. Even when Catherine had been successful on her return to the court in holding back the king

[1] See ROMIER, *loc. cit.* 559.

[2] See the *cypher report of Salviati of July 6, 1572, in PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 124, n. 4.

[3] *Ibid.* 124.

[4] *Ibid.* 126.

from a declaration of war against Spain,[1] Salviati was under no illusions as to the motives which had guided the Queen-mother. He expressly states that Catherine's only concerns were, first to avoid a war which she thought would be disastrous at that moment, and secondly, not to allow the admiral complete dominion over her son, the king. "But for another reason" the nuncio says, "it appears to me that this lady has very different ideas from those of Our Lord (the Pope), because, finding herself firmly established in power, and dealing with the affairs of the kingdom as though they were her own concern, she rejoices at the troubles of others on account of the power which they bring to her, looking upon it as a good thing that the disturbances in Flanders should continue, and that country be laid waste so that it may not be as rich as that of France, so that God knows when it will ever be settled again, with great expense and labour on the part of the Catholic King. To this end she allows Frenchmen to go to Flanders under the guise of Huguenots, and alarms the Spaniards with talk of armed forces and other similar things. At the same time she keeps a watchful eye upon the actions of the admiral, who on account of the reputation which he has acquired by what he has accomplished is building his hopes too high, and then (when things take a turn) will get him into her clutches; yet she carries on all these intrigues so cleverly, trusting so much in her skill and the power of the kingdom, and directing all things to the end she has in view, that it is amazing how little attention she pays to anything but what will serve her own interests."[2]

In the middle of August news reached Rome which caused the Pope and his advisers to fear that all the efforts of the nuncios and the legates would not be able to avert the terrible

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 483.

[2] Report in cypher of Salviati, Francia V., 102 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. See PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 129-130, who remarks that this report gives a high idea of the great statesmanlike qualities of Salviati, and describes beforehand the whole policy which Catherine continued to follow with regard to the Low Countries, notwithstanding the episode of the St. Bartholomew.

catastrophe of a war between the two great Catholic powers. In his irritation Gregory XIII. ordered his nuncio in Venice to call the attention of the Senate to the danger of a war which was daily becoming greater, and to work for intervention on the part of Venice and the Emperor Maximilian, who were to demand from the kings of France and Spain a promise that the peace should not be broken, and to threaten with a joint attack the one who broke this promise. On August 25th Cardinal Galli sent word to Salviati to demand of Catherine de' Medici that she should do all in her power to prevent the outbreak of war with Spain.

If the Holy See, immediately before and after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had so little idea of a blow against the Huguenots on the part of the French government, as to look upon the war between France and Spain, and therefore the triumph of the Huguenots, as being imminent, it is impossible to speak of any previous understanding between the Pope and the intriguing Catherine de' Medici on the subject of the massacre.[1] A further proof of this is afforded by a brief from Gregory XIII. to Alba, and a letter from Cardinal Galli to Salviati in the last week of August. The brief to Alba is dated August 23rd, 1572. In it the Pope congratulates the duke on his victory over the heretics and rebels in the Netherlands, but at the same time warns him to do nothing that would rouse the suspicions of the King of France, or give him a pretext for war, because that must lead to the breaking up of the league against the Turks, and that would involve grave danger to Christendom.[2] These then were the things that were preoccupying the Pope on the eve of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. No less important is the letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State on August 27th. This states that on account of the approaching autumn the plans for the war against the Turks must be settled for the following year, that Commendone was going to the Imperial court for that purpose in the autumn, and that on August 25th the Pope

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 131-132 ; *cf.* TÖRNE, *loc. cit.* 3.

[2] *Cf.* the text of the letter in THEINER, I., 61.

had appointed Cardinal Orsini as legate to France, whither he was to go in eight days, to win over Charles IX. to the undertaking of a crusade.[1]

Lastly, it is clear that Gregory knew nothing of the murder of the Huguenots which had been planned by Catherine from a letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Galli, to Salviati on September 8th, 1572. The latter had been informed by Catherine of her plan, but on condition that he would keep secret from everyone, even the Pope, what he had been told. He had kept this promise, and had contented himself with reporting on August 11th that he hoped "in a few days to be able to announce tidings which would certainly give His Holiness joy and tranquillity."[2] Now Galli addresses the strongest remonstrances to the nuncio, because he had known of the plan before it was carried into execution, and had not sent news of it; it was precisely for cases of this sort that the diplomatists had codes.[3]

As Salviati only sent the news when the keeping of the secret was no longer necessary, the Curia was quite thunderstruck at the news of Catherine's action, which reached it from other quarters.[4] A gentleman who was in the service of the

[1] This *letter, which is preserved in the Papal Secret Archives (Nunziat. di Francia, CCLXXXIII., 64) has not been used by Philippson, *loc. cit.* (see the text in App. n. 3). For the appointment of Orsini see *Acta consist. Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the *report of A. de' Medici of August 28, 1572, according to which Orsini was intended, in addition to preventing a war between France and Spain, and winning over Charles IX. to the league against the Turks, to discuss a compromise in the "materia del Navarra." State Archives, Florence.

[2] PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 132.

[3] See PHILIPPSON, 132-133, and MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 166. Salviati persisted in maintaining, as is shown by his *notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, that his quite vague hints should have sufficiently enlightened the Pope as to what was about to happen!

[4] This surprise is clearly expressed both at the beginning of Galli's letter of September 8, which is omitted by PHILIPPSON,

governor of Lyons, whom his master had informed of what had happened, formed the idea of earning a large sum of money by sending early information to Rome. He therefore sent a courier in all haste. The latter, who was in Rome by September 2nd, was the first to bring the news.[1] The Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles de Guise, so Musotti relates, at once went, accompanied by three colleagues, the two Cardinals Este and Pellevé, to Gregory, with whom was the French ambassador, Férals. After saluting the Pope the Cardinal of Lorraine addressed to him the question: "What news would Your Holiness desire to receive above all others?" Gregory replied: "For the exaltation of the Catholic faith, we desire nothing else than the extermination of the Huguenots." "That extermination," replied the Cardinal, "we can now announce to Your Holiness, for the glory of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Church."[2]

p. 134, and in that of September 12, 1572, addressed to Ormaneto; see the quotations in TÖRNE, *loc. cit.* 5-6, which show that Romier is quite unfair in denying this surprise.

[1] See the Avviso di Roma of September 3, and the letter of Fr. Gerini of September 4, 1572, in TÖRNE, *loc. cit.* 4-5, and the report of V. Parpaglia of September 5, 1572, in the *Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. III., 169. Since both Parpaglia and Gerini expressly say Tuesday, the date September 3, given by Capilupi (INTRA, Capilupi, 13) is wrong. Mucantius, too (*Diarium, Papal Secret Archives) says that the news arrived on September 2. The nuncio in Florence *reported on September 3, 1572, the news which had come from France, which stated: "che tutto è stato seguito per ordine del Re et che a questo è stato consentiente il principe di Navarra, quale va alle messe insieme col Re et parla et scerza con lui!" Nunziat. di Firenze, I., 118. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *"Quando l'ill. sig^ri cardinalli di Loreno, Ferrara, Est et Sans li portorono la nova entrati in camera fatta la debita riverenza, disse il card. di Loreno: quale nova desiderarebbe la S^tà Vestra più d'ogn'altra. Rispose il pontefice: l'esterminio delli Ugonotti per esaltatione della fede cattolica Romano. Et lo esterminio loro portiamo alla S^tà Vestra a gloria del Sig. Dio et grandezza della sua s. chiesa." *Notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Gregory XIII., who was very susceptible to first impressions,[1] wished at once to order great manifestations of joy, but the French ambassador dissuaded him, pointing out that it was right to wait for the official news from his king and the nuncio.[2] The attitude adopted by Férals was connected with his strained relations with the Cardinal of Lorraine, whom he blamed for not having helped him sufficiently in the matter of the dispensation. The Cardinal was of opinion that he was not deserving of such blame. After the king had warned Férals to do nothing without the advice of the Cardinal, the latter had done his utmost in the matter of the dispensation, as he reported to Paris on July 28th, but as the question depended upon religious considerations, he saw that he would not be able to accomplish anything. The real reason for Férals' hostility lay in his jealous fear lest the Cardinal should get into his own hands the entire management of the interests of France.[3] This fear was not quite groundless, since Lorraine found much to help him, both in his position as a member of the Sacred College, and in the fact that since the time of the Council of Trent he had been very friendly with the Pope. He certainly was not wanting in ambition; this was clearly shown by his efforts to ensure for his own house the glory of having destroyed the Huguenots.

The intervention of Férals, by preventing any sort of celebration, at first caused many to doubt the truth of the news of the destruction of the Huguenots.[4] Two days passed in this

[1] This characteristic, which Serrano very rightly brings out (Liga, II., 171), Romier passes over (*loc. cit.*), when he concludes from the Pope's attitude that he had known that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was imminent.

[2] See the report of Férals of September 11, 1572, in ACTON, 56, and Lettres de Cath. de Medicis, IV., 139, n.

[3] For the strained relations between Férals and Card. Charles de Guise see the report of Cardinal Delfino in ACTON, 54, which has not been made use of by H. DE LA FERRIÈRE (Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., lxviii.), nor by ROMIER (*loc. cit.* 531).

[4] See the report of Capilupi of September 5, 1572, in INTRA, 13.

way in anxious suspense.[1] At length on September 5th definite tidings came. On the morning of that day,[2] there arrived the reports of Salviati of August 24th and 27th,[3] and, as the envoy of Charles IX., Beauville, the nephew of the French ambassador. The Cardinal Secretary of State, who, as well as the Pope, was spending that summer at the palace of S. Marco, at once went with Salviati's reports to his master. The latter caused them to be read at the consistory which was held a few hours later.

In his first letter, dated August 24th, Salviati announced the massacre which had taken place by the king's orders, and that Navarre and Condé had been spared, and also told of the threats of the followers of Coligny against Catherine after the first attempt on the life of the admiral. If this latter attempt had been successful, Salviati thought, all these terrible things would not have happened. The whole city, he says, is under arms, and the houses of the Huguenots are being sacked, though a royal edict is restoring quiet. Lastly the nuncio says: "When I first announced in code that Coligny's daring was going too far, and that he would soon be put in his place, it was because I foresaw that he would not be tolerated much longer. I was even more convinced of this when I wrote that I hoped soon to be able to give His Holiness good news. At the same time I could never have believed in the tenth part of what I see at this moment with my own eyes."

In his second report of August 27th, Salviati begins by saying that he would have sent his letter of the 24th by a special courier, but that by the desire of the king he was now sending it together with that of the latter, as His Majesty insisted that the envoy of France must be the first to convey the news to the Pope. Charles IX., as well as Catherine de' Medici, had charged him to say that everything had been done in the

[1] A private letter to Cardinal L. Este, which arrived on September 3, announces the imprisonment of the King of Navarre; see ROMIER in *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, I., 551.

[2] The courier had arrived during the night; see the report of Fr. Gerini and Aless. de' Medici in TÖRNE, *loc. cit.* 5.

[3] See THEINER, I., 328 *seqq.*; *cf.* MARTIN, Gallicansme, 105.

interests of religion, and that many other things would follow in due course for the same end, since, as time went on, the queen intended, not only to revoke the edict of St. Germain, but to restore the ancient observance of the Catholic faith by force of law.[1]

During the discussion of the reports of Salviati, in which there was no mention of any particular conspiracy of the Huguenots against the life of the king, the Cardinal of Lorraine once again spoke very emphatically. Using all his powers of eloquence he described to the members of the consistory the wickedness of Coligny and his followers, as well as the damage and devastation which they had inflicted upon France; he also revealed their plans and set forth in a clear light the labours and deliberations to which men of good will in France had been forced to have recourse in order to destroy

[1] SOLDAN in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1854, p. 194 and 235 *seqq.*, has very properly explained the sense of the subsequent remarks on the conference at Blois, which Albèri has employed in order to set aside a dangerous piece of evidence against his fellow-countrywoman, Catherine. We also owe to Soldan a true estimate of the remark in the report of Michele (ALBÈRI, I., 4, 295), according to which later on Catherine reminded Salviati that she had at one time hoped to make known through him to the dead Pope (Pius V.) that he "would soon be the witness of her revenge and that of the king upon the Huguenots," a thing which Salviati had afterwards confirmed by her express desire. In reply to the way in which RANKE (Päpste, II., 44 *seqq.*) made use of this point, SOLDAN (*loc. cit.* 196) remarks that it "does not alter the facts. That Catherine should have hinted to the Pope of the coming vengeance on the Protestants, counts for nothing so long as he did not know *when, how certainly, or to what extent* this was to take place. The remark in question was made, for example, during the last days of the war, and no one could doubt, even without it, concerning the hostile feelings of Catherine towards the Huguenots; but what does it prove concerning the massacre of St. Bartholomew? Naturally it was not the business of the nuncio, when called as a witness, to deny in the face of the queen, the application of the general expression to the particular fact." *Cf.* further Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 140, n. 1.

these men at one blow. The Cardinal could hardly find words strong enough to extol the Catholic sentiments of Catherine and the king. Other French Cardinals spoke in the same sense, and Pellevé compared Catherine to Judith and Coligny to Holofernes.[1]

The fact that the reports of Salviati differed from the account of the Cardinal of Lorraine did not escape Gregory XIII. He, as well as Cardinal Galli, did not conceal from the nuncio that they had expected more detailed news from him.[2] There was not, however, any real contradiction between the letter of Salviati and the versions of the French Cardinals. If the many treasonable plots which the Huguenots had to their charge for many years past were taken into account, the statement that they had had something of the sort in preparation during the days preceding August 24th, 1572, might will be considered as credible. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the others who were well acquainted with the state of affairs in France looked upon it as certain that the Pope would believe that the French government had really anticipated a Huguenot rising, and had therefore made use of a quite legitimate

[1] These important details are found in a letter of Capilupi of September 7, 1572, in INTRA, 15. For the consistory *cf.* also the *report of A. de' Medici of September 5, 1572, State Archives, Florence, the report of Galli to Salviati on September 8, 1572, in PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 134-135, and *Acta consist. in App. n 4. Here, in accordance with the reports of both Galli and Capilupi, the consistory is placed on September 5, whereas the report in ACTON (57, n. 2) places it on the 6th. Quite erroneous is the statement in THEINER, I., 46, that the consistory was held on III. Non. Sept. (September 3). The credential brief for Orsini, in which there is no mention at all of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, because at that date there was no confirmation of the news, is dated on that day. An allusion to the defeat of the heresy, though quite a general one, is to be found in the brief to Charles IX. of September 5, 1572; this points to the league against the Turks as the purpose of the mission of Orsini (see the text in FILLON, Inventaire des autographes, Paris, 1882, 10).

[2] See the letter of Galli of September 8, 1572, in PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 135 n.

stratagem. As Salviati too expressly alluded to the change in favour of the Catholics which was to be looked for in France, the Pope, at the end of the consistory repaired to the basilica of S. Marco adjoining the palace, where the *Te Deum* was sung,[1] to thank God, as the Imperial agent Cusano wrote to Vienna, that at a single blow, not only had the King of France, but his whole kingdom and the Holy See as well, been set free from the danger which had threatened them, if Coligny had succeeded in his plan, which involved the murder of the king, his own usurpation of the crown, the support of the rebels in the Low Countries, and lastly marching upon Italy and destroying the Papal States and Rome.[2]

In the afternoon of September 5th the official representatives of Charles IX., Férals and Beauville, presented themselves before the Pope, not only to make their report of what had happened in Paris, but also to ask for the dispensation to ratify the marriage of Navarre.[3] The information which the Pope received from Férals and Beauville about the massacre of St. Bartholomew is clear from the documents which they presented on that occasion ; the first was a letter from Charles IX. to Férals describing the massacre of St. Bartholomew as the outcome of a dispute between the Guise and the Huguenots; the second was a letter from Louis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, to the Pope. In this letter the Duke describes how Coligny and the Huguenots, in spite of the gentleness and kindness of Charles IX., had conspired for the murder of the king and Catherine, and of the leading Catholics, as well as for the destruction of the Catholic religion in France. The king had anticipated this by punishing Coligny and his adherents ; it was now the intention of His Majesty to destroy

[1] See besides the letter of Galli mentioned in the preceding note, the report of Capilupi of September 8 in INTRA, 15-16, and the Avviso di Roma in BELTRAMI, Roma, 3. According to the *notes of Musotti, the Pope also caused alms to be distributed to the poor. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Cusano (State Archives, Vienna) in App. n.

[3] See the report of Férals in Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., 139 n.

that rabble and to restore the Catholic Church in France to its former splendour.[1]

On the strength of these reports Gregory XIII. ordered the celebrations which were customary in those days on such occasions as the crushing of political rebellion or a victory over heresy, both of them things which threatened the destruction of the Church and the Papacy.[2] Quite in keeping with the same ideas was the thanksgiving celebration which the Cardinal of Lorraine caused to be held on September 8th in the national church of S. Luigi de' Francesi.[3] The

[1] See THEINER I., 336.

[2] The opinion once held by the greater number of Catholic writers, that the Pope's expressions of joy had reference *only* to the breaking up of the conspiracy of the Huguenots against the king, was refuted by FUNK (*Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II., 942), but has once again been put forward by VACANDARD in his monograph Les Papes et la Saint-Barthélemy (Études de critiques et d'hist. religieuse, Paris, 1905, 217-292) though by no means proved.

[3] That the celebrations at S. Luigi were carried out by the orders of Cardinal de Guise, is expressly stated by THUANUS (Hist. sui temporis, pars II., Frankfort, 1614, 1080): "Eiusdem cardinalis instigatu biduo post supplicationes . . . celebrantur." The festivities are described in detail in the *Diarium of Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives. See also the *report of Fr. Gerini of September 8, 1572, State Archives, Florence, the *Avviso di Roma of September 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, the *report of B. Pia, dated Rome, September 13, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the printed report of the celebration: "Ordine et solennissima processione fatta dal S. Pontefice nell'alma città di Roma per la felice nova della destruttione della setta Ugonotana con la inscrittione posta la porta della chiesa S. Luigi in un panno di seta pavonazza e lettere d'oro maiuscule." Roma, heredi A. Blado, 1572. *Cf.* BRUNET, Manuel, VI., n. 23525. A copy of this work is in the National Library, Munich, and in the Bodleian at Oxford (from this a photo-lithograph by Nicholson, London, 1891. *Cf.* FERRIÈRE, La St. Barthélemy, 143 *seq.*; also the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft*, VII. [1892] 341 *seq.*). In this report there is also the full text of the inscription, which is only incompletely given by SOLDAN, II., 480, for the explanation of which *cf.* GANDY in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, I., 377 *seq.*, and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, VI., 11 (1867), 25 *seq.*

Pope, accompanied by thirty-three Cardinals went to that church in solemn procession, where he was received at the doors by Charles de Guise and the French ambassador. After the mass, which was celebrated by Cardinal Pellevé, the choir sang the XXth psalm, after which the Pope recited the same prayers as had been used in the time of Pius V. at processions of thanksgiving.[1] In the inscription in gold characters surrounded by garlands which adorned the main door, the Cardinal of Lorraine declared that his king had at a single blow destroyed almost all the heretics and traitors in his kingdom, so that at the beginning of the new pontificate, not only was there reason to hope for the carrying on of the war against the Turks, but also that the prosperity of the Church would be restored, and languishing religion brought to a vigorous new life.

Filled with the same ideas a bull of September 11th, 1572, ordered a general jubilee, at which the faithful were to thank God for the destruction of the Huguenots, and to pray Him to be pleased to purge of all error Catholic France, once so pious, and to restore Catholicism there to its former purity. In this bull, which at the same time urged prayers for the Low Countries, for victory over the Turks, and for a happy election in Poland, mention is made not only of the vengeance taken by Charles IX. on the Huguenots on account of their iniquities against God and the Church, but also of the fact that the king had punished the principal leaders of the rebels, who during recent years, with much cruelty and no respect for persons, by murders and thefts, with sacrilege and pillage, had laid waste his prosperous kingdom[2]

[1] For earlier similar celebrations during the Huguenot war see Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 124.

[2] Just as at the end of the Middle Ages the great indulgence bulls were brought to the knowledge of all by means of summaries, so was it the case now. One of these simple pages, published at Paris, and reprinted in STRYPE, The Life of M. Parker, London, 1711, App. n. lxviii., p. 108-110, reproduces the contents of the bull in the manner above described. It is entirely false that, as VACANDARD, *loc. cit.* 276, states, without giving his authorities :

It is evident that the festivities of September 8th and the bull of jubilee were in exact accordance with those celebrations which had been ordered in Rome on the occasion of the previous victories of the French government in its war against the Huguenots. Since now, in this life and death struggle, it seemed that a great and, as it was thought, a definite victory had been won, it can be no matter for surprise that the Pope should have caused a commemorative medal to be struck,[1] or given Vasari orders to perpetuate by a fresco in the Sala Regia[2] an event to which, as the diplomatic representatives reported, the Curia attached as much importance as though a great kingdom had been recovered for the Holy See, *at a moment when it was the last thing that was expected.*[3]

That the festivities had no reference to the atrocities which had been committed on August 24th, as such, but only to the consequences that flowed from them, namely, as it was thought, the definite liberation of the French Catholics from their mortal enemies, who had for years persecuted them with fire

" Un jubilé fut annoncé aux fideles et fixé pour chaque année au jour de la St. Barthélemy." There is not a single word as to this in the ordinance. *Cf.* also Mucantius, *Diarium : " Die mercurii 17 Septemb. [1572], S.D. ivit ad septem ecclesias ad orandum Deum pro conversione haereticorum, victoria contra Turcos et pro bona electione regis Poloniae, pro quibus concessit amplissimum iubilaeum." Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See VENUTI, 135 ; BONANNI, I., 336 *seq.* ; GANDY in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, I., 382 ; U. BENIGNI in *Miscell. di stor. eccles.*, II. (1903), 344 *seq.*

[2] See GAYE, III., 343 ; *cf.* Vol. XX. of this work.

[3] Tutta questa corte è in tanta allegria come si fosse racquistato un regno ben grande alla obedienza di questa s. Sede. Capilupi in INTRA 17. B. Pia *report of September, 1572 : Questa corte ha rinovato per quel fatione Francese l'allegrezza rotta de l'armata Turchesca dell'anno passato stimando ella altretanto la strage fatta dei ribaldissimi Ugonotti et da così alto principio la s. chiesa cattolica puo sperare quando manco si credeva di esser reintegrata et esaltata a gloria di Dio benedetto. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

and sword,[1] is also clear from other sources of information. In the letter of the ambassador of Savoy on September 5th, it is expressly stated: the event "has been extolled in so far as it affects the good of the king and of his kingdom and of religion; but it would have far more highly extolled if His Majesty had been able to act with clean hands, as the Duke of Alba has done in Flanders, and with the observance of the forms of law."[2]

As far as the joy of Gregory himself was concerned, though it was undoubtedly very great, it was by no means complete. Brantôme relates that he had heard from a gentleman who was very well-informed, and who was in Rome at that time, that the Pope shed tears when he received the news, and that when one of the Cardinals asked him why he was so troubled at the defeat of the enemies of God and the Holy See, he replied: "I am weeping for the conduct of the king, which is unlawful and forbidden by God."[3] This reply, which is quite in keeping with the Pope's character, is confirmed by the report of the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, on September 22nd, 1572, which states that Gregory, on receiving the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was struck with horror.[4] An

[1] Duhr in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXIX., 271, very rightly specially brings out this point, although he only partially had at his disposal the material which we have used above. Moreover, Polenz, the Protestant historian of French Calvinism, had already stated (II., 544) that "The exaltation of the nuptials of blood on its part [that of Rome] did not refer to the fact or its author or its details, but to the event in its general importance." Even more clearly before this Aschsbach (*Kirchenlex.*, I., 486) had remarked: "In like manner does the Church sing a *Te Deum* when a bloody battle has been won; are its hymns of praise then to be taken as an expression of jubilation over the fallen?" *Cf.* also Benigni, *loc. cit.*, 345 *seq.*

[2] *Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. III., 169.

[3] See Brantôme (died 1614), Mémoires, III., Leyde, 1722, 171; *cf.* also Polenz, II., 544, n. Duhr (*loc. cit.*) ought not to have made use of the narrative given by G. Leti, as this author is not worthy of belief.

[4] "se espantavo"; see Kervyn de Lettenhove, Relations, III., 14, n. 4.

intimate, who was habitually in close contact with the Pope, Alessandro Musotti, definitely states that the joy of Gregory, the manifestation of which he kept within strict bounds, had reference only to the good of Christendom.[1] In agreement with this is a report of Capilupi of September 5th, that great importance was attached in Rome to the massacre of St. Bartholomew for the maintenance of the peace of Christendom, and for the prosecution of the league against the Turks, for it was thought that nothing more favourable could have occurred, and that now it might be hoped that the tension between France and Spain concerning the Low Countries would be at an end.[2] This tension was one of the principal obstacles to the maintenance of the league, which was extraordinarily dear to the Pope's heart, and for the promotion of which he had it in mind at that very moment to send Cardinal Orsini to France. Under these circumstances we can understand why the representation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew was placed among the frescoes in the Sala Regia, which had reference to the battle of Lepanto. We must further bear in mind what danger threatened all Catholics, from the humblest monk to the Pope himself, from the Huguenots, since, after the Turks, the Catholic Church had no enemies who were more bitter and bloodthirsty than the Calvinists.

Everyone in Rome knew of the cruelties which they had practised for years past in France and the Low Countries, when, as soon as they had got into power, they had systematically robbed the wealthy Catholics, sacked or destroyed the glorious cathedrals, profaned the graves, trampled under foot the consecrated host, or thrown it to their horses as fodder, violated helpless nuns, and murdered many priests and religious. Outrages which only a bestial cruelty could imagine had been committed against the Catholics, merely because they wished to remain true to their faith: they had been

[1] *" Gustò anco *temperantemente* la morte et esterminio dell' Amiraglio et altri Ugonotti di Franza pure per il beneficio della christianità." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See INTRA, 12.

buried alive, plunged into boiling oil, their tongues torn out, disembowelled alive, and had suffered even more horrible things. Trustworthy reports had also reached Rome of the way in which Catholic priests had been hunted like wild beasts, as for example in Béarn, and of the precipice near Saint-Séver, over which the Calvinists had thrown 200 Catholic priests.[1]

The end of this furious storm could not be foreseen. In August itself news had reached Rome of the lingering tortures of the martyrs of Gorcum. If Coligny and his followers had triumphed there would have been an end of the Catholic faith in France and the Low Countries, and a thousand priests would have been threatened with certain death. A Protestant France, of this men felt certain, would proceed to attack Italy, and especially the Papal States, and the person of the Pope himself would not be spared. In 1545, Luther, in his work "against the Papacy set up in Rome by the devil," had

[1] *Cf.* POYEDAVANT, Hist. d. troubles de Béarn, I., Pau, 1820, 381; PICOT, I., 16 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*; Mem. de Claude Haton p.p. BOURQUELOT, II., Paris, 1875, 659 *seq.*; R. DE BOYSSON, L'invasion calviniste en Bas-Limousin, etc., Paris, 1920; HANOTAUX, Hist. de la nation française, VI; (GOYAU, Hist. Religieuse), Paris, 1922, 356 *seqq.* A Protestant account of the bloody acts of the Calvinists at Nîmes in 1567 in HELLO, La St. Barthélemy, Paris, 1901, 21 *seq.*; ROUQUETTE, Les St. Barthélemy calvinistes, Paris, 1906; AUBIN, L'échec de la Reforme en France au 16e siècle, Paris, 1918, 31 *seq.* The examples cited here show that the terrors inflicted by the Calvinists were no less than those of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. All this of course does not excuse the cruelties of August 24th, 1572, but at least makes them intelligible. In a Latin *report on the massacre of St. Bartholomew (dated III. Non. October, 1572, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello) it is particularly stated that the anger of the people had become so great, because the Huguenots had so greatly harmed the nation, and had been guilty of so many monstrosities. The archivist, L. le Grand, has in preparation an edition of the documents: Les epreuves de l'Eglise de France pendant les guerres de religion. Recueil des documents tirés des Archives du clergé de France.

urged his followers to attack with all their might the Pope, the Cardinals, and the entire "canker of the Roman Sodom," and to wash their hands in their blood.[1] The Jena theologian, Matthaeus Judex, had in 1561, in allusion to this, urged an expedition against Rome to extirpate the Papacy. No one had any doubt that the Calvinists in France and the Low Countries were prepared to take part in such an undertaking. "We are all of us," declared Orange in 1569, "fighting against the devil, namely the Antichrist of Rome."[2] Like Pius V.[3] Gregory XIII. too feared a hostile invasion of Italy by the Protestants, in order to destroy the Papal power.[4] The Pope, the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, reports, knows well that his mortal enemies are the Turks and the heretics, and that if the latter can force their way into Italy, they will turn first of all against the Papal States and his own person, in order completely to annihilate the Roman See.[5]

With the blow that had been struck against the French Calvinists by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, all these dangers seemed to have been averted, and the whole state of affairs changed to the advantage of the Catholics.

How genuinely men believed in Rome in a radical change in the policy of the French government is shown by a letter from Cardinal Galli to Ormaneto, the nuncio in Spain, which discusses the effect upon the whole policy of the Pope towards western Europe of the unexpected events in Paris. The hope is expressed in this letter that if France is completely freed from the scourge of the Huguenots, the corresponding effects in the Low Countries will not be wanting. The letter goes

[1] *Cf.* PAULUS, Protestantismus und Toleranz, 20 *seq.*

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16] 316 *seq*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work. p. 114.

[4] See in App. n. 6 the *report of Cusano of September 6, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] P. TIEPOLO, 227. On May 8, 1574, *Galli warned the nuncio at Venice of the danger from the "redutto di Hugonotti nelle vallate al Piemonte." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. For the fear which was still felt in 1576 of an invasion of Lombardy by the Huguenots see *Arch. Lomb.*, II., 76.

even further : Charles IX., so Galli hopes, now that his Huguenot counsellors have been removed, cannot hesitate to join the league against the Turks, and this cannot fail to bring about the adherence of the Emperor as well to the alliance against the Crescent.[1]

If all these circumstances are taken into account, as well as the prevalent opinion of those times as to the necessity and lawfulness of the destruction by violence of the heretics, then the rejoicings of the Pope and the Curia on account of the unexpected turn of affairs in their favour, which disturb us so much in these days, become very easy to explain. Moreover, the Catholics of the time formed their opinion of what had happened in France on similar lines.[2] On September 16th, 1572, the Cardinal of Lorraine wrote from Rome to a friend that on the strength of the news from France there was every reason to entertain the highest hopes for the peace and tranquillity of that nation, as well as for the good of the Catholic Church, now that the enemies of the altar and the throne, who had entered into a conspiracy for the usurpation of the crown,

[1] See the context of this important letter of September 12, 1572, in TÖRNE, *loc. cit.* 6-8, which further states : " Such misapprehensions were possible in the Curia, in that very little was known there of the true nature of the inexplicable deed of blood." The reaction in the Low Countries is mentioned by Facchinetti in his *letter of September 6, 1572, published in App. n. 5, Papal Secret Archives. The hope that France would enter the league against the Turks is expressed by Cosimo I. in his *letter to Gregory XIII., September 14, 1572, wherein he expresses his joy at the blow dealt to the Huguenots by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Nunziat. di Firenze. I., 141, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See DUHR, *loc. cit.* 272-277, and the remarks in FOUQUERAY, I., 631. Against the attempt that was at one time made, but recently only by pamphleteers like HOENSBROECH (Papsttum, I., 204 *seq.*) to try and make capital out of the demonstrations of joy in Rome for the purposes of religious controversy, FUNK (*Lit. Rundschau*, 1880, 172 *seq.*) has already remarked : When have the Protestants ever grieved, if they have won a victory over the Catholics ?

had been destroyed by the king.[1] By the command of Charles IX. a medal was struck, showing on one side the king, with the inscription : " Virtus in rebelles " (Strength against rebels), and on the other the lilies with the words : " Pietas excitavit iustitiam " (Zeal for religion has stirred up justice).[2]

The actual conduct of the French government, however, by no means corresponded to these official manifestations. As is clear from a noteworthy report of Alessandro de' Medici, of September 12th, 1572, doubts had already begun to make themselves felt in Rome, as to whether any real change of policy towards the Huguenots had taken place, as the Cardinal of Lorraine in particular was never tired of asserting.[3] Two months later it was learned for certain in Rome that the French government had no intention of restoring religious unity in France. It was in vain that in October the nuncio begged Catherine de' Medici to prohibit Protestant worship ; the reply of the queen was definitely to the effect that the French people must be governed by herself and her son, and not by anyone else.[4]

It would appear that the vindictive Queen-mother repented of this revelation of her real intentions, which had escaped her

[1] See GANDY in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, I., 379. Cardinal Pellevé, too, in a letter dated Rome, September 16, 1572, only mentions the conspiracy of the Huguenots ; see MERKI, 470 n.

[2] See CAPEFIGUE, III., 225 ; PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, II., 270. The opinion of FORNERON (Les ducs de Guise, II., Paris, 1893, 148) that this medal came from Gregory XIII., is wrong.

[3] Alessandro de' Medici *reported that the Pope and everybody else at first rejoiced at the massacre of St. Bartholomew in the hope of " qualche profitto rilevante " to religious conditions there, but that this " fervore " was " rintiepidito per non si veder che gli effetti corrispondino all'opinione che se n'era conceputa intendendosi massime che la religione ha fatto piccolo acquisto non si essendo rinovati ordini buoni per la purgatione di quella infettiva, onde si conosce che il card. di Lorena s'è vanteggiato molto clo promettervi delle cose di là." We shall see what will happen. State Archives, Florence.

[4] See the report of the nuncio in Madrid of October 10, 1572, in SERRANO, Liga II., 163, n.1.

in her anger, because soon afterwards she caused quite another impression to be given in Rome. Rambouillet, who had been sent in December as envoy-extraordinary of France, in order to offer, in the name of Charles IX., the customary good wishes to the Pope, and make the usual *obedientia*, brought with him a letter from Catherine, of November 19th, 1572, in which the Queen-mother solemnly asserted that all that had recently happened in France had been done purely in the interests of religion.[1] At the *obedientia*, which took place on December 23rd, the discourse was delivered by Muret: "The Huguenots," he said, "were not ashamed to conspire against the life of the king, from whom, after so many and terrible misdeeds, they had received, not only pardon, but even a kindly and loving welcome. Since this conspiracy was discovered and made known by the providence of God at the very moment appointed for the carrying out of the crime, what they had plotted against the king and almost all his house and dynasty had recoiled upon the heads of those criminals and traitors. O memorable night which, by the death of a few rebels, has set free the king from the peril of being murdered, and his kingdom from the constant fear of civil war![2]

The discourse in which the Papal secretary, Boccapaduli, replied to Muret's address, showed that Gregory, no doubt as the result of Salviati's later reports,[3] was by that time beginning to doubt the sincerity of the statements of the French court concerning the conspiracy of the Huguenots. Although in his reply he tried to repeat briefly the words of the previous speaker, Boccapaduli did not touch upon the question of the

[1] See the text of the letter in THEINER, I., 337. The instructions for Rambouillet are dated December 16, 1572, see Bullet. de la Soc. de l'hist. des portest. français, 1882.

[2] See MURETI Orationes I., Roboreti, 1737, 156. For the arrival of Rambouillet on December 21 (see THEINER, I., 46) and the consistory on December 23, which was to result in the sending of a blessed sword to Charles IX. "ut eo contra haereticos Ugonottos catholicae fidei hostes uteretur," see Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 107, 113.

supposed plot arranged by the Huguenots, but contented himself with thanking the King of France for his sentiments against the heretics.[1] Salviati had been warned on several occasions to stiffen the often hesitating government on this point.[2] The Cardinal legate Orsini, who had left Rome on September 6th, was also to work for the same purpose.[3]

Orsini was instructed besides securing the acceptance of the decrees of Trent, to bring about the participation of France in the league against the Turks, and above all to prevent the outbreak of war between France and Spain. To this end he was to make generous proposals. The Pope was prepared to support the aspirations of Anjou to the crown of Poland, to give him the supreme command in the war against the Turks, and to reward France with the conquests that should be made in the east.[4] But it was now shown quite clearly that Catherine had not in any sense brought about the massacre of St. Bartholomew from religious motives, and that the last thing they wished to hear of in Paris was a policy in favour of Catholic interests. The impressive mission of a Cardinal legate endangered the relations of Catherine with England,[5] and with the Protestant princes of Germany. Such a thing must therefore be prevented. When Orsini, who had always united himself to the French party in Rome,[6] reached Chambéry, he was met by a courier from the French king, who begged him not to continue his journey, because the king could not receive him.[7] Soon afterwards Orsini also received a letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State with the news that Charles IX. had expressly requested the Pope not to send

[1] See ACTON, 59.

[2] See the instructions of Galli in PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 135 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 19, 30.

[4] *Cf.* P. DE CENIVAL, 147. See also MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 110 *seq.*

[5] How the legation was regarded there is shown by the report from London in *State Papers*, Spanish II., London, 1894, 431.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of Fr. Gerini of September 6, 1572, State Archives, Florence.

[7] See THEINER, I., 361.

a legate, as such a course, on account of the events of August 24th, might cause suspicion among the Protestants of Germany and England. Under these circumstances Orsini, with the permission of the Secretary of State, Galli, repaired to Avignon[1] and contented himself with sending his secretary, Onofrio Vigili, to Paris, where he arrived on October 4th. At length Vigili was successful in obtaining permission for the Cardinal legate to go to the French capital, which he reached on November 20th.

The welcome which awaited Orsini was so extraordinarily cold that it was clear that there were no hopes of his succeeding in his mission. Not until December 2nd was he received in audience by the king. Cardinals Bourbon and Guise, as well as the nuncio Salviati, were also present, and before them Orsini set forth the commissions which had been entrusted to him.[2] These related first to the participation of France in the league against the Turks, and secondly, the betrothal of Anjou to a daughter of Philip II. Charles IX. refused to join the league on the pretext of the Huguenot rising in Languedoc and La Rochelle. With regard to the marriage he remarked that he might be disposed to consider it if the bride were to receive Milan and Naples as her dowry. Then Orsini turned the conversation to the complete destruction of the Huguenots, reminding the king of the words which he caused to be written to the Pope by the nuncio, to the effect that within a few days there would not be a single Huguenot left in the kingdom. The king's reply, both as concerned his attitude towards the Huguenots, and his further support of ecclesiastical reform, was evasive. Before the legate was successful in obtaining a further audience, the French government had sent him, in courteous form through the nuncio, a request to leave the country as soon as possible. The interests of France, so they stated, did not allow of his further stay at the court.

[1] *Cf.* his instructions, September 22, 1572, Nunziat. di Francia, 283, p. 101, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* the *instructions for Orsini, of November 2 and 4, 1572, *ibid.* p. 107 *seq.*

Under these painful circumstances Orsini had recourse to Rome, by means of a courier, for further instructions. After he had received permission on January 7th to return home, he took his leave as soon as possible.[1] To the suggestion which he put forward at his farewell audience, that Charles IX. should support the expedition of the Duke of Savoy against Geneva, the king turned a deaf ear. The legate, so the King of France wrote to one of his ambassadors, has gone away without having obtained anything.[2] It was indeed the case that Orsini's legation, from which so much had been hoped in Rome, was a complete failure.[3] Some time still elapsed

[1] Based on the *reports of Salviati and Orsini, in the Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Francia, t. 5, n. 6; *cf. ibid.* 283 the *instructions of Galli. Other *Atti in the Orsini Archives, Rome. Copies of the letters of Cardinal Orsini concerning his negotiations in France are common: e.g. in Rome, Ottob. 2705 and 3184, p. 165-209, Ferraioli Library; Cod. 297, Casanatense Library X., V., 31, p. 113 *seq.*; Papal Secret Archives, Pio 231 (*cf. Bessarione*, A. III., vol. 5 [1898-99], 495 *seq.*); Berlin, Royal Library, Inf. Polit. XVIII., Florence, State Archives, Cod. Capponi, 80, p. 214 *seq.* See also Cod. D. 6, and F. 27, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The letters of the French government to Orsini in THEINER, I., 361 *seq.* *Cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., cxli. See also TÖRNE, 140 *seq.* ALBÈRI, Vita di Caterina di Medici, 159, 407 *seq.* P. de Ceneval is preparing a special work on the legation of Orsini.

[2] See Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, I., cxlvii.; *cf.* CRAMER, I., 201 *seq.* Gregory XIII. looked upon an expedition against Geneva as premature at that time. When, in the summer of 1581, the energetic Charles Emanuel of Savoy planned an attack on Geneva, Gregory XIII. again was very cold about it. See RAULICH, Carlo Emanuele, I., 75 *seq.*

[3] The sending of the blessed sword to Charles IX. (*cf. supra* p. 514, n. 2) with which, by a brief of January 15, 1573 (Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 44, t. 21, n. 322) Silvio Sabelli was entrusted, had, in view of the development of events, proved quite in vain. The disappointment of the Curia at the result of Orsini's legation comes out clearly in the *Memorie of Galli. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

before they gave up all the expectations which they had formed at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, because Catherine knew very well how to keep on raising fresh hopes,[1] but the truith was that Charles IX. and Catherine de' Medici wished to ma n-tain the alliance with England, and once again to reconcile her with the German Protestants.

[1] *Cf.* MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 115.

CHAPTER XIV.

Civil and Religious Wars in France.—Henry III. and the League.—Beginnings of Catholic Reform in France.

While in its foreign policy the French government continued to pursue its former ends, even after the massacre of August 24th, 1572, at home it found itself called upon to face a fresh Huguenot rising. The power of the Huguenots had been weakened by the events of St. Bartholomew, but not destroyed, but in spite of all their bravery, the fourth Huguenot war would have ended, as was hoped in Rome,[1] in the complete triumph of the government if, at the moment he was laying siege to La Rochelle, the Duke of Anjou had not been elected King of Poland. Consideration for the Polish Protestants helped to bring it about that the Huguenots received more favourable terms of peace than they could have expected. The treaty of July 6th, 1573, ensured liberty of conscience to all the adherents of the new doctrines, while the nobles enjoying independent jurisdiction and the cities of La Rochelle, Nîmes and Montauban were given the free exercise of their religion.[2] This weakness encouraged the followers of Calvin in the south of France to make demands upon even half of which, as Catherine de' Medici remarked, they could not have insisted if Condé had found himself in the heart of the kingdom with 70,000 men.[3]

It was very much to the advantage of the Huguenots that they were able to count upon political divisions among the Catholics, and the presence of many malcontents, who, displeased at the privileges accorded to the Guise and the Italians,

[1] See the *report of Capilupi, Rome, January 30, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* Theiner, I., 173 *seq.*; Thaunus, I., 56.

[3] See Soldan, II., 547.

had banded themselves together to support Duke Francis of Alençon.[1] Hitherto the Catholics had been united against their common mortal enemy, but now they were divided. A middle and opportunist party had been formed, which looked upon the carrying on of the struggle against the Huguenots as impossible, considered that it could only lead to the greater ruin of the kingdom, and therefore spoke of a policy of conciliation. If the Huguenots, so they thought, were given toleration, they would respect the king, would do no further violence to the Catholics, and abroad would no longer enter into traitorous alliances against their own country. The supporters of this view naturally did not conceal from themselves the fact that several different religions could only exist in mutual peace within the nation if the king could rule with a strong hand.[2] But that was the very thing which France at that time lacked, and therefore all attempts of the kind were at the outset doomed to failure.

Of what kind the Catholicism of these politicians was, was shown by their union with the Huguenots. Alençon, who was both proud and unscrupulous, entered into negotiations with Navarre and Condé to bring about an armed insurrection. On the Tuesday of Carnival, 1574, there was to be a general rising to upset the government of Catherine de' Medici. This plot, however, failed, and inquiries led to the arrest of Alençon and Navarre. In the meantime, Huguenot rebellions, the fifth religious war, broke out in several places. In the midst of these disturbances the weak and sickly Charles IX. was carried off by consumption on May 30th, 1574, having shortly before appointed his mother as temporary regent. Henry of Anjou, now Henry III., had no sooner heard of the death of his brother than, being long since weary of the sovereignty of

[1] See *ibid.* 549 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *"Discorso di M. de Bellegarde dello stato di Francia," a manuscript in the possession of a private individual at Borgo in the South Tyrol, kindly placed at my disposal at Trent by the courtesy of the late mgr. Cl. Benetti. Another copy in Cod. CXV., n. 2 of the Capilupi Library, Mantua.

Poland, he abandoned his kingdom with all the haste of a fugitive, in order to assume the government of his own country. At Vienna he resolved to make his journey into France through northern Italy.

As soon as the news of the death of Charles IX. reached Rome on June 10th, 1574,[1] Gregory XIII. summoned a special meeting of the Cardinals. Morone advised the sending of nuncios to Poland and France. It was decided to send Fabio Mirto Frangipani, who was to convey the Pope's condolences to Catherine de' Medici, and above all to intervene on behalf of Catholic interests against the Huguenots.[2] At the same time Gian Maria Graziani was sent to Poland to Henry III. In consequence of the hurried return of the king to his own country, this last mission was at once rendered useless.[3] On July 5th the Pope informed the Cardinals in consistory of the way in which he intended to welcome the new King of France on Italian soil; Gregory thought of making use of this opportunity for a personal meeting with Henry III., and was ready,

[1] *" Hoc mane," says Mucantius on June 10, 1574, " antequam Papa descenderet ad capellam (it was Corpus Christi), ill. orator Franciae attulit nuntium S^ti^ Suae de obitu Caroli IX." The Pope was grieved at the news and thought that the king had been poisoned by his enemies. On June 22 Mucantius *reports concerning the obsequies, which took place in the Cappella Palatina, at which Muret delivered the funeral oration (Oraison funebre p. Muret, trad. du latin, Lyons, 1574). Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. The briefs of condolence, June 12, 1574, in THEINER, I., 284 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Odescalchi of June 12, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, the *letter of Giulio Masetti of June 12, 1574, State Archives, Modena, and *that of Bernerio of June 19, 1574, State Archives, Vienna. In a *note in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, Cod. D. 5, Varia, n. 1, it is stated concerning the mission of Frangipani that its principal object was " esortare la Regina et il Re Henrico tornato che fosse di Polonia, a procedere gagliardamente contro gli heretici." For Frangipani see ZUÑIGA in N. Colecc. de docum. inéd., III., 15; Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, ed. by the GÖRRES-GESELLSCH. I., 2, xiii. *seq.*

[3] See MAFFEI, I., 117 *seq.*

if Rome should seem to be too distant, to go to Bologna. Filippo Boncompagni was to convey to Venice the invitation to this meeting. Moreover Giacomo Boncompagni, who was at Ancona, was charged to go and welcome the King of France in the Pope's name.[1]

When Henry III. arrived in Venice on July 18th, in the newly decorated Bucentaur, accompanied by a great number of ships and gondolas, and welcomed with cannon, cheers and festive music, the Papal legate sat on his right hand under a baldachino erected on the poop, and the Doge on his left. In the midst of these grand festivities, in which the wealth, and the imaginative and artistic taste of the Venetians was brilliantly displayed,[2] it fell to Filippo Boncompagni to discharge the commissions entrusted to him by the Pope. He at once

[1] See, besides Santori, Diario consist. XXIV. 243, and Mucantius, *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives), the *report of Luigi Rogna of July 5, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *that of Cusano of July 10, 1574, State Archives, Vienna. The brief concerning the mission of Boncompagni to Henry III., July 5, 1574, in THEINER, I., 285. A special *brief was also sent to Venice on July 5, 1574, concerning the mission of Boncompagni, the orignal in the State Archives, Venice.

[2] See P. DE NOLHAC and A. SOLERTI, Il viaggio in Italia di Enrico III. Re di Francia e le feste a Venezia, Ferrara, Mantova e Torino, Turin, 1890, 94 *seq.*, 101 *seq.* Cod. D. 6 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, contains, p. 59-71. *Raguaglio del viaggio dell'ill. s. card. S. Sisto quando andò in Venetia legato al Re christ. nel passaggio suo di Polonia per Italia e del modo col quale S. M^{tà} ricevuta da quella ser. republica, 1574. The King is there described as follows: Sua M^{tà} è di vita asciutta et assai piu alta d'huomo ordinario, di cabezza piu tosto spagnuola che francese et d'un colore mezamente pallido. Parla con gran flemma et porge le maniere sue con molta gravidad. . . . Veste tutto di pavonazzo fino la berretta et le scarpe et porta un par di pianelle da questo tempo alte ben due dita. Beve acqua et non mangia in fretta come sogliono fare i principi. Giovedì si farà una festa et un banchetto al quale interveniranno piu di 300 gentildonne Venetiane con balli et comedie stupende et fino de Milano hanno fatto venire certi comici ch'erano là.

realized that Henry III. shrank from a meeting with the Pope, on account of the stir which it would inevitably cause in the Protestant world. The remaining commissions of the legate, to urge him to return to France and punish the rebels, were listened to by the French king with deference indeed, but were not carried into effect. In the intoxication of the festivities with which the courts of Ferrara, Mantua and Turin entertained the French sovereign, it seemed as though the latter had completely lost sight of his sorely tried kingdom.[1] For this reason Cardinal Boncompagni took his leave of the king at Ferrara, although his original orders had been to accompany Henry to the frontier of Italy.[2]

The subsequent behaviour of Henry III., who only arrived on French soil in September, 1574, caused general disappointment. Instead of proving the genuineness of his declaration that he would know how to break down the pride of the rebels, he delayed for two months at Lyons, where he devoted himself to festivities, and the preparation of a new court etiquette, in imitation of the Spanish ceremonial. Fabio Mirto Frangipani wrote to Rome from Lyons on September 20th, 1574: "The true salvation of France would be a king who knew how to be a king indeed. We can look for nothing from this young man. His tastes are all for ease and amusement, his body is weak and sickly, so that only a short life can be predicted for him."[3]

Even before this severe judgment reached Rome, Gregory XIII., in view of the struggle against the Huguenots, had sent large subsidies in money to the new French king, who, as the

[1] See MAFFEI, I., 124 *seq.* NOLHAC-SOLERTI, *loc. cit.* 155 *seq.*, 173 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*, 213; *cf.* 259 concerning the visit of Giacomo Boncompagni in Ferrara. See also GABOTTO, Entrata di un Re di Francia in Torino nel 1574, Turin, 1890.

[2] Cardinal Galli, in his *Memorie, speaks of the "poca voglia di Enrico di assestare le cose della religione." Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cusano in his *report of August 7, 1574, remarks that "Boncompagni si era licentiato con poca sodiesfattione per non esser stato troppo accarezato da S.M^{tà}." State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See THEINER, I., 427.

result of his successes in war in his early youth, the victories of Jarnac and Moncontour, was held in high esteem at the Curia,[1] and had caused his zeal for the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent to be made known in Rome. At first he sent him 200,000 scudi, and then permission to draw two million from the ecclesiastical revenues.[2] In the following year he granted the levy of a half annate, and 100,000 scudi in ready money.[3] Gregory was also prepared to send troops,[4] but Henry III. wished for money rather than anything else. His position became even worse when, in the autumn of 1575, Alençon, who had been detained at the court in a semi-imprisonment, succeeded in making his escape. Alençon issued at Dreux a manifesto demanding the convocation of the States General and a national council. While he was placing himself at the head of the Huguenots and the malcontent Catholics, he was secretly sending an embassy to Rome to the effect that he was not in earnest in countenancing the Huguenots, but only wished to restore peace and tranquillity in France![5]

Catherine had attempted to separate the party of the malcontent Catholics from the Huguenots by means of an armistice, but her adversaries did not trust her; they placed their hopes in the troops of Condé and the Prince-Elector, John Casimir,

[1] *Cf.* MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 126.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 286 *seq.*, 289 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*; DESJARDINS, IV., 51; MAFFEI, I., 129 *seq.*

[3] MAFFEI, I., 178; *cf.* THEINER, II., 121, 496 *seq.*, 502 *seq.*; 100,000 scudi were levied from the Roman merchants; see *Avviso di Roma of May 11, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 436, Vatican Library.

[4] 4,000 men were to be sent to France; see the *report of Cusano of February 12, 1575, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] Like Alençon, Henry III. also had recourse to the Pope, who tried to reconcile the contestants; see as to this and the mission of Fabio Mirto Frangipani in November, 1575, THEINER, II., 113 *seq.*, 483; SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 90; MAFFEI, I., 179 *seq.* The *apology of Alençon to Gregory XIII. in Cod. d. 6, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

which entered France from Lorraine on January 11th, 1576, and proceeded to lay waste the country.[1] The position of the government grew more precarious when, on February 3rd, 1576, Henry of Navarre fled from the court, where he had hitherto been detained by his love affairs. He went to Guienne, and there joined Alençon. Navarre, who had embraced Catholicism after the massacre of St. Bartholomew,[2] remained undecided in his religious convictions at first. His true opinions were shown when, a few months later, he returned to Calvinism, and declared that it had only been under compulsion, and without conviction, that he had adopted the Catholic doctrines four years earlier.[3]

Henry was by no means the right man to resist the united forces of Alençon, Navarre and Condé, and Catherine de' Medici at once resolved to make peace at all costs. This was done on May 6th, 1576, at Beaulieu. According to the terms there decided upon Alençon was to retain the government of Anjou, Touraine and Berry; Navarre was to hold Guienne, and Condé Picardy. The Huguenots were given more than they had ever had before; the free and public exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom, with the sole exception of the environs of Paris; they were to be admitted to all offices and dignities; a court of appeal in the Parliament was formed of both religions; the marriage of the priests and religious who had apostatized from the Catholic Church was allowed, and they were given eight cities as a surety.[4]

[1] Cardinal Rambouillet described the ruin of France to the Pope; see the *report of P. Strozzi, Rome, January 28, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] Notwithstanding the humble letters to the Pope (see *Lettres missives de Henri IV., I., 38) and the sending of an *obedientia* embassy to Rome, no conversion was seriously contemplated (see THEINER, I., 164 *seq.*; *cf.* Claudii Arnolphi Paris. theol. pro Henrico rege Navarrae oratio ad Gregorium XIII., Lyons, 1573).

[3] *Cf.* SEGESSER, II., 286 *seq.*, 298 *seq.*; POLENZ., IV., 49 *seq.*

[4] See THUANUS, I., 62; POLENZ, IV., 56 *seq.*; SEGESSER, II., 308 *seq.*; Hist. de la Ligue, I., 15, n. 4.

It can be no matter for surprise that this treaty, which was so damaging to the Catholic cause, filled the Pope with indignation and grief.[1] Gregory, by his letters to the king, through his nuncio, Salviati, as well as by his pecuniary help of 100,000 scudi, which he had sent at the beginning of the year, had done his best to bring about the continuation of the struggle against the Huguenots.[2] When the news from France became more and more alarming, he ordered special prayers in April for that nation.[3] With tears in his eyes he lamented that during his pontificate the Church in France should have had to suffer such grievous losses. Even so, however, Gregory did not give up hopes of a change for the better.[4] He was encouraged in this by the statements of Louis Châteigner de la Rocheposay, who was sent to represent the French government in Rome. On June 18th, 1576, the new French ambassador made his solemn entry into Rome,[5] and on the following day was received at a public consistory. The discourse was delivered by Muret. This celebrated latinist who, a few years before, had in the same place eulogized the massacre of St.

[1] See the *report of P. Strozzi, Rome, May 19 and June 2, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 236, an *Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1576, speaks by exaggeration of 400,000 scudi. Urb. 1044, p. 13, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RICHARD, Epinac, 135 n.; TÖRNE, 154. The great concession which was made by Gregory XIII. in March, 1576, when he conferred the diocese of Verdun upon the minor, Charles of Lorraine (see THEINER, II., 226), was in connexion with his efforts to keep the king staunch to the war against the Huguenots.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of April 7, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 65b, Vatican Library.

[4] See MAFFEI, I., 237. The disadvantages and shameful conclusion of peace in France, formed, according to an *Avvsio di Roma of May 16, 1576, the common topic of conversation in Rome. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 6.

[5] See Mucantius, *Diarium. The previous ambassador, François de Rosier, had died suddenly on March 6, 1575; see *ibid.* for a detailed description of his funeral which took place on March 9. Papal Secret Archives.

Bartholomew, on this occasion vainly employed all his oratorical powers to excuse the shameful peace of Beaulieu. He was answered in the Pope's name by his secretary Antonio Boccapaduli, who made no attempt to hide how much the Pope disapproved of a treaty which was so harmful to the Catholic religion.[1]

The Bishop of Paris, too, Pierre Gondi, who had come to Rome in July, 1576, attempted in every way to calm the Pope's displeasure.[2] He admitted that the terms accepted by Henry were disadvantageous to the Catholic cause, but called attention to the fact that the king had rejected terms that were even worse. To the objection that such great concessions had never been made in the time of Charles IX., Gondi pointed out that in those days neither a brother of the king, nor for the most part any Catholics, had taken the part of the Huguenots. Under these circumstances, in order to prevent the utter ruin of France, it had been impossible to avoid making peace, even under the hardest conditions. For the rest Henry III. would as far as possible care for Catholic interests. By these declarations Gondi paved the way to a request that the Pope would grant to the King of France, who was in the direst financial straits, permission to effect a further alienation of Church property.[3]

However unwillingly the Pope might consent to the laying

[1] See SANTORI, Diario consist., XXV., 108; Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives, and the *reports of P. Strozzi of June 9 and 16, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* P. DE CHASTEIGNER DE LA ROCHEPOZAY, L'ambassade de M. de la Rochepozay à Rome (1576-81), Vannes, 1899 (Extract from the *Revue des quest. hérald*, etc.).

[2] The *Avviso di Roma of July 21, 1576, announces that Gondi had arrived on the Friday, and had several times had audience of the Pope with the French ambassador. Urb. 1044, p. 130, Vatican Library.

[3] See SANTORI, Diario concist. XXV., 110. According to the *report of P. Strozzi of July 28, 1576, Gondi also asked for the nomination of two French Cardinals, as an important thing for the ' reduttione di Francia." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of a further burden on the clergy of France, he nevertheless felt that he must give way in view of the danger of arbitrary action on the part of the French government, especially as Henry promised in the future to take up the defence of the Catholic cause, and to make use of his right of nomination only to the advantage of the Church. Naturally the demands of Gondi were not accepted in their entirety, but it was nevertheless estimated that Henry III. would receive more than four million francs on the strength of the Papal concession.[1] In making the concession, Gregory, in his letter of July 24th, 1576, expressly made it clear to Henry III, and to Cardinals Bourbon, Guise and Este, that the advantageous terms granted to the Huguenots had been displeasing, not only to himself, but to all zealous Catholics; nothing but the direst necessity, which knows no law, could excuse them; he therefore hoped all the more that in the future the king would defend the Catholic cause, and fulfil his promises with regard to the appointment of good bishops and abbots, and would promote the observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent.[2]

The peace of Beaulieu, which was so favourable to the Huguenots, first of all aroused the opposition of the French Catholics, because it had been imposed by a minority. The Huguenots had attained this success, not only by their clever use of favourable circumstances, for it was in obvious contradiction to the real distribution of power, but even more by their solid unity.[3] It was only by becoming closely united in like manner, and organizing themselves as perfectly as their adversaries, that the Catholics could hope to effect a change in their own favour.

Associations in defence of Catholic interests against the weakness of Charles IX. and the temporizing policy of Catherine de' Medici, had already come into existence during

[1] See SANTORI, *loc. cit.* 112; THEINER, II., 222 *seq.*; MAFFEI, I., 237 *seq. cf.* FORGEOT in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, 1881, Avril.

[2] See the letter in THEINER, II., 224 *seq.*

[3] Cardinal S. Croce said to the Pope when he was lamenting the death of Charles IX., etc.: "che d'ogni Ugonotto ch'era in quel regno v'erano venti cattolici." *Report of Bernerio of June 19, 1574, State Archives, Vienna.

the earlier wars of religion. The first of these associations had been formed at Toulouse in March, 1563. This had been followed by others on similar lines in other parts of the kingdom. In this way ecclesiastics, the aristocracy and the citizens had united for the defence of the altar and the throne at Angers in 1565, at Dijon in 1567, and at Bourges and Troyes in 1568.[1]

As the alliance between the Huguenots and the "politicians" at Nîmes in February, 1575,[2] had resulted in the setting up of a completely independent republic in the state, a plan had taken shape in the mind of a Paris lawyer, named David, which was essentially different from the form of resistance hitherto adopted by the Catholics. Whereas the latter had hitherto inscribed on their banners, side by side with the defence of the ancient religion, that of the ruling house, David now threw over that degenerate royal line, under whose rule the government of the kingdom threatened to become the prey of heresy. The Guise as the true descendants of Charlemagne, so thought David, must place themselves at the head of a Catholic league, destroy the Huguenots and their allies, and, once they had secured the victory, shut up the weak king in a monastery, as Pepin had done to Childeric.[3] The majority of the Catholics, however, would not for the time being hear of any such radical plans.[4] Even after the crown had given its approval to the humiliating peace of Beaulieu, the Catholic associations which sprang up in various places remained true to the old programme, of supporting alike their religion and the dynasty.

[1] *Cf.* MOURIN, La ligue en Anjou, Paris, 1856, 76; THAUMASSIÈRE, Hist. du Berry, 189; DE MEAUX, 176 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 2.

[2] See L. ANQUEZ, Hist. des Assemblées polit. des Réformés, Paris, 1854, 16-21.

[3] Mémoires de la Ligue, I., Amsterdam, 1758, 1-7; CAPEFIGUE, IV., 38 *seq.*; GUY DE BRÉMOND D'ARS, Jean de Vivonne, 75; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Huguenots et Gueux, III., 92; DE MEAUX, 179 *seq.*

[4] That Gregory XIII., too, held entirely aloof from any such plans, *cf.* THEINER, II., 233.

This is clearly shown by the text of the oath, almost everywhere the same, by which those who joined the league bound themselves in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, in addition to prayer and the contribution of money for the gathering of troops, to devote all their powers to the preservation of obedience to the Holy, Apostolic and Roman Church, and the legitimate king, Henry III. Naturally, this implied the supposition that the king, in accordance with his coronation oath, would preserve inviolate the rights of the Church, and the ancient liberties of the nation. Henry declared himself the head of these associations, both because he did not wish that they should become more independent, and in order that the Guise should not take over their direction. By himself doing all he could to bring about their spread throughout the kingdom, he hoped to be able to keep them under his own control.[1]

The efficacy of this organization of the Catholics was shown when on December 6th, 1576, the States General were opened at Blois; it was unanimously demanded that the king should not in future tolerate the practice of any other religion than the Catholic. An essential part was taken in bringing about this decision, which received the approval of the king, by the Catholic Archbishop of Lyons, Pierre d'Épinac, who, however, was not able to obtain the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees.[2] Although it was obvious that the Huguenots would oppose by force of arms this abrogation of the peace of Beaulieu, the States could not agree as to the steps which would have to be taken in its defence. Gregory XIII., however, was again ready to come to their assistance;[3] the decision of the

[1] *Cf.* LOUTSCHITZKY, Docum. inédits p. servir à l'hist. de la Réforme et de la Ligue, Paris, 1875, 50 *seq.*, 39; HAAG, La France protest. Pièces justific., 141; L'ÉPINOIS, 3, *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, II., 130.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, II., 318 *seq.*; PICOT, États généraux, II., 305 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 180 *seq.*, 187 *seq.*

[3] The request for help from Henry III., dated Blois, January 15, 1577, in THEINER, II., 581. *Cf.* *Acta consist. February 4, 1577, Papal Secret Archives; *report of Odescalchi of February 19, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

king once again to restore religious unity had filled him with the greatest joy.[1]

In the meantime the war had been begun by the Huguenots. The Pope had already, in June, 1577, sent to the French king a subsidy of 50,000 gold scudi,[2] and later on munitions. Moreover, at Avignon, which was seriously threatened by the Huguenots, troops were in readiness, which were at the same time to assist those of the king. Gregory also had a share in bringing about the submission of Marshal Damville to the king, whose troops he reinforced.[3]

The weakness of the Huguenots was clearly shown during the course of this, the sixth war of religion. In the north of France they were almost entirely exterminated, and only continued to offer armed resistance in Guienne, Gascony, Poitou and Languedoc, and the greatest want of discipline prevailed in their ranks.[4] It is not surprising that the Catholics won important successes. Henry III., who was constantly encouraged by the Pope, by letters and by the nuncio Salviati, to take strong action, seemed to be on the way to a decisive victory.[5] Catherine de' Medici then set herself against any such thing, fearing to lose her authority and influence over her son, and being unwilling that the Guise should obtain too much power. Her request, addressed to Gregory XIII., that he would give his support to a compromise with the Huguenots, on the ground that this would be for the advantage of the Catholic religion, naturally met with a refusal.[6]

[1] See *report of Odescalchi, January 12, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *report of Odescalchi, June 10, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See MAFFEI, I., 292 *seq.*; THEINER, II., 326 *seq.*; *ibid.* 328 seq. the mission of Antonio Martinengo to Avignon. For the great anxiety of the Pope at that time about the affairs of Avignon, *cf.* the *report of Odescalchi of March 23, April 13 and 20, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* POLENZ, IV., 120.

[5] See G. LIPPOMANO in ALBÈRI, App. 35

[6] See MAFFEI I., 295 *seq*

Catherine de' Medici nevertheless attained her end without the Pope, because Henry III. was weary of the war, and hated Henry of Guise as a rival and a claimant to the throne. In the middle of September, 1577, peace was concluded at Bergerac. This, it is true, limited in some degree the concessions made at Beaulieu concerning the exercise of the Calvinist religion, but contained many things that were favourable to the Huguenots, to whom, by secret articles, was assured the right of inheriting for apostate priests and religious.[1] It was characteristic of Henry III. that he did not at first dare to inform the Pope of the terms of the agreement.[2] Gregory XIII., who learned the exact terms from Salviati, found at anyrate one advantage in the peace, in that his own territory in the south of France was included in it. This seemed of all the more importance as the Pope, from the beginning of his pontificate, had been called upon to make great sacrifices for the defence of Avignon against the attacks of the Huguenots.[3] Further considerable expenditure[4] had especially been involved in the territory of Avignon by the very difficult sieges of the castles of Entrechaux and Ménerbe, where the Papal forces had been reinforced by Henry III.

[1] See THUANUS, I., 64; RANKE, Französ. Geschichte, I.², 255 *seq.*; SEGESSER, II., 340 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 195 *seq.*

[2] At the consistory on October 9, 1577, the Pope said that he did not yet altogether know the terms; on the 12th he did not yet know them; the full truth was only made known to him at the end of the month; see the *reports of Odescalchi of October 13 and 30, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the peace see the opinion of Lippomano in ALBÈRI, App. 36.

[3] See MAFFEI, I., 296; *cf. ibid.* 98 *seq.*, 138 *seq.*, 240 *seq.*, and THEINER, I., 176 *seq.*, 236 *seq.*, 432 *seq.*, for the efforts made by Gregory XIII. for the defence of Avignon. According to the *report of P. Strozzi of December 29, 1576, Gregory was at that time spending 12,000 scudi a month on the troops at Avignon. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also Giov. Batt. Fusconi *"Ragguaglio delle turbulenze di Francia dell'anno 1575 per conto dello stato di Avignone." in Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* CASTRUCCI, Istoria d'Avignone, I., Venice, 1678, 419 *seq.*

After the capture of Entrechaux, Ménerbe, which was situated on a precipitous rock, offered the most stubborn resistance. Even though, in consequence of the peace of Bergerac, the assistance of the King of France was withdrawn and the skilled tactician Matteucci retired at the beginning of the winter, nevertheless Domenico Grimaldi, the loyal governor of the Venaissin, continued his efforts to reduce this strong place. He feared lest Ménerbe, like another Geneva, should become a safe place of refuge for the Huguenots of southern France. The Pope did all in his power to support him; at the last extremity, he said, he would sell his last mitre in order to obtain the necessary funds.[1] But the heroic resistance of the defenders of Ménerbe rendered vain all the attempts that were made during 1578 to capture the fortress.

In March, 1578, as the result of the changes made among the nuncios, Francesco Maria Salviati was recalled. He was succeeded by the protonotary, Anselmo Dandino.[2] The latter received in his instructions, which also insisted on the acceptance of the reform decrees of Trent, orders to keep constantly before his eyes, in the course of his negotiations, how much, on account of the weakness and unpopularity of the king, everything depended upon his mother, Catherine de' Medici.[3] The further instructions which were given to Dandino, to devote his attention to cultivating friendly relations between France and Spain, were all the more difficult to carry out, because just at that time the ambitious Francis of Alençon-Anjou, the worthy son of the intriguing Catherine de' Medici,

[1] See the *notes of D. Grimaldi in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 416 *seq.*, and MAFFEI, I., 297 *seq.*

[2] See the brief to Henry III. of March 8, 1578, in THEINER, II., 415; *cf.* GARAMPI, Sul valore, 317. Dandino undertook the business of the nunciature on April 28, 1578; see his *notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. According to the *Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1578, Salviati returned to Rome, where he gave the Pope his information at a long audience. Urb. 1046, p. 233, Vatican Library. With regard to Dandino see the remarks of RICHARD in the *Annales de St. Louis*, II., (1898), 409, n. 2.

[3] See the *notes of Dandino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

had set himself up as the "defender of the liberties of the Netherland rebels against the tyranny of Spain." This made a breach between Henry III. and Philip II. all the more imminent. Papal diplomacy did all in its power to avert it; in the middle of June, 1578, Gregory XIII. sent to Dandino's assistance in France Fabio Mirto Frangipani Archbishop of Nazareth, who was on friendly terms with Anjou.[1] The Pope also arranged with Venice to send a special envoy to France on June 28th, 1578,[2] in the person of Giovanni Michele, to back up the efforts of the nuncio. By arrangement with the French government, Frangipani and Michele, accompanied by the ambassador of Savoy, went to visit Alençon, who had been at Mons since July 13th, 1578. Alençon, however, was by this time so closely allied with the political ends of Orange that the eloquent expostulations of Frangipani and his colleagues were without effect.[3]

As against this failure, the Pope had the consolation of learning that Ménerbe had at last surrendered, on December 10th, 1578, after a siege of sixteen months.[4] Soon afterwards

[1] The *"Istruzione al archivescovo di Nazaret," dated June 14, 1578, in Barb. LXII., 4, p. 1 *seq.* (also Ottob. 2415, P. 1, 1 *seq.*), Vatican Library. The minute in Var. Polit. CXXIX., p. 75 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives) has also an appendix. On June 13, 1578, Gregory XIII. had informed the Cardinals of the appointment; see *Acta Consist. Cod. Barb. Vatican Library.

[2] See the report of G. Michele in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 379 *seq.*

[3] See the *notes of Dandino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and G. Michele in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 382 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 347 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xlii., 213, 223. Odescalchi *reports on November 22, 1578, the return of Frangipani from France, and that he regretted his recall, but Odescalchi adds: "S.S^{tà} sa molto ben che fa," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the agreement between Anjou and the States General, August 13, 1578, see MULLER-DIEGERICK,, Documents concernant les relations entre le duc d'Anjou et les Pays-Bas, I., Amsterdam 1899, 408.

[4] See the *notes of D. Grimaldi, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 418; MAFFEI, I., 353; Lettres de Cath. de

another envoy extraordinary was sent to France. The occasion of this was the Papal approval which Henry III. had asked for, for the establishment of a military Order of the Holy Spirit. This Order was to be founded by further tax upon the French clergy. The Papal envoy, Archbishop Giustiniani of Genoa, declared that the Holy See, after mature deliberation, could not give its consent to any further burdening of the French clergy.[1]

Although Gregory XIII., at the beginning of 1579, might feel at ease as to the position of his territories in the south of France,[2] but little good news came from the unhappy kingdom of Henry III.[3] Things there continued to go from bad to worse. Not only the Papal nuncio, but the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Lippomano, draw an almost despairing picture of the state of affairs in France.[4] Catherine de' Medici was negotiating with the Huguenots as much as ever; in February, 1579, by the secret treaty of Nérac, she granted favourable

Médicis, VI., 216. According to the *Avviso di Roma of September 3, 1578, the attack on Ménerbe had cost "un millione d'oro." Urb. 1046, p. 304, Vatican Library. Galli in his *Memorie estimates the whole expenditure of Gregory XIII. on Avignon at two millions. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] See the *instructions for Giustiniani of September 22, 1578, in BORGHESE, II., 462, p. 818, original minute in Var. Polit., CXXIX., p. 138 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 415 *seq.*; MAFFEI, I., 350 *seq.* TÖRNE, 205 *seq.*; see also the *notes of Dandino in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See G. Lippomano in ALBÈRI, App. 53, and the report of L. Priuli, *ibid.* I., 4, 414 *seq.*; DUPLEIX, Hist. de Henri III., Paris, 1650, 73 *seq.*; CAPEFIGUE, IV., 120 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Odescalchi, Rome, January 17, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Later on the events at Avignon caused further anxieties; see THEINER, III., 197 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi of January 31, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the complaints of the Pope at the consistory on February 27, 1579. *Acta Consist. Cod. Barb. Vatican Library.

[4] See G. Lippomano in ALBÈRI, App. 45, 53.

terms to Henry of Navarre, which the weak king approved on March 19th.[1]

At the beginning of March an extremely pessimistic estimate of the state of affairs in France was prevalent in Rome.[2] How fully justified this was shown by the treaty of May 8th, 1579, between the French government and Berne and Soleure in defence of Geneva.[3] This was a countermove to the defensive alliance which had been formed on May 8th, 1577, between the six Catholic cantons and the Duke of Savoy.[4] Henry III. knew very well what scandal would be occasioned in Rome if France intervened in Switzerland on behalf of the Protestant party; he therefore hesitated for a long time as to whether he should approve the treaty, but at length, in August, 1579, he decided to sign it.[5] The feeling of irritation increased in Rome when news came in October of the conclusion of an alliance between France and England.[6] This news, however, was not confirmed, but the French court openly showed its displeasure at the fact that Gregory XIII., who well realized the mad dissipation that prevailed there, refused to make any further financial concessions at the expense of the ecclesiastical revenues. For a time it even seemed as though diplomatic relations between Rome and Paris would be broken off. It was a matter of real gratification to the Pope when the office of French ambassador was again conferred on Paul de

[1] See POLENZ, IV., 220; *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXI. (1897), 352 *seq.*

[2] See *report of Odescalchi, March 7, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Schweiz. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 1556 *seq.*; SEGESSER, II., 417 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 348.

[4] See *Schweiz. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 1541 *seq.*; SEGESSER, II., 405 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 346 *seq.*

[5] See THUANUS, I., 68; SEGESSER, II., 414 n. On August 1, 1579, Odescalchi *reports the displeasure of Gregory XIII. at the attitude of Henry III. on this matter. Gonzaga Archives Mantua.

[6] See the *report of Odescalchi of October 6, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Foix, who arrived in Rome at the end of November, 1579.[1]

At the same time the Huguenot war once more broke out, and again it seemed that the superior forces of the Catholics must be victorious over the scattered forces of the Calvinists. But Henry III. was too much afraid of the party of the Guise to be able really to desire the complete defeat of Henry of Navarre; accordingly, on November 26th, 1580, the peace of Le Fleix, which confirmed the treaties of Bergerac and Nérac, was signed.[2]

The man responsible for this peace had been Francis of Anjou, who now renewed the unfortunate undertaking which had been abandoned in 1578, and, at the beginning of 1581, made ready to go the assistance of the insurgents in the Netherlands at the head of an army. As Henry III. secretly supported this undertaking, as well as the resistance offered by the Portuguese to Philip II., it seemed that there must be an open rupture between France and Spain. Gregory XIII., in the greatest anxiety,[3] charged Giovan Battista Castelli, Bishop of Rimini, who was appointed nuncio in France on April 1st, 1581, to avert this danger.[4] This man, who was

[1] CORRARO, 286-287. The arrival of P. de Foix is announced in an *Avviso di Roma of November 29, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 382, Vatican Library. For Foix *cf. supra*, p. 299, n. 3.

[2] See POLENZ, IV., 247 *seq.* During the war, in consequence of the interference of Henry III. with the publication of the bull *In coena Domini*, to which other princes also made opposition (*cf.* HAUSMANN, Reservatfälle, 379), serious disagreements had arisen between Rome and Paris, which were only smoothed over with great difficulty; see the *notes of Dandino in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; DESJARDINS, IV., 336 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*, 343; MAFFEI, II., 117 *seq.*, 204; FOUQUERAY, II., 72. What an unfavourable impression had been made in Rome by the behaviour of Henry III., even before the peace, is clear from the *reports of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand of September 3 and October 1, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] See the *letter of Cusano of March 6, 1581, Nunziat. di Francia, XVI., 27, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* TÖRNE, 207.

[4] See the brief in GARAMPI, Sul valore, 317. There were great changes in the nunciatures at that time; see the *report of Odescalchi of April 1, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

strictly attached to the Church, and belonged to the school of Borromeo,[1] reached the royal court at Blois on May 24th.[2]

Castelli also had to work against the proposed marriage of Anjou with Elizabeth of England. He was further charged to take steps for the publication of the bull *In coena Domini*, and the introduction of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. The peremptory language which he was instructed to employ[3] showed that the patience which Gregory XIII. had so long shown towards the King of France, was nearly at an end.

Although Castelli showed no lack of zeal, he was able to accomplish nothing either in political or religious questions.[4] At the end of October Orazio Malaspina was sent to assist him as nuncio-extraordinary. The latter, in accordance with his instructions,[5] acted even more strongly than Castelli, and reproved the French government for a long list of misdeeds, especially for its anti-Spanish policy, which was so threatening to the cause of peace. In spite of this, his mission too was devoid of result. The haughty tone employed by Henry III. was even surpassed by the expressions which Catherine de' Medici allowed to escape her.[6] At the end of 1581 Cardinal Galli wrote to Castelli that the whole behaviour of the French court was so bad that they must be satisfied if it did not become worse.[7]

Philip II. sought to turn the strained relations between France and the Holy See to his own advantage. The Spanish

[1] *Cf.* Letters de P. de Foix, 43. Gregory XIII. gave an account in terms of high praise concerning the earlier life of Castelli at the consistory of March 29, 1574; see SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 236.

[2] See the *notes of Dandino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] The *instructions for G. B. Castelli, dated April 1, 1581, in Barb. 5744, p. 119 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Some extracts in TÖRNE, 208 *seq.* *Cf.* also MAFFEI, II., 195 *seq.*; RICHARD, Épinac, 175, 207; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 259.

[4] *Cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 161.

[5] Dated October 29, 1581, published in TÖRNE, 269 *seq.*

[6] See MAFFEI, II., 201 *seq.*; TÖRNE, 213.

[7] See TÖRNE, 213 n. 2.

party in Rome joined forces with their diplomatists to induce Gregory XIII. to enter into a general defensive alliance of the whole of Italy, which was to be apparently directed against a possible attack on the part of the Huguenots, but was in reality to become a weapon in the hands of the King of Spain against France. He was not successful, however, in inducing the Pope to change his attitude. The efforts of Gregory XIII., who was quite falsely looked upon by the French court as a willing tool of Philip II., were principally directed, both now and later on, to preventing the outbreak of war between Spain and France.[1] Girolamo Ragazzoni, Bishop of Bergamo, who received the nunciature of France on September 28th, 1583, after the death of Castelli, was instructed to work for the same end. The new nuncio, like his predecessor, was a high-principled man, and he too belonged to the school of Borromeo.[2]

Ragazzoni arrived at a critical moment in the affairs of France, which had fallen into hopeless confusion owing to the misgovernment of Henry III., and when the Duke of Anjou, weighed down with debts and shame, had succumbed to his excesses at Chateau-Thierry on June 10th, 1584.

The premature death of the only surviving brother of the king, who had no issue, brought the prospect of the succession to the throne of Henry of Navarre, the head of the line of Bourbon, and the leader of the Huguenots, within the realm of immediate politics. It is easy to understand that an indescribable anxiety took possession of all Catholics at the idea of a relapsed heretic obtaining possession of the crown once borne by Clovis and St. Louis. So far the Huguenots, whenever they were in power, had raged with rapine, fire and murder against the Catholics, and had done all they could to destroy every trace of the old religion. Even though in many parts

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 298 *seq.*, 399 *seq.*; TÖRNE, 215 *seq.*

[2] See the *notes of Ragazzoni in the Boncompagni Archives Rome; MAFFEI, II., 337; TÖRNE, 216; the brief to Henry III. on the appointment of Ragazzoni in THEINER, III., 455. The *" Instruttione per il vesc. di Bergamo " in Ottob. 2415, P. II., p. 287 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

of France they had not been successful in this, yet the bloody persecution of the Catholics in Zeeland, Holland and England clearly showed the French Catholics the fate that was awaiting them should a Huguenot obtain possession of the throne. Broadsheets and pictures brought home to them the bloody cruelties to which their co-religionists were being subjected in those countries, and that cruelties of the same sort would be their own lot if Navarre became King of France.[1] Under these circumstances, the idea of a strong political organization of the Catholics, which had been lost sight of after the prohibition of every "league, association or brotherhood" issued both for them and the Protestants in September 1577, was bound once more to be put forward. The Catholics now felt more than ever the need of union for the safeguarding of themselves and their faith. The most energetic promoter of this attempt was Duke Henry of Guise, whose ambition and spirit of enterprise did not hesitate even at the most extreme measures.

The loyalty of Guise to the Catholic Church was beyond question, but he was too much involved in worldly and political interests ever to become its saviour. From the first he stands out as the self-interested champion of the Catholics;[2] at the same time he was too shrewd to aim at obtaining the throne at once for himself. A temporary candidate seemed to be necessary, in whose name he could rule, and after whose death he could assume the crown for himself. He therefore thought of Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, Navarre's uncle, as the heir to the throne after the death of Henry III., which might be considered imminent. The Cardinal was more than sixty years of age, and had a blameless reputation; sincerely pious and attached to the Church, he did not fathom the ambitious aims

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 509. See also the account in PICOT, Essai hist. sur l'influence de la religion en France, I., Louvain, 1824, 22 *seq.* and PRUNEL, La Renaissance cathol. en France au 17e siècle, Paris, 1921, 4 *seqq.*, 6 *seqq.*

[2] See BAUDRILLART, La France chrétienne, 359; SAULNIER, 92 *seq.*

of Guise.[1] His elevation had already been decided upon at a meeting of the Catholic leaders at Nancy in March, 1584, in the probable event of the death of the Duke of Anjou without issue.[2]

An anxiety which was certainly no less great than that of the French Catholics had been caused to Philip II. by the thought of a Huguenot ascending the throne of France. He had too often had experience of the way in which, every time the Huguenots got the upper hand in France, French policy took an anti-Spanish turn. What then was to be looked for if a Huguenot became master of the French kingdom! An extraordinary increase in the power of Protestantism in France might be expected, the consequences of which would have an incalculable effect in the Low Countries. In that case the whole position of the Spanish power in western Europe would be imperilled.[3]

Thus Philip II. on one side, and the Guise and the French Catholics on the other, found themselves driven to look for help to each other, but, the King of Spain, no less than the Guise, intervened as the self-seeking protectors of the Catholics of France. If, especially in Rome, Philip apparently put religious interests in the first place, politics were nevertheless the primary consideration with him; France must not only remain Catholic, but must also be kept weak, reduced to the status of a second-rate power, and always kept under the domination of Spain.[4] The danger of the French Catholics became greater when Henry III. openly showed himself disposed to recognize Navarre as his successor, in the hope that he would return to the Church.[5] Under these circumstances the new organization of the Catholics, which was formed in September, 1584, took

[1] *Cf.* G. Lippomano in ALBÈRI, App. 63; SAULNIER, 90 *seq.*; 107 *seq.*, 253 *seq.*

[2] See CHALEMBERT, 10 *seq.*

[3] See RANKE, Französ. Gesch., I.[2], 398.

[4] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 421 *seq.*

[5] Ragazzoni announces this to Cardinal Galli in a cypher report of May 29, 1584, therefore even before Anjou was dead; see FOUQUERAY, II., 131.

an entirely different form from the previous one. The "Holy League" which was now established, so long as Henry III. insisted on recognizing the heretical Navarre as his successor, saw no other means of averting this grave danger than to offer armed resistance to the king. Naturally the head of the league was Henry of Guise, but he feared lest he should be looked upon as a rebel, a thing which he did not conceal from the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Giovanni Battista di Tassis.[1]

Naturally the idea occurred to him of shielding himself from such a charge by obtaining the approval of the Pope. After Cardinal Pellevé, who was so loyal to the Guise, had prepared the ground in Rome, the Jesuit, Claude Matthieu, who was in close relations with the Guise and Cardinal Bourbon,[2] took upon himself the difficult task of asking Gregory XIII. for a definite declaration. The Pope's reply, which was given on November 16th, 1584, after long consultation with experienced theologians, stated that if the first and principal end of the members of the league was the taking up of arms against the heretics, and they thought that they were strong enough to be victorious, in that case he could not but approve of that undertaking; the nation too would certainly give its approval to such a project. Even if this were not the case it was not necessary that the members of the league should abandon their main purpose.[3]

[1] See I. B. DE TASSIS, Commentarii in HOYNCK V. PAPENDRECHT, *Anal. Belgica*, II., 1, 443.

[2] See FOUQUERAY, II., 131.

[3] See the original text of the Papal declaration in the letter of Matthieu to the Duke of Nevers, February 11, 1585, in Memoires du duc de Nevers, I., Paris, 1665, 655 *seq.* RANKE (Päpste, II⁶., 99) quotes the Papal declaration according to CAPEFIGUE, IV., 173, where it is quite erroneously stated: "persuadé que le roy aura cela pour bien faict." In the original statement it is said: "instando ch'el regno havevo anco esso per ben fatto." In his Französ. Gesch. (I.², 402) Ranke only quotes MAFFEI, II., 379, who, however, only speaks in general terms. Galli speaks expressly of the previous consultations with theologians in his *Memorie, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; see App. n. 28.

The disturbed conditions in which the Catholics of France found themselves as the result of the attitude of Henry III. were made worse when Henry of Navarre resolved to adopt extreme measures. Even while Anjou was still alive he had been preparing for war, and had sought for help abroad, with the result that the Catholics found themselves obliged to have recourse to similar measures.[1]

In January 1585 the plenipotentiaries of Philip II. on the one hand, and the Duke of Guise with his two brothers and cousins, as well as Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, on the other, entered into the confederacy of Joinville. Their object was the destruction of Protestantism in France and the Low Countries, and the exclusion of Navarre from the succession to the throne ; Cardinal de Bourbon was proclaimed in his stead as the next heir to the kingdom.[2] With regard to the political advantages which were guaranteed to Spain by this treaty, among others the possession of Cambrai and French Navarre, the Guise were able to point to the fact that the Huguenots had once granted to the English the far more important position of Le Havre. Nevertheless the treaty of Joinville was unfortunate in more than one respect. All the malcontents in France immediately joined Guise and the league, and their number was very great, as Henry III. had earned the hatred and contempt of the whole nation.[3] He gave himself up alternately to dissipation and exercises of penance, and to satisfy his favourites allowed them to do what they liked, while he squandered the revenues of the kingdom upon them. The mad luxury of the court was in manifest contrast to the general poverty and distress. The people of Paris, from whose treasury he had in 1582 forcibly taken 200,000 livres, were especially angry with the king, and it was in Paris that the league found the greater number of its adherents.[4]

[1] See DE MEAUX, 203 *seq.* *Cf.* PRUNEL, Renaissance Cathol, 5-6.

[2] See DUMONT, V., 441 ; L'ÉPINOIS, 8 ; SAULNIER, 115.

[3] See Hist. de la Ligue, I., 66 *seq.* ; *cf.* 54 n. 2.

[4] See CHALEMBERT, 11 *seq.* ; ROBIQUET, 1203 *seq.* ; LAVISSE, Hist de France, VI., 1, 241 *seq.*

While the weak Henry was hesitating between one side and the other, he received from Elizabeth the Order of the Garter, and encouragement to declare war against Spain, and although, in view of the preparations being made by the league, he publicly declared that he wished to live at peace with Philip II., the adherents of the league nevertheless published on March 31st, 1585, the manifesto of Péronne. Thanks to unworthy favourites, this manifesto states, all men have become negligent, and both religion and the constitution are going to ruin ; there is also reason to fear that a heretic may ascend the throne after the death of the reigning king. Therefore a holy alliance has been formed for the preservation of the Catholic religion, the rights of the nobles and the liberties of the people, the extirpation of heresy and the removal of evil counsellors. Parliaments must once again be given their due rights, the new taxes must be abolished, and every man be protected in his own rights.[1]

In order to attain these ends, recourse was to be had to arms on April 6th.[2] While France was thus once more plunging into war, Gregory XIII. died. His share in the league had been limited to the verbal declaration of November 16th, 1584, which favoured a middle course. The Guise, as the Duke of Nevers told the historian de Thou, were by no means satisfied with this.[3]

Gregory XIII., who was so well versed in law, was careful to avoid taking any momentous step. All the pressure that was brought to bear by the Spanish party in Rome, under the leadership of Olivares, to force him to issue a bull giving the Papal approbation to all that was done by the league, was to not purpose.[4] It is beyond doubt that it was fully realized in Rome that among the members of the league

[1] See L'Épinois, 9 *seq.* ; Philippson, Granvella, 420 *seq.* ; Saulnier, 122 *seq.*

[2] See L'Épinois, 10.

[3] See Thuanus, I., 81.

[4] *Cf.* L'Épinois, 13 *seq.* ; Törne, 219 *seq.* ; Valois in his edition of the Hist. de la Ligue, I., 75, n. 1.

some were more interested in wresting the sceptre from Henry III. than in defending the Catholic religion.[1]

Even though the leaders of the league spread the report that the Holy See had unconditionally approved their levying of money, they were unable to produce any Papal document to that effect.[2] On the other hand the Papal nuncio was able to give proofs to Henry III. that the league had gone beyond the facts in their statements.[3] The Guise and their adherents had obtained nothing more from Rome than words of encouragement for energetic measures against the innovators. That Gregory XIII. steadily maintained his attitude of cautious reserve up to the time of his death, is attested not only by the historian Davila,[4] but also by the Cardinal Secretary of State, Tolomeo Galli,[5] and by Sixtus V., whose evidence,

[1] See the *report of Ragazzoni of May 23, 1585, Papal Secret Archives (used by L'Épinois, II, n. 2; see also Desjardins, IV., 571) the text of which will be given in a future volume of this work.

[2] Nor could Philippson (Granvella, 425) do this, where, moreover, the important information given by L'Épinois is entirely passed over. On what weak grounds the arguments of Philippson are based may also be seen from the fact that he thought he had discovered that the Archbishop of Seville, Rodrigo de Castro, had received in 1585 " solo ed in una forma eccezionale il cappello cardinalizio." In reality the appointment of Castro had taken place in 1583 together with that of 18 other prelates; see *supra* p. 231.

[3] See the *reports of Ragazzoni of April 9 and 29, 1585, in L'Épinois, 14.

[4] Davila, II. (1757), 123.

[5] See the *Memorie of Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome), App. n. 28. *Cf.* also Raulich, Storia di Carlo Emanuele I. di Savoia, Turin. 1898, 236. The opinion put forward by Ranke (Päpste, I.[6], 278) that " The French league, which was so dangerous to Henry III. and Henry IV., had its origin in the relations between this Pope and Guise " has become untenable after Ranke's own account in his Französ. Gesch., I.[2], 402; but in spite of this it is still to be found in all subsequent editions of his History of the Popes !

as the severe critic of his predecessor, is especially worthy of notice.[1]

Although the Holy See showed great caution with regard to the political aims of the French Catholics, it unreservedly supported, and with all the greater zeal, those purely religious endeavours which were aimed at reviving and strengthening the Catholic Church in the kingdom of Henry III.

It was entirely in accordance with the views of Gregory XIII. when immediately after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, an intimate friend of Pius V., Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, expressed the opinion that force alone would not serve to put an end to heresy in France. Above all what was required were good bishops, who would fulfil their duty of residence, and convert the still numerous Huguenots by their instructions and example. If the King of France would make up his mind to make good use of the rights given him by the Concordat, and the episcopal and abbatial sees were once again filled by men who were conscientious and loyal to the Church, then the state of affairs in France would very soon and very easily change for the better. I speak at present, Facchinetti adds, only of the bishoprics and abbacies, because it is useless to speak as yet of other reforms, and many of the Catholics themselves would be opposed to them.[2] A clear hint is here given that there was still much work to be done before the work of Catholic reform could be fully carried out.

As was the case with the other Catholic nations, so in that of France as well, Gregory XIII. saw in the new Orders of the Jesuits and Capuchins the instruments which were best suited to prepare the way for Catholic reform. It was of great advantage to him that not only the Guise, but Charles IX., Henry III., and Catherine de' Medici were quite in agreement with him in this respect. The first attempt of the Capuchins

[1] See DESJARDINS, V., 118.

[2] See in App. n. 5 the *report of Facchinetti of September 6, 1572. He again expresses himself to the same effect in his *report of September 13, 1572, Nunziat. di Venezia XII. 86, Papal Secret Archives.

to get a footing in Paris took place as early as 1568.[1] In 1573 the General Chapter sent some religious across the Alps into France, who showed themselves in public for the first time at the obsequies of Charles IX. Being themselves of Italian birth at first they lived with their own fellow-countrymen in France. In 1573 the Cardinal of Lorraine gave them a house at Meudon. They also found favour with Catherine de' Medici, who as early as 1568 had given a convent to the new religious at St. Honoré, a suburb of Paris ; she now bought for them a site at Lyons, where they erected a convent in 1574.[2] In this year the Capuchins received a legal status, by Gregory XIII.'s abrogation of the enactment of Paul III., by which the Order was restricted to Italy.[3] He did this very gladly because he built great hopes upon the labours of the Capuchins, on behalf of the Church in France.[4] No less important was the fact that Catherine de' Medici obtained official permission from Henry III. for the Capuchins to work in France. Convents were established at Caen, Roanne, Orléans and Avignon.[5] The Bishop of Paris, Gondi, who at first had been opposed to the Capuchins, was soon convinced of the value of their labours, and the spread of the Order was marvellously rapid ; in 1579 Catherine de' Medici laid the first stone of the Capuchin convent at Marseilles, for which she had herself given the site.[6]

The self-sacrifice displayed by the Capuchins in caring for the plague-stricken in 1576[7] and 1580,[8] won for them the

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 150.

[2] See ALENÇON, Documents p. s. à l'hist. de l'établissements des Capucins en France, Paris, 1894, 14, 24, 36.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 124.

[4] *Cf.* in App. n. 31 the *report of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* FORNERY, Hist. du comté Venaissin et d'Avignon, II., 106 *seq.*

[6] See *" Livre des Annales des Religieux Capucins de la province de Provençe " in Cod, 636. p. 650 *seq.* of the Library at Aix (Provence). *Cf* BOVERIUS, I., II., and ALENÇON, Documents, Paris, 1894.

[7] *Cf.* SACCHINI, IV., 147.

[8] See the *Livres des Annales, *loc. cit. Cf.* the letter of the nuncio Dandino in ALENÇON, Documents, 61, n. 4.

affectionate gratitude of the populace. In 1581 Toulouse, the first city of Languedoc, and the second in the kingdom, asked for a convent of Capuchins, who were welcomed there in triumph in the following year.[1] Although the first Capuchins were for the most part Italians, they very quickly found a firm footing in France. Their strict poverty and the solemn manner in which they sang the office helped greatly to win for them the love of the people. Their simple churches were distinguished by their cleanliness and their decorations of fresh flowers, an innovation, as we are told by the chronicle of Toulouse.[2] Intent above all things on the welfare of religion, the Capuchins in France adhered to the league, but at the same time they found supporters even among the friends of Henry of Navarre.[3]

Besides their works of charity the Capuchins also distinguished themselves above all things as untiring preachers. The results that they obtained opened the way to them in not a few cities. The preaching of Father Angelo Bresson in 1585 was followed by the establishment of a convent at Béziers in the same year; the same thing happened in 1590 at Narbonne.[4] In 1582 the Capuchins were already established at Rouen,[5] and in 1585 at Verdun.[6] The conversions among the

[1] See GABRIEL DE ST. NAZAIRE, *Recueil chronolog. des choses qui concernent la fondation et le progrès des Capucins d'Aquitaine ou de Toulouse, in *Archives de la Haute Garonne*, F. H., Fr. Capuc. n. 7, made use of by DOUAIS in his apposite article in *La Controverse*, XIII. (1888), 59 *seq.* Catherine de' Medici also showed favour to the Capuchin nuns; see ALBÈRI, I., 4, 61.

[2] See *Toulouse chrétienne.* Histoire des Capucins par le P. APOLLINAIRE DE VALENCE, I., Toulouse, 1897, 7.

[3] See DOUAIS, *loc. cit.* 51.

[4] See *ibid.* 54.

[5] *Cf.* Documents (Paris, 1894), 82 *seq.*

[6] After 1582 the Capuchins also developed their work in the Franche-Comté, at that time Spanish, and founded 19 convents up to 1612; see MOREY, Les Capucins en Franche-Comté, Paris, 1882. From Paris the Capuchins went into the Low Countries; see APPOLLINAIRE DE VALENCE, Hist. des Capucins de Flandre, I., Paris, 1878, 513.

Huguenots which they succeeded in making were very numerous, and an extraordinary impression was created when, in 1587, the brother of Cardinal Joyeuse, one of the most important men in the kingdom, entered the Capuchin Order a few days after the death of his wife ; the king was speechless when for the first time he saw his old friend bare-footed and in his rough habit.[1]

With the Capuchins, and emulating them in works of charity and pastoral labours, came the Jesuits, whose sphere of action was even wider, for they also devoted themselves in a special manner to the education of the young. In the teeth of violent opposition, which came in a special degree from the University of Paris, the sons of St. Ignatius had won for themselves civil rights in France, and during the pontificates of Pius IV. and Pius V. had founded many colleges.[2] Very often, however, these were insufficiently endowed, and in many places the help given them by the civil authorities and private benefactors had failed them, so that the superiors of the colleges had to contend with poverty and need. But all this was not allowed to paralyse the activity of the religious, and the difficulties they met with urged them on to greater sacrifices. No matter how great their privations were, they continued to devote all their energies, as teachers of youth and as popular missionaries, to the preservation, spread and increase of the Catholic faith. Extraordinary results rewarded their efforts.[3]

So much the less did their old adversaries relax their efforts. On the occasion of the accusation of heresy which was brought by certain members of the Sorbonne against the celebrated exegetist, Maldonatus, which was quite unfounded, Claude Matthieu, the rector of the Jesuit college in Paris, wrote on August 19th, 1575, to Gregory XIII. : " Since our Society set foot in this kingdom, it has always met with two kinds of

[1] *Cf.* Brousse, Vie du P. Ange de Joyeuse, Paris, 1621 ; Freib. Kirchenlexikon, VI.², 1904 *seq.* ; Brémond, II., 145 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 210 ; Vol. XVIII., p. 150.

[3] For details *cf.* the account of Fouqueray (Hist., I. and II.), which is in many places based upon unpublished documents.

powerful adversaries: the heretics, and those doctors of the Sorbonne who, from their age and reputation, had the greatest influence. Although these two kinds of enemies have occasioned us the same dangers and have placed the same obstacles in our way, our way of combatting them has always been quite different. In the case of the heretics we were not fighting against our own adversaries, but against the enemies of God and the Holy Catholic Church. We have therefore waged open war against them. But patience and silence have been the only weapons we thought it right to use against the doctors of the university, whose hostility was directed against ourselves, for we recognized them as our brethren. We believed that the opposition they offered us, and through us to God and the Church, sprang not so much from any corruption of heart as from an error of judgment. As far as the heretics were concerned, we have challenged them, and if they ran away from us we have pursued them, but when we have been challenged by the attacks of the university we have made no reply, fearing lest a just defence might place in their hands an unjust motive for thinking themselves attacked. Nevertheless the doctors have placed far greater obstacles in the way of our plans than the heretics have done, and that all the more easily in that we for our part had no wish to harm them."

Gregory XIII. took up the cause of Maldonatus, but the latter, in his dislike of any kind of quarrel, resigned his chair and retired to Bourges, where he set himself to writing his celebrated commentary on the four Gospels.[1] Another shining light of the Jesuit Order in France was Edmond Auger,[2] whom Henry III. chose in 1575 as his confessor. His burning zeal and eloquence, which won for him the name of the Chrysostom of France, brought back several thousand Calvinists

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, Maldonat et l'université de Paris, Paris, 1856.

[2] *Cf.* besides the early works of Bailly (Paris, 1652), Dorigny (Lyons), 1716) and Péricaud (Paris, 1828), the works of FR. J. BRAND: P. E. Augerius, Frankreichs Canisius, Cleves, 1903, and Die Katechismen des Edm. Augerius S.J., Freiburg, 1917. See also PAULUS in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXIX., 802.

to the Church. His labours had the same, if not as great importance, for France as that of his fellow-Jesuit Canisius in Germany. Even more than by his words, Auger contributed by his writings to the preservation and consolidation of Catholicism among his countrymen. Besides his ascetical works he composed polemical ones on the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and on the sacraments of the Church, as well as a catechism, of which 38,000 copies were issued in Paris alone during the course of eight years.

Besides Henry III., Cardinal Charles of Guise was especially a zealous supporter of the Jesuits, for whom he founded in 1572 an academy at Pont-à-Mousson.[1] Here a number of exceptional young men, such as Peter Fourier, Servais de Lairuels and Didier de la Cour, received in about 1580 the inspiration for their subsequent labours which were to be so useful to Catholic reform.[2] By the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. the Society of Jesus had reached so flourishing a state that to the two provinces of which it consisted, that of Aquitaine and the French province, a third was added, that of Lyons. Besides Lyons itself, the latter comprised the colleges at Dijon, Avignon, Tournon, Billom and Chambéry. The province of Aquitaine had the great colleges of Bordeaux and Toulouse, besides those of Rodez and Mauriac. The French province included, besides the professed house and college of Paris, those of Berry, Nevers, Eu, Pont-à-Mousson and Verdun.[3] "As the harvest is great" the Cardinal of Lorraine wrote to Sirleto on July 2nd, 1578, "we need above all good labourers."[4] These the Society of Jesus provided in great numbers; its colleges furnished capable instructors for the young, eloquent preachers, wise directors for the religious and benevolent associations, and skilled pàstors of souls. It was especially due to the labours of the Jesuits that in many places

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 237.

[2] See Brémond, II., 2.

[3] See Sacchini, V., 30.

[4] *Letter dated "ex novo castro in Lotharingia," July 2, 1578, Vat. 6180, p. 11, Vatican Library.

the numbers of the Huguenots visibly decreased, and the common folk became more and more Catholic. All this inevitably had a beneficial effect upon the ancient religious Orders too, of whom only the Carthusians had maintained their former strictness,[1] Gregory XIII. had already brought about a reform of the Cistercians in 1574.[2] He received special support in this from Abbot Jean de la Barrière, who in 1580 introduced into his monastery a reform according to the primitive rule, with certain additional austerities.[3] In 1580 the exempt Benedictines of France resolved, in accordance with the injunctions of the Council of Trent, to hold a Congregation every three years.[4]

Besides the Jesuits, several distinguished bishops, such as those of Rheims, Rouen, Bourges, Lyons, Tours, Narbonne, Bordeaux, Valence, Paris and Embrun, laboured to rouse the secular clergy to a new religious strictness.[5] But these were an exception, for as late as 1576 Gregory XIII. had to remind the French bishops in severe words of their duty of residence.[6] The reason for these scandals lay in the unscrupulous use made by Henry and his predecessors of the rights given them by the Concordat.[7] To the repeated warning addressed to him by the Pope, Henry gave the most satisfactory assurances, but in his weakness he adhered to the system hitherto adopted, which was so advantageous to the crown, of making use of the lucrative dignities of the Church to provide for his favourites. The Venetian ambassadors, Girolamo Lippomano and Lorenzo Priuli, give an appalling picture of this abuse. In spite of all the promises made to the Pope, the

[1] See Brémond, II., 2.

[2] Bull. Rom., VIII., 73 *seq.*; see *supra*, p. 113.

[3] *Cf.* Bazy, Vie du ven. Jean de la Barrière, Toulouse, 1885.

[4] Substantially they adhered to this decision; Berlière in the *Revue Bénédict.* XIV. (1897), 398 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Theiner, Bildungsanstalten, 152 *seq.* and Annales, I., 170 *seq.* II., 228 *seq.* Richard, P. d'Epinac, 80 *seq.*

[6] See Theiner, II., 227 *seq.*

[7] With regard to Charles IX., *cf.* in App. n. 5 what Facchinetti says in his *letter of September 6, 1572, Papal Secret Archives.

practice became worse and worse. Bishoprics and abbacies, according to the testimony of impartial observers, were given by the king to completely unsuitable persons, to laymen, and even to women and children, and sometimes even to Huguenots. These enjoyed the revenues, and left the ecclesiastical duties to the care of poor priests who for the most part were very ill provided for, so much so that often they trafficked in the sacraments.[1]

That, in spite of this, religious conditions did not become even worse, and France did not fall a victim to Calvinism, was due to the concurrence of several circumstances. In the first place ecclesiastical property was to a great extent in the hands of the nobles and the crown ; it was therefore very much to the interest of both that the Church should not be altogether ruined. Henry III. would never personally have consented to any such thing, and the greater number of the French people realized that now as before the glorious records of their past were intimately bound up with the Catholic faith.[2] Lastly, an important reason was to be found in the labours of the religious Orders,[3] whose members took to their hearts the neglected faithful, and in many places inspired the Catholic population with renewed zeal. It was especially among the lower classes that this religious revival at first took place. In this respect Lorenzo Priuli found many encouraging things to report in 1582, especially with regard to Paris. The churches there were filled from morning to night on festival days, and Priuli estimated that the Huguenots had lost 70 per cent. of their numbers.[4] A religious revival among the upper classes was hindered by their great corruption, which found

[1] See besides G. Lippomano (1579) in ALBÈRI, App. 45, 53, especially the report of L. Priuli (1582), *ibid.*, 4, 413 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *notes of Ragazzoni in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* Priuli, *loc. cit.* 420.

[3] The Minorite, Christoforo de Capite Fontium, worked especially on behalf of the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament, and, assisted by Gregory XIII., introduced the confraternities of the B. Sacrament into France ; see Bull. Rom., 177 *seq.*

[4] See Priuli, *loc. cit.* 413.

expression even in the literature. It was above all fatal that the court of the last of the Valois gave the worst possible moral example. The ambassador turned with a shudder from the mixture of dissoluteness and exercises of piety, between which the unhappy Henry III. spent his time.

The abuse of the right of nomination on the part of the king led in 1579, at a meeting of the French clergy at Melun, to a demand for the restoration of freedom of election to bishoprics and abbacies. At the same meeting another important question was raised, which was of decisive importance for a radical improvement of religious conditions in France; this was the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, which was now demanded by the clergy themselves.[1]

Gregory XIII. had already in 1572, by means of the Cardinal legate Orsini, and in 1574 by means of the nuncio Salviati, made every advance that lay in his power, in order to obtain a definite result in this matter, which was so near to his heart;[2] but the resistance he met with proved insuperable. The king and his ministers, as well as the Parliament and the Sorbonne, again on this occasion raised every kind of objection. Above all, the old objection was made that the decrees of Trent militated against the rights of the crown and the liberties of the Gallican church;[3] it was also suggested that their intro-

[1] See for what follows the important report of Dandino of July 19, 1579, in THEINER, III., 665 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 52 *seq.*; MIGNOT, II., 1 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*, and above all MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 143 *seq.* *Cf.* also Catal. codic. manuscr. Bibl. Monac. VII., 189. MAFFEI (Hist., 7) speaks of the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees as "unicum malis remedium."

[2] *Cf. supra.* p. 515; MIGNOT, I., 353 *seq.*; MARTIN, 110 *seq.*, 116 *seq.*, for the introduction of the decrees of the Council of Trent at Carpentras, see *Arch. stor. Italiano.* 5th. Ser., XXXVI., 413.

[3] MARTIN (p. 149) very rightly remarks: "Tout le secret de l'opposition parlamentaire au concile de Trente est là: dans l'idée fausse, caressée par les Politiques, de l'independance possible, en matières religieuses, d'une Eglise nationale; dans le sentiment exagéré de leur juridiction laique, qu'ils entendaient substituer a l'autorité du pouvoir spirituel. Cette disposition d'esprit se

duction would disturb the peace with the Huguenots; they even did not hesitate to question whether the introduction of the reform decrees was necessary, and to appeal to the susceptibilities of the French, who themselves possessed men who were the equals of Borromeo and Paleotto. It was to no purpose that three bishops had recourse to the king in Paris. Their spokesman, the Bishop of Bazas, Arnauld de Pontac, spoke with great frankness of the consequences which flowed from the abuse of the royal right of nomination. He pointed out that, in addition to innumerable abbacies, priories and parishes, no less than twenty-eight bishoprics were without a lawful pastor, which had led to such great scandals that there was reason to fear lest the anger of God should result in the ruin of France. In eloquent words he pointed out that the one means of salvation lay in the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees and the restoration of freedom of election.[1]

The reply of Henry was almost sarcastic. He said that he too had always aimed at a reform of the clergy, and that if this had not been accomplished the fault was not his, but that of the clergy who refused to be reformed, who refused to devote to the poor the third part of their revenues, as was once the custom, and, not satisfied with one benefice only, were always aiming at getting something more. As far as the freedom of election was concerned, Henry referred them to the hereditary rights of his predecessors, which he too had hitherto exercised with the consent of the Pope, and which he intended to maintain like the Kings of Spain and Poland. With regard to the acceptance of the decrees of Trent, Henry again referred to the other Christian princes, who were still hesitating on that matter, as well as to the dangers to his own authority and the liberty of the Gallican church, and finally to the fact that there were already plenty of decrees of councils, which were suitable to serve as a basis for reform. As in all subsequent

manifeste dans toutes les Conferences qu'eurent les delegués de L'Assemblée de Melum avec les gens du roi."

[1] The statements of Pontac were completely confirmed by the reports of the nuncios; see MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 152.

negotiations he adhered firmly to this point of view,[1] some of the bishops who were of strict ecclesiastical views resolved to bring about in France the indirect introduction of the spirit of the reform decrees of Trent. The critical moment arrived when at Melun the French Clergy openly declared themselves in favour of the principles of Catholic reform.[2] The state of affairs, however, soon took a turn for the worse, as the attitude of Henry III. on this matter was opposed to Canon Law, and brought him into conflict with Gregory XIII.[3] When the Pope in 1580, in issuing the bull *In coena Domini*, sought to act in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform, he had all the less reason to doubt of his success as in the case of several states which were very jealous of their rights, such as Venice, the publication of the bull had been accomplished without any difficulties.[4] The nuncio in Paris, Anselmo Dandino, supported by a Jesuit, attempted to carry out the Pope's commands, but forthwith met with the opposition of the king, who, irritated by the reluctant attitude of Gregory XIII. towards his constant demands for money, was now making common cause with the Gallicans. Henry III. had the printer of the bull arrested, and caused the Parliament to issue a severe decree. This body, which was assembled on October 4th, 1580, declared the promulgation of the bull, since it had not received the royal *placet*, to be an act of high treason and ordered the confiscation of their property in the case of those bishops and ecclesiastics who acted in accordance with the terms of the bull. For a time it seemed as though there must be a rupture between Rome and Paris, but after deeper reflection both parties abstained from such a step. The Pope allowed the French ambassador once more to present himself at court, and the imprisoned printer in Paris was released. All Dandino's efforts, however, to obtain a repeal of the decree of

[1] *Cf.* the final report of Épinac, dated Cal. Mart. 1580, in THEINER, III., 195.

[2] See MARTIN, *loc. cit.* 165.

[3] *Ibid.* 171 *seq.*

[4] *"La cosa sin qui è passata quietissimamente." Bolognetti report from Venice, June 18, 1580, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXI., 321, Papal Secret Archives.

Parliament, were in vain.[1] The result was a change in the nunciature.

The Bishop of Rimini, Giovanni Battista Castelli, was appointed as Dandino's successor on April 1st, 1581. This distinguished man, though he was hampered by his advanced age, and very often by ill-health, devoted himself to his task with both zeal and prudence. At the beginning of 1582, Castelli obtained the repeal of the decree of Parliament, and permission for the publication in France of the bull *In coena Domini*.[2] After this success it was hoped in Rome that Castelli would also be able to bring to a successful issue the second and more important part of his mission, by opening the way to the publication of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent by means of the removal of the ordinances of Blois which were opposed to the Canon Law. But this proved to be impossible in face of the Gallican tendencies which were so closely bound up with the national prejudices and interests. The King of Navarre found allies even among the Catholics in his protest against the decrees of the Council. Irreconcilable Gallicans, proud ecclesiastics, and servile courtiers took up their stand like one man against the Pope's representative. The death which, on August 27th, 1583, set Castelli free from his bodily and spiritual pains, was a real release for that ailing man, who had for a long time past been asking for his recall. He was buried in the choir of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame.[3]

After the failure of Castelli's negotiations the only hope for an improvement of religious conditions in France lay in the assembling of provincial councils. Such assemblies, by means of which the reform decrees of Trent could to some extent be made effective, were held between the years 1581 and 1585

[1] See the valuable monograph of RICHARD: Gallicains et Ultramontains. Une épisode de la politique pontificale en France après le concile de Trente 1580 à 1583, in the *Annales de St. Louis, II.* (1898), 409 *seq.*, 413 *seq.*, 417 *seq.*

[2] See RICHARD, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *ibid.* 431, 437 *seq.*, 461 *seq.*, 469 *seq.*, 479 *seq.*, 481 *seq.* *Cf.* also the excellent work by MARTIN, *loc. cit.* 171 *seq.*, 209.

at Rouen, Bordeaux, Rheims, Tours, Poitiers, Embrun, Angers, Bourges and Aix.[1] That the principal cause of the opposition to the decrees of Trent lay in widespread Gallican tendencies, is clear from the report of the Venetian, Lorenzo Priuli, in 1582.[2] In common with other correspondents he shows how little the ruling powers in France cared about the Papal authority,[3] and that even among the Catholics there were not wanting men who would have liked to remove the French Church entirely from the influence of the Holy See, limited though that already was. Priuli relates that in the course of his embassy, which included the years from 1579 to 1582, it was twice suggested to the king that he should cause the French clergy to elect a patriarch for the kingdom, who should have the power of granting bulls concerning benefices. But Henry III. was not prepared to go as far as that, and nothing but his personal resistance, so Priuli thought, prevented a complete separation between France and Rome, a

[1] *Cf.* LABBÉ-COSSART, Concil. collectio, XV., 820 *seq.*, 884 *seq.*, 944 *seq.*, 1002 *seq.*, 1067 *seq.*, 1119 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, III., 357 *seq.*, 455 *seq.*; MIGNOT, II., 85 *seq.*; Gallia christ., II. and III.; PICOT, Essai historique sur l'influence de la religion en France, I., Louvain, 1824, 26 *seq.*; CLAUDE DE SAINTES, Le concile prov. tenu a Rouen, Paris, 1853; SAULNIER, 98 *seq.* The *Acta concilii Burdegal. 1582, in Cod. Borgia lat. 349, Vatican Library. The provincial councils busied themselves in detail with the establishment of seminaries recommended by the Council of Trent, just as in 1567 Cardinal Guise had planned such a one at Rheims (see DEGERT, Hist. des Séminaires Francais, I., Paris, 1892, 42 *seqq.*). The foundations begun by the latter at Rouen, Bordeaux, Aix and Toulouse had failed. See DEGERT, *loc. cit.* 52; LETOURNEAU, La mission de Jean-Jacques Olier, Paris, 1906, 21 *seqq.* *Cf.* BERTRAND, Hist. des Séminaires de Bordeaux, I., Bordeaux, 1894; BONENFANT, Les Séminaires Normands au 16e et 17e siècle, Paris, 1905.

[2] See ALBÈRI, I., 4, 441.

[3] *Cf.* the opinion of Serafino Cavalli in his report of 1574, in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 337. The pessimistic view of the state of affairs in France held by Gregory XIII., is brought out by P. TIEPOLO (p. 229).

thing which found many supporters in the Parliament of Paris at that time.[1]

Thus, at the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., the religious future of France was no less dark than the political outlook. The hope of better times, as Charles Borromeo rightly pointed out to a French diplomatist, rested now as before on the work of Catholic reform obtaining a stronger hold.[2] Gregory XIII. worked with all his might to that end, in spite of the unfavourable conditions; his merit consisted in having prepared the way for the great revival of the Church in France which took place later on.[3]

[1] See Priuli in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 441-2. Grave dangers were also threatened by the constant efforts of Henry III. to obtain from the Pope permission to sell Church property. A cypher *report from Rome on October 8, 1580, states as to this: "Il clero di Francia sta disperato perchè conosce che il Re attende a destruger l'entrate sue senza far acquisto alcuno per la sua corona, onde il card. Ramboglieto ha detto al papa liberamente che se S.S^{tà} non trova modo di consolar quel clero se non diventerà ugonotto si dichiarerà scismatico." *Mss.* Edmond Favre, LXII., 111., University Library, Geneva.

[2] See FRÉMY, 329 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* RICHARD, *loc. cit.* 485.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

The following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book ; it has formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. From considerations of space I have had to be sparing in the matter of explanatory notes. As far as the text is concerned, I have, as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original ; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alteration, I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word "*sic.*" Those passages which I have purposely omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the press, and which were not essential or were unnecessary to my purpose, are marked by dots (. . . . .).

1. Pius IV. nominates Ugo Boncompagni Cardinal.[1]

1565, March 12, Rome.

Pius etc. Dilecto filio Ugoni S. Romanae Ecclesiae presbytero cardinali Boncompagno nuncupato salutem etc.

Romana Ecclesia omnium ecclesiarum mater . . . Tu siquidem cum Bononiae patriae tuae iura publice doceres, multis iam annis laudabiliter in ea exercitatione consumptis, in collegium duodecim abbreviatorum litterarum apostolicarum maioris praesidentiae aggregatus, nec multo post a felicis

[1] See *supra*, p. 13, 20.

recordationis Paulo papa tertio praedecessore nostro in numerum referendariorum utriusque Signaturae suae cooptatus, inde ad multa publica officia arduaque negotia domi forisque, prout res tulit, delegatus, ex omnibus rebus tractandis iudicandisque ingenitam semper severitatem pari aequitate coniunctam retinens, insigne virtutis decus maximamque tibi apud omnes gloriam comparasti. Subsignandis libellis supplicibus gratiae a piae memoriae Paulo papa quarto etiam praedecessore nostro praepositus, hoc munere hucusque diligenter perfunctus fuisti, hisque tanti ponderis negotiis sine intermissione impeditus, Vestanam ecclesiam, cui dictus Paulus IV. praedecessor te pastorem praefecerat, solo Vestani episcopi nomine contentus, in manibus nostris libere dimisisti. Bis denique ad Concilium Tridentinum profectus, cum in dicendis illic sententiis, tum in tuendis Romanae Ecclesiae et nostra hucusque Sanctae Sedis auctoritate, dignitate et libertate, qua praestares doctrina, fide et constantia palam omnibus ostendisti . . .

Anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo, quingentesimo, sexagesimo quarto, quarto idus martii, Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

[Reg. 2002, p. 209–209b, Papal Secret Archives.]

2. Pope Gregory XIII. to King Philip of Spain.[1]

1572, August 23, Rome.

He praises the king's resolve to have the Bible corrected at his own expense, and to publish it in four languages; this is a royal work which is of great value to Christendom, since in it are contained the whole of Dogmatic Theology and Moral, the two parts of our salvation " ut nihil possit esse horum librorum lectione dignius, nihil fructuosius, nihil omni hominum generi accommodatius, nihil maiori doctrina et sapientia refertius." Philip has deserved well of all Christendom, in that he has not allowed himself to be frightened by the difficulties, nor by so wide an interval of space. May every reader be brought by means of this work to Our Lord!

(Brevia Gregorii XIII., 1572, n. 197, Papal Secret Archives.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 279.

3. Cardinal Galli to the French Nuncio A. M. Salviati.[1]

1572, August 27, Rome.

Non ha havuto N. S. dopoi che è asonto al pontificato maggior pensiero nel animo ne che più li prema che di accrescere le forze de la s. lega operando che li principi christiani vi entrino perchè conosce molto bene che contra cosi potente nimico come è il Turco bisogna molta forza ad assaltarlo et opprimerlo, ne quelle de principi collegati al presente bastano a far questo cosi compitamente come conviene, et vedendo S. B^ne che già siamo per entrare nel autunno, nel qual tempo si suole trattar qui del imprese del anno futuro, non ha voluto tardare a cercar di tirar in lega la M^tà del Rè Christ^mo, nel quale S. S^tà ha posta gran parte de la sua speranza per la prosperità di cosi santa impresa, la quale è per liberare da misera captività et servitù de Turchi infinito numero di populo christiano et per scaricare molti mali humori che sono et possono accrescersi ne principi et popoli christiani, et considerando S. B. chè per simile negocio tiene legato al Imperatore il card. Commendone, il quale sebene li giorni passati andò in Polonia et vi doveva stare fin che fusse eletto il nuovo rè, pure si tiene per fermo che per tutto Settembre haveva veduto il fine de questi negotii di Polonia et sarà in corte di S. M^tà Ces., ha voluto S. S^tà havere anco appresso la M^tà Christ. un suo legato per questo medesimo effetto de la lega, la quale oltre l'esser di tanta importanza per il servitio di Dio et de la fede christiana, verrà ancora a stabilire una ferma et sincera pace et unione tra S. M^tà Christ. et il Rè catolico et darà commodità di liberar cotesto regno di molti inquieti et mali humori et sarà causa ancora che l' Imperatore più prontamente si resolverà ad entrarvi.

Pero S. B. l'altr' hieri in concistoro creò legato suo in Francia l' ill. card. Orsino . . .

[Concept. Nunziat. di Francia, 283 p. 64. Papal Secret Archives.]

4. Consistory of 5 September, 1572.[2]

Romae apud S^tum Marcum die Veneris 5 septembris 1572 fuit Consistorium in quo S^mus Dominus noster gratulatus est

[1] See *supra*, p. 498.
[2] See *supra*, p. 503.

rev^mis dominis de occisione Gasparis Colingii admirantis Galliae et aliorum Hugonottorum et mandavit per rev^mum Comensem legi literas nuntii Sanctitatis Suae, in quibus continebatur qualiter ipse Gaspar cum suis sequacibus fuerat occisus, et proposuit Sanctitas Sua agendas esse gratias Deo et missam celebrandam in ecclesia B^tae Mariae de Aracoeli et quod indicatur lubilaeum et quod post Consistorium cantetur canticum Te Deum laudamus etc. in ecclesia S^ti Marci.

[Arch. Conc. Acta consist. Miscell. 24 p. 83. Papal Secret Archives.]

5. Giov. Ant. Facchinetti to Cardinal Galli.[1]

1572, September 6, Venice

. . . Hora habbiamo a sperare certo che le cose di Fiandra debbano passar bene, perchè oltra gli altri rispetti si può mostrare al Rè Christianissimo che S. M^tà per interesse propiio è costretta di desiderare et procurare di reprimere i progressi de gli Ugonotti di Fiandra et del prencipe d'Oranges loro capo, sendo veri-simile che buona parte de gli heretici di Francia habbia in questa proscrizione a fuggire all' essercito di Oranges in Fiandra, ove s' egli restasse superiore, la M^ta Christ^mà havria di certo d' aspettare la guerra nel regno suo . . .

Il mandar l' ill^mo sig^re card. Orsino legato in Francia è stato grandemente lodato da questi signori. Piaccia a Dio che la M^tà Christ^ma sappia conoscer bene questa occasione. L'armi et la forza le sono state necessarie, ma non le basteranno, se non si risolve di nominare a i vescovadi persone che possino con la residenza, con la dottrina, con l'essempio della vita et buona distributione dell'entrate, ridurre gli Ugonotti, che restano et i quali sono moltissimi, al gremio di santa chiesa. Sua Maestà Christ^ma ha sempre mostrato in questo buona inclinatione, ma nelle vacanze, importunata poi da favoriti, non tiene memoria di quei soggetti che sariano opportuni per servigio di Dio et del suo regno. Onde saria necessario che di tre o quattro, che furono proposti da i capitoli de le chiese, Sua M^tà si contentasse di nominarne uno, si come si fa in qualche altro regno, o pur eleggere un collegio di X o XII huomini timorati di Dio et nominar solamente quei che fossero approbati da loro, o trovare qualche altro modo co' l quale S. M^tà si potesse sempre iscusare dalla importunità degli ambitiosi et favoriti e

[1] See *supra*, p. 512, 546, 552.

sodisfare al servigio di Dio et alla necessità del suo regno. Quando anco S. M^tà si risolverà di nominare alle badie persone religiose et procurar che ritornino a darsi in titolo, farà cosa utilissima per se, perchè nella Francia s'usa quasi per tutto la primagenitura et i Francesi sono di natura inquieti ; onde, se non è tenuto modo da trattenere i secondogeniti, che sono pur gentil'huomini et allevati da grandi, è necessario che sempre siano amici et cupidi di novità. E chi osserverà bene l' historie di Francia, troverà che il più efficace modo era di trattenerli nella religione con queste badie, percio che, oltra il titolo principale, v'erano nei monasterii molti uffici et benefici regolari dependenti da collatione de gli abbati, con che si dava da vivere a infinita quantità di gentil' huomini, onde moltissimi s' indrizzavano alla vita monastica, nella quale instituiti alla quiete erano alieni dalle seditioni et tumulti.

Io so che alcuni ministri del Rè soleano, per loro passioni particolari, dire che S. M^tà si farebbe gran danno, se ristringesse l'uso delle sue nominationi, perchè non potria così liberamente ricompensare, co'l dar vescovadi et monasterii, molti servigi fattole, mà non s'aveggiono che, per opinione di tutti etiandio de gentili, che scrivono del governo di stato, republica o regno non può mantenersi lungamente dove i sacerdoti mancano dell'offitio loro, e dovriano pur conoscere che, mentre le chiese non hanno servito a questa ricompensa, il regno nel sangue che è per 600 anni è ito prosperando ; et che per contrario, da poi che il rè Francesco primo cominciò a disporre de' vescovadi et delle badie et delle decime de i beneficii come di cose profane, nel regno cominciarono gli humori dell' heresia et sono iti crescendo tanto che hanno quasi causato la rovina della Francia. Il commodo che contra l'instituto de suoi maggiori s'è preso delle decime et del nominare a i vescovadi et monasterii per compiacenza propria, non è stato tanto che non sia stato poi molto maggiore il pericolo et la spesa, che di necessità si è fatta nel reprimere con l'armi quei scelerati heretici, gli autori de quali non hanno mezo alcuno più potente che il fomentarsi con mostrare la mala elettione et il male essempio di questo et quel prelato. Onde se il Rè vorrà che si rimedii a questo abuso, le cose di Francia si ridurranno con facilità et in breve tempo a buon termine. Parlo di questo capo solo, si perchè l'entrare in altre riforme, l'infermità degli huomini è si grande che s'offenderiano in quel regno gli animi

di molti catolici, il che adesso non torna forse a proposito ; si perchè, sempre che fusse provisto di buoni vescovi, et che i monasterii si ritornassero a dare in titolo a i religiosi, la riforma senza strepito alcuno verrebbe a introdursi et ad haver luogo da se stessa . . .

[Orig. Nuziat. di Venezia, XII., 80-83. Papal Secret Archives.]

6. Galeazzo Cusano to the Emperor Maximilian II.[1]

1572, September 6, Rome.

" Hieri consistorio : " the cross to Cardinal Orsini, " et lo licentiò per l' inaspettata nuova " to France . . . " ma volse il Papa finito il concistorio andare in processione pontificalmente accompagnato dalli cardinali fin alla chiesa di San Marco cantando il Tedeum ringratiando N. S^r Dio c' havesse a un tempo liberato il Rè Chr^mo con li suoi cattolici, ma tutto l'regno di Francia et anco la Sede Apostolica dal gran pericolo li soprastava, se l'armiraglio con li suoi complici mandavano ad effetto il trattato havevano, ch'era d' amazzare il Rè con tutta la casa sua regia et farsi rè, per poter tanto meglio aiutar li ribelli di Fiandra et venire in Italia alla distruttione del stato ecclesiastico et di Roma."

The death of the admiral would be very disagreeable to the Florentine, " perchè si tiene per certo fusse consapevole d' ogni trattamento facevano contra di S.M.Chr^ma.—Tutta Roma stà in allegria di tal fatto. . . ."

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna, *Romana*.]

7. Cardinal Zaccaria Delfino to the Emperor Maximilian II.[2]

1572, December 13, Rome.

" Admirantur hic omnes homines rectos et insignes hos actus S. S^tis maxime quod nepotem habet ill. card. S. Sixti cui ad hanc usque diem neque quadrantem in proventus dedit," neither a pension from the archbishop of Narbonne, nor the office of Grand Penitentiary (quae a multis annis semper fuit collata nepotibus summorum pontificum)[3], nor the post of arch-priest of S. Maria Maggiore.

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna, *Romana*.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 504, 511.
[2] See *supra*, p. 31.
[3] Cardinal S. Sisto [F. Boncompagni] only received the Penitentiaria at the third vacancy ; it was first held by Cardinal Aldobrandini, and then by Hosius. See the *notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

8. Expenditure of Cardinal Ricci on the Villa Medici in Rome until its completion, 1572.[1]

Vigne e terreno acquistato	scudi	3792.30
Spianatura del medesimo	,,	1459.94
Calce	,,	4748.40
Pozzolana	,,	1301.61
Pietra	,,	981.28½
Mattoni	,,	1261.10
Acqua	,,	514.68
Robe prese a minuto	,,	679.50
Opere spicciolate	,,	1924.24½
Lavori di scarpello	,,	3368.65
Manifattura di muraglie	,,	5569.86½
Ferramenti	,,	1102.44½
Legnami e fattura	,,	1357.96½
Arbori e piante	,,	168.67½
Bestie e loro arnesi	,,	1324.00
Bassi relievi e colonne	,,	646.50
Condottura di acqua e condotti	,,	665.32½
Mobili	,,	950.00
Total	scudi	31816.48½

[Copy Ricci Archives, Rome, IX.]

9. Report on Pope Gregory XIII., his court, and the College of Cardinals.[2]

Codex 39 B.13 (formerly Nr. 714) of the Corsini Library, Rome, contains, running from p. 402 to p. 446, a "Relatione della corte di Roma fatta in tempo di Gregorio XIII." This work, which is dated Rome, February 20, 1574, is from the pen of an unknown diplomatist who wished to warn his successor. Ranke (Päpste III., note n. 44) praises this "very instructive report" as bearing "every mark of truthfulness" but only quotes one point from it. Its abundant matter justifies its publication in the fullest possible form.

I. The author begins with the general expression "La più difficile et più fallace cosa che sia al mondo è il voler far vero giuditio degli animi degli huomini et voler far professione di

[1] See *supra*, p. 219.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 30, 31, 32, 36, 40, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 66 172, 216, 222 297, 340, 350.

conoscerli nell intrinseco " ; it is even more difficult to pass a judgment upon princes, since they have " altretanto rispetti quanto interessi nelle loro operationi." He therefore wishes to comply with the command of his master and sketch a " ritratto vero delle cose : dirò come si giudica nella corte et come la intendo."

Dico adunque che N. S^re^ nacque in Bologna d' antica famiglia, studio in leggi civili et canoniche, si adottorò, lesse publicamente nella città, poi venne in questa corte, nella quale è vivuto molt' anni, salendo per tutti li gradi dagli infimi al maggiore, et è vivuto sempre con buon nome di huomo da bene et giusto, seguendo propriamente il cognome di Buon Compagno ; non è stato scropuloso ne dissoluto mai et li sono dispiacciute le cose mal fatte et le ha abhorrite biasmandole publicamente et ancora non ha laudato negli altri tempi gli estremi rigori. Fu fatto cardinale da Pio IV passato et favorito dal cardinale Altemps in concorrenza d' altro che favoriva Borromeo, et havendo havuto la signatura de brevi nel pontificato di Pio V parlava molto liberamente in favore della corte et alle volte con puoco piacere del Papa, il quale essendo morto dal medesimo Altemps quale prima unitosi con Medici et poi con Alessandrino il fecero Papa in 1½ hore, cosa insolita a farsi et che non si aspettava cosi presto. Di poi assonto che è stato al pontificato in età di 71 anni ha parso ch' habbi voluto mutar natura et il rigore che era solito biasimar in altri, massime nel particolare del vivere con qualche licenza con donne n' è stato più rigoroso dell' antecessore et fattone maggior esecutioni et parimente nella materia del giuoco si è mostrato rigorosissimo, perchè havendo certi ill^mi^ principiato a trattenersi nel principio del pontificato con giuocar qualche scudo, li riprese acremente, ancora che alcuni dubitorono che sotto il pretesto del giuoco si facesse nuove pratiche di pontificato per un poco di male ch' hebbe S. S^tà^ in quel principio, et da questo cominciò a calare quella riputatione o opinione che si voleva far credere dall' ill^mo^ de Medici d' haver lui fatto il Papa et doverlo governare, la qual cosa fece chiaro il mondo, quanto S. S^tà^ abhorrisse che alcuno si vogli arrogar di governarlo o ch' habbi bisogno d' esser governato, perchè non vuol essere in questa opinione di lasciarsi governare a persona. Perchè in effetto nelle cose della giustitia n' è capacissimo et la intende et non bisogna

pensar di darli parole. Ne maneggi di stati S. S^tà ne potria saper più, perchè non vi ha fatto molto studio et sta sopra di se allevolte irresoluto, ma considerato che v' habbi sopra n' è benissimo capace et nell' udire le opinioni discerne benissimo il meglio. È patientissimo et laboriosissimo et non sta mai in otio et piglia ancora poca ricreatione, dà continuamente audienza et vede scritture ; dorme poco, si leva per tempo et fa volentieri esercitio et li piace l' aria, quale non teme per cattiva che sia, mangia sobriamente et beve pochissimo et è sano senza sorta alcuna di schinelle. È grato in dimostrationi esteriori a chi gli ha fatto piacere non è prodigo, ne quasi si può dire liberale secondo l' opinione del volgo, il quale non considera o discerne la differenza che sia da un prencipe che si astenghi dall' estorsioni et rapacità a quello che conserva quello che ha con tenacità. Questo non brama la roba d' altri ne gli insidia per haverla, non è crudele ne sanguinolente, ma temendo di continuo delle guerre si del Turco come degli heretici li piace di haver somma di denari nell' erario et conservarla senza dispensarli fuor di proposito et n' ha intorno ad un milione e mezzo d' oro. È però magnifico et li piaciono le grandezze et sopra tutto è desideroso di gloria, il qual desiderio il fa forse trascorrere in quello che non piace alla corte, perchè questi r^di padri Chiettini che l' hanno conosciuto se li sono fatti a cavaliero sopra con dimostrarli che li credito et autorità, che haveva Pio V, non era se non per la riputatione della bontà et con questo il tengono quasi che in filo et il necessitano a far cose contro la sua natura et la sua volontà, perchè S. S^tà è sempre stato di natura piacevole et dolce et le ristringono a una vita non consueta et è opinione che per far questo si siano valsi di far venire lettere da loro padri medesimi di Spagna et d' altri luoghi, dove sempre fanno mentione quanto sia comendata la vita santa del Papa passato, quale ha acquistato tanta gloria con la reputatione della bontà et delle reforme, et con questo modo perseverano loro in dominar et havere autorità con S. B^ne, et dicesi che sono aiutati ancora dal vescovo di Padova[1] nuntio in Spagna, creatura di Pio V et di loro. Brama tanto la gloria, che si ritiene et sforza la natura di fare di quelle dimostrationi ancor verso la persona del figliuolo, quali sariano riputate ragionevoli et honeste da ogn' uno per li scrupoli che li propongono

[1] Niccolò Ormaneto.

costoro, et in tanta felicità che ha havuto S. S^{tà} di essere asceso a questa dignità di basso stato, è contrapesato da questo oggetto et dall' havere parenti quali non li sodisfanno, et che a S. S^{tà} non pare che siano atti o capaci de' negotii importanti et da commetterli le facende di stato, perchè il fratello, quale da solo, lo lascia a Bologna ne si è curato che venghi in corte sin' hora, ne manco gli altri dui figli di detto fratello, che il primo ha pero mandato al governo d'Ancona ; solo ha ritenuto quà il terzo figlio ch' è secondo genito, qual fece cardinale ne' primi dì havendolo tenuto prima qui con lui, qual è buon gentilhuomo, ma come giovane che ha atteso alli studii delle leggi, non ha molta conoscenza delle cose del mondo, et sebene N. S^{re} l' ha proposto alla soprintendenza delle cose del stato ecclesiastico, vi ha pero posto appresso diversi signori et fatto una consulta, dove si leggono li memoriali, le lettere et si risolvono le facende, et del restante S. S. Ill^{ma} non si travaglia, anzi N. S. vuol ogni dì intender da lui tutto quello si tratta nella consulta, et li dà di sua bocca le determinationi. Non li dà S. S^{tà} molta autorità, sebene non li dispiace che gli adimandi delle gratie et si procuri degli amici et servitori, sebene è S. B^{ne} stretta a concederle. Il sig^{r} Giacomo che è il figliuolo et amato da lui, qual fece castellano ne primi dì et poi li diede la carica dell' armi, ha cervello et capacità et forse ha mira et desiderio di cose grandi et patisce infinitamente stando in otio. Questo solo gli è grato et quelli piaceri e gratie che vuole le ottiene quando vi si mette, perchè parla vivamente col Papa che l' ascolta et si replica, cosa che fanno pochi.

Il Papa si promette cosi lunga vita che crede haver tempo di provedere al figliuolo et agli altri et spera che habbino da venir dell' occasioni che senza porre in compromesso la riputatione li potrà accomodar tutti.

Di natura si crede che S. S^{tà} sia d' animo francese, et che se la M^{tà} del Rè Christ^{mo} havesse pensieri et aspirasse alle cose d' Italia, che saria sempre congionto con lui si per la inclinatione propria come per gli accidenti che tutto dì occorrono et per il puoco conto, che tiene il Catolico et quel suo consiglio di S. S^{tà} et di questa corte, conoscendo loro di non havere chi li facci contrapeso, non aspirando li sig^{ri} Francesi ne altri catolici alle cose d' Italia di presente, strapazzano ogn' uno et per questo sempre vi sono occasioni di dispareri

per la giurisdittione ecclesiastica si nel regno di Napoli feudo della chiesa come nel stato di Milano, ne pare che nelli particolari succeduti nel tempo della lega et nella causa dell' arcivescovo di Toledo si possa chiamar sodisfatto S. B^ne di quel Rè et li Venetiani hanno dimostrato che le pace che furono necessitati di fare, causò tutta dal Rè et dal conseglio per la longhezza et lentezza de suoi apparati.

Desidera infinitamente S. S^tà la gloria et conseguentemente vorria una nuova lega contra il Turco overo un grande apparecchio contra heretici, premendo a S. S^tà di ridurre gli heretici alla fede cattolica, et per una di queste occasioni faria tutto il possibile parendogli che una sola di queste operationi il potesse far passar di credito il suo antecessore et vincerlo di gloria et vi attende con fatica et spesa, et di già ha introdotto un collegio di Germani, quali si nutriscono qui ad imparar lettere et il rito catolico, con molta spesa et diligenza.

Assonto che fu al pontificato chiamò al suo servito il card. di Como, quale fu secretario di Pio IV et creato cardinale da lui, il quale si va conservando nell' uffitio et nell' autorità, con tutto che li signori nipoti et il figliuolo havessero desiderato haver quel luogo, che si suol dare a nepoti et a più prossimi. Ma il Papa ha questa natura oltra la gratitudine, che teme esser tenuto inconstante, et li pare d' haver obligo al card. di Como, il quale ha forse fatto degli uffitii per lui nel tempo dell' elettione o prima, et perciò mai rimove quelli a chi propone a un servitio se non per un demerito, et ha molto rispetto ad ogni qualità di persone, benchè chiaritosi della malignità, tristitia et mancamento d' un suo ministro o servitore lo lascia ne più può pensare colui di riconciliarselo, perchè vi è risoluto dentro, et si è veduto nel Scadinari, quale era prima suo servitore et per certa occasione lo licentiò ; in Massimo Cratta, quale haveva domandato al servitio della Camera creato che fu Papa et lui abusò della gratia di S. S^tà et fu forzato cacciarlo ; in Giov. Druetto, che deputò vicedatario che per haver pigliato certi presenti, lo levò dall' officio et dalla gratia sua ; nelli Musotti, quali erano in cosi ferma opinione che aspiravano al cardinalato, che havendo scoperto la loro malignità et interesse, furono esclusi di modo che non hanno più a dito a parlargli. Detto card. di Como usa un' arte grande in conservarsi et sa secondare alle voglie del Papa, quale havendolo trovato poco instrutto delle cose di stato, si è andato

avanzando per quello che negotiò lui al tempo di Pio IV, con tutto che si creda che li ministri de principi negotiano mal volentieri con lui et desiderassero piutosto trattare con uno de' nepoti, non ardiscono venir a quest' atto di declarasi o dirlo al Papa, dubitando se non ottenessero l' intento loro di nemicarsi quel ministro, quale è havuto per astuto et cupo, che potria nuocere a loro negotii.

Ha S. S^{tà} un altro nepote, figlio di sorella, qual è il s. Filippo Guastavillani, quale ha cervello et intelettè et è amato dal Papa et si trattiene col s. Giacomo, et si crede che lo farà cardinale con la prima occasione et saria atto ad esser proposto a tutte le facende et negotii importanti. Ma come è detto il Papa è tale che senza causa non rimove uno da quell' uffitio a che l' ha domandato.

Desider[a] S. S^{tà} la pace et quiete d' Italia et per molta occasione che potesse havere non s' intricava in guerre et non ha voluto ingerirsi per questo nelli tumulti d'Urbino, ne manco appropriarsi le passioni d' altri, perchè li signori Fiorentini, quali si promettevano molt[o] di S. S^{tà}, havendo tenuto per prima una lunga amicitia et fatto professione di haverlo voluto Papa et aiutatolo in effetto, non hanno potuto ottenere la confirmatione del titolo ne altre cose che hanno ricerche in pregiuditio d' altri, anzi S. S^{tà} si declarò non voler dispiacere all' Imperatore, ne manco al duca di Ferrara, con tutto ch' havesse qualche occasione con S. Eccellenza per li confini con li Bolognesi et per conto dell' acque, come per la differenza de sali et del transito del Po, anzi va tolerando et ascoltando continuamente pratiche d'accordo et sopporta ogni cosa per non venire alla rottura, havendo questa mira di non lasciar odio ne brighe al figliuolo o parenti, ne manco ha dimostrato animo di volerli alzar troppo, ne di volerli appogiare a principi o dargli stati, havendo fatto li parentadi in Bologna ben con delle prime famiglie di quella città et ricusato partiti de principi. Non solo non è crudele, ma usa molta clemenza nel punire li delitti, gratifica molti della patria massime con uffitii pertinenti a dottori, quali ama et ne tien conto. È parso alle volte che habbi lasciato, anzi fuggito le occasioni che se gli sono presentate, come quella d' Urbino, et che gli hanno dato li ministri del Cattolico et altri et tutto per non romperla, il che può esser vero, si per quello che si è detto, come per non veder le cose de Francesi in tal termine che si

possi promettere un gagliardo aiuto come bisognaria o d' altro potentato cattolico, dubitando sempre di questa maleditione di heretici, a quali non si aprisse una strada a farli discendere in gratia, et ancora perchè non potesse parere che non il zelo della fede cattolica o riputatione di santa chiesa, ma qualche particolar interesse et passione l' havessero indotto et per questo è stato creduto timido et di puoco ardire.

Dà molta soddisfatione a cardinali, gli honora et li fa delle gratie, dove non vadi l' interesse de' denari, et tutti ascolta. Differisce assai alla prudenza di Morone et nelle cose ardue chiama lui, Farnese et S^tà^ Croce. Usa assai di commetter a congregationi di cardinali le cose che gli occorrono, deputandone sei o otto per congregazione di diverse qualità secondo le materie che si tratta, et ode volontieri il parer di tutti. Ama Sermonetta et li presta fede et diede la guardia al s. Honorato suo nepote, assonto che fu al pontificato, per l' amicitia che haveva havuta col s. Bonifacio suo padre et per il ben servitio che ha fatto detto Sermonetta. Nelle materie di religione et del concilio crede a Varmiense, a Pellevè et ad Alciati. Cerca di star bene et trattenersi con tutti li principi, ne vuol briga con alcuno di loro a patto che sia.

Gli servitori intimi, quali possono parlargli et hanno autorità, sono il sig Lodovico Bianchetti[1], maestro di Camera, gli dà da bere, legge tutti li memoriali et dice l' offitio con S. S^tà^, et di poi il sig^r^ Paolo Ghiselli scalco secreto, quali sono servitori vecchi di molt' anni et hanno cura della sua persona, et gli dormono in camera et sono amati da S. S^tà^ come quelli che in certo modo egli stesso ha allevati, et sono tutti due Bolognesi ; gli crede S. S^tà^ et li domanda ancor quello che si dice fuori via. Vi è ancora messer Pietro, quale prima era maestro di casa et hora è guardaroba, che può assai et è servitore vecchio et li parla con molta libertà et semplicità, che piace al Papa. Vi sono altri camerieri nobili che S. S^tà^ rispetta, et possono fare certi uffitii che sempre torna bene che siano fatte buone relationi, perchè il Papa qualche volta ha piacere che li dicano come l' intendano, tra quali vi è il sig^r^ Claudio Gonzaga che vale e del quale il Papa si è servito di mandar in volta et a commetterli negotii ; degli altri camerieri non vi è chi ardisca dirgli cosa alcuna o replicargli. Mons^r^ Fantino, quale è maestro di casa, ha havuto più ardire et

[1] See MORONI, XLI., 133.

autorità di quello ha di presente, che corse un po di burrasca per conto di donne, pur si conserva et il Papa l' ama, restando la memoria de' piaceri havuti quando era in minor fortuna, et è buon gentilhomo. Mons^r Contarello, qual' è datario et di natione Francese, è di molta riputatione et si è andato avanzando sempre nella gratia di N. S., quale li presta gran fede et ha opinione che sia sincero et libero huomo et intenda benissimo il suo ufficio, et quando lui vuole ottiene et facilita ogni negotio, sicome li distrugge ancora se li oppone. Con S. Sig^ia si sono uniti parte di questi reformatori, come mons. Carniglia, mons. Furmento et il Toledo prete Giesuita, et l' uno porta l' altro et fanno venir a notitia di S. S^tà sotto pretesto di carità et di zelo dell' honor et gloria sua tutto quello che gli piace, facendo uffitii che alle volte hanno rovinato le genti, la qual cosa ha fatto alcuna volta mormorare la corte, si intorno alla bontà loro, come alla troppa credenza che li dà S. B^ne vedendo che sono stati atti a farli mutar natura et complessione ; et mons^r datario è tanto innanzi che si crede che l' habbia a far cardinale, con tutto che sia cosi riservato a farne, non ne havendo fatto in 22 mesi che è Papa, se non il nepote solo. Il vescovo di Sora[1], quale è tesauriere generale, ha autorità di parlargli et ricordargli ciò che vuole, et per la bontà sua et haver mantenuto un' amicitia di 60 anni, che sono quasi coetanei ; il Papa lo rispetta et se lui fosse di maggior spirito, saria grande appresso a S. S^tà da davero et con tutto ciò sarà cardinale per la comune opinione nella prima promotione.

Parmi haver detto [abbastanza] de' signori parenti et de servitori intimi et poi ancora degli altri ufficiali intrinsechi et si può concludere che de parenti il sig^r Giacomo sia il diletto, et dopo lui il sig^r Guastavillani et de' servitori intimi il signore maestro di Camera et poi il scalco. Degli uffici mons. datario antepongo a tutti et poi il tesauriero, et chi avrà il favor di quelli potrà sperare di ottenere da S. S^tà ogni onesto favore et gratia et essere ben veduto et ascoltato volentieri. Chi serve alla Secretaria non vi è persona d' autorità, perchù il cardinale di Como li tiene lontani ne vuole che si faccino innanzi, temendo sempre di restar lui indietro et escluso.

Deputò come dissi diversi prelati alla Consulta del stato ecclesiastico in compagnia dell' ill^mo S. Sisto, quasi non si

[1] Tommaso Gigli ; see MORONI. LXXIV., 291.

travagliano fuori di essa in cose di negotii ne di stato, se non quello che contiene il stato ecclesiastico, ne pare che siano in gran stima appresso di Nostro Signore di spingerli innanti per il presente, ma vivendo S. S^{tà} come si crede et si desidera non è dubbio che li esaltarà tutti o la maggior parte, et questi sono mons^{r} Brumano chierico di Camera, mons^{r} Pietro Giacomo de' sig. del Monte santa Maria, mons^{r} Visconti, il sig^{r} Marco, che era auditore del Papa, al quale ha dato la chiesa di Volterra, et dovendo lui andar alla residenza, ha posto in luogo suo un mons^{r} Dal Bone Bolognese, che è parente di S. S^{tà} Tutti questi sono dottori di legge et valent' huomini in quell' esercitio, poichè S. S^{tà} se ne serve et li differisce assai nelle cose della giustitia, et tutti sono di Signatura giustitia. Al governo di Roma ha proposto mons^{r} Taverna Milanese aiutato et favorito dal cardinal di Como per l' instanza di Morone, qual governo si fa da se con la sola riputatione et è alquanto adolcito et temperato da quell' aspro rigore che era, et si vive quietamente, ne si corre dietro alle persone ne si estorce denari per compositione, e ne manco si castiga con l' ultimo supplico. Si espediscono li carcerati et si nettano le prigioni. È S. S^{tà} assai indulgente et etiam che si merita la morte, per poco di favore che l' habbi permuta alla galera.

Desidera molto che quest' anno santo vengano gente assai a Roma, et perciò fa usar diligenze che siano accomodate molte cose, et ha proposto persone a resarcire a fabriche et ad accomodar le chiese et le strade, et in somma sin qui habbiamo un buon Papa pieno d' una ottima intentione et bontà, et non solo questo popolo, ma tutti li sudditi della chiesa sene laudano et contentano. Disegna S. S^{tà} voler allegerire li popoli da molte gravezze et ha dato principio a redimer molte entrate che erano state alienate da suoi antecessori, et spera quando tutte l' altre strade li manchino, con questa sola di farsi glorioso in eterno, passando la memoria di tutti li suoi antecessori, quali sempre hanno alienato li beni della chiesa et posto gravezze incomportabili a popoli, quali S. S^{tà} vuol levare in quanto potrà.

Secondo si è detto di sopra Nostro Signore si per alleggerirsi da qualche fatica, sebben non la sente o teme, come per non fare da se deliberatione a caso et di sua testa, come haveva nome di far molte volte l' antecessore, et ancor per tener in esercitio honorevole il collegio et darli reputatione a tutte le

cose che sopravengono, deputa congregatione de' cardinali et ne sono molte ordinarie quali sono :

II. [Congregations.] Congregatione del S. Uffitio dell' Inquisitione, quella dell' arcivescovo di Toledo, quella del Concilio, v' era quella della Lega, una delle cose di Germania, una delle petitioni de principi che è quasi la medesima che de negotii de stati, una della reforma del Decretale, un' altra del Ceremoniale, una pecuniaria, una sopra le strade et l' acque o fontane, una della Reforma, una sopra le Bolla del giubileo, una sopra la Bibia et una dell' Indice de libri ; un' altra ancor sopra le cose importanti del stato ecclesaistico che va unita con la Consulta.

Alla prima intravengono gli ill^mi^ Pisa, qual è maggior Inquisitor, Pacecco, Gambara, Chiesa et Madrucci, et in questa non si tratta se non delle cose pertinenti a detto officio, ey oltre a sudetti cardinali v' intravengono molti teologi et dottori.

Alla causa di Toledo vi entrano oltre li detti di sopra Montalto et Santa Severina et si ragiunano due volte la settimana, una in casa di Pisa tra loro ill^mi^ et l' altra alla presentia del Papa, dove si risolvono le materie, et un' altra volta per il manco si fa innanzi a S. S^tà^ per la causa sola di Toledo.

In quella del Concilio intravengono molti cardinali, quali sono gli ill^mi^ Morone, Savello, Colonna, Alciati, Paleotto, Sforza, Ursino, Alessandrino, Commendone, Caraffa, Santa Croce, Varmiense, Montalto, Acquaviva, S. Sisto, Borromeo, Madrucci, Gesualdi, Pellevè, Lomellino. . . .

La congregatione del Concilio fu introdotta per li dispareri et interpretationi stravaganti che davano al concilio li Spagnuoli et li ministri del Catolico per raffrenar la loro insolenza et per risolvere le cose con più maturità et autorità, et si riduce in casa di Morone una volta la settimana et un altra in casa di S^ta^ Croce. . . .

A quella di Germania [v' intravengono] gli ill^mi^ Morone, Trento, Farnese, Altemps, S^ta^ Croce, Varmiense, Como, Delfino, Commendone et Madrucci, et in questa si tratta del modo di ridurre quella provincia alla solita obedienza, et si radunano spesso tra loro in casa di Morone et alle volte alla presentia del Papa ; et quella delle petitioni dei principi sono Morone, Pisa, S. Croce, Como, Chiesa, Savello, Albano et Monte; a quella di stati Morone. Farnese, S. Croce, Como, Delfino, Commendone.

Alla reforma del Decreto : Colonna, Sforza, Sirleto, Alciati, Vercelli, Caraffa, Pellevè et S. Sisto con molti prelati. A quella del Ceremoniale : Morone, Farnese, Lorena, Varmiense, Savello, Sermonetta, Madrucci, Este, Pacecco, Gambara, Como, Sforza, Ursino, Caraffa, Perosa et Monte, et questa per ridurre le ceremonie all' uso antico et levar gli abusi trascorsi si nella venuta de principi come de loro ambasciatori et di molt' altre cose.

Alla Pecuniaria : Morone, Montepulciano, Cornaro che è camerlengo, Maffeo, Chiesa, Cesi, Sforza, Albano et S. Sisto, con dui chierici di Camera, il tesauriero generale et il commissario della Camera, et questa può dire tutti quelli che propongono modi et vie di far venir danari in mane alla Camera. Quella sopra le strade et le fontane : Montepulciano, il camerlengo, Ursino, Maffeo et Medici, con li ministri di strada et certi ingegneri deputati.

Alla Reforma : Savello, S^{ta} Severina, Pellevè, l' auditore della Camera, Formento, Carniglia et molti di questi reformatori, quali vi sono diligenti et soleciti.

A quella sopra la Bolla del giubileo : Morone, Farnese, Savello, Ursino, Varmiense, Pacecco, Madrucci et Pellevè, et questi hanno cura di formar la bolla del giubileo per l' anno che viene.

Sopra la Bibia : Sirleto, Colonna, Varmiense, Madrucci, Alessandrino, Pellevè et Caraffa. A quella dell' Indice de libri : Sirleto, Teano, Montalto, Iustiniano, Alessandrino et Pellevè. A quella del stato ecclesiastico : Ursino, Cesis, S^{ta} Severina et S. Sisto, et tutte queste congregationi si radunano almeno una volta la settimana, et quando occorre sono dinanzi al Papa, et cosi S. S^{tà} viene a fare più effetti, manca lui di tanti fastidii et loro consultano et digeriscono le facende, quali poi S. S^{tà} le rissolve, et tiene in essercitio li cardinali et li dà autorità, et tutti participano delle fatiche et degli honori et hanno campo di far conoscere ciascuno quello che vale. S. S^{tà} poi fa per l' ordinario concistoro una volta settimana, dove dà audienza a tutti li cardinali per ordine, et vi si propongono le materie concistoriali, che è di gran sfogamento alle facende. Fa parimente ogni settimana una volta per il meno signatura di gratia, nella quale intravengono con S. S^{tà} gli ill^{mi} Bobba, Ursino, Maffeo, Cesi, Chiesa, Caraffa et Acquaviva. Io ho posto tutti li cardinali

deputati alle loro congregationi et ancora alla signatura sebene sono absenti, perchè si sappi che venendo alla corte intervengono. . . .

III. [Characteristics of the Cardinals.][1] Cominciarò dunque secondo l' ordine della carta all' ill. Morone quale è il decano quale è tenuto universalmente per valent' huomo, intendentè et molto prattico della attioni di stato et di commune consentimento havuto per de primi del collegio, et tutte le cose difficili et faticose che occorreno segli adossano a lui. Ha havuto mala fortuna, che essendo stato reputato degno del pontificato, et essendo in mano dell' ill^mo Borromeo di farlo, non lo seppe esseguire, et molti se li scopersero nemici palesi et l' impedirono. È tenuto astuto artificioso et cupo. Ha ancor havuto un' altra mala fortuna che essendo buono puochi lo credono, et fu opinione che Paolo IV il volesse ruinar per sempre, sicome altri hanno ancor tenuto il medesimo stile opponendoli di religione, seben restò giustificato; et essendo cardinale vecchio, adoperato et stimato è povero, non havendo mai importunato li pontefici a dargli, ma solo atteso con ogni industria a superare le invidie et le malevolentie. Il card. di Gambara è il principal nemico che habbi. . . .

Como ha le facende del Papa in mano, et perciò è d' autorità et stimato. È in opinione di sapersi benissimo accommodare al tempo, et è tenuto cupo che non si lasci intendere. Gli è portato molta invidia, et signori parenti del Papa non lo vedono volentieri in quell' ufficio, che li pare che l' occupi a loro. È creduto tutto di Morone et è mantenuto da Altemps. Si è havuto opinione che accetti volentieri presenti et vi habbi l'occhio spendendo mal volentieri. . . .

Commendone ha quello che suolè esser in puochi, perchè ha la virtù, la bontà, l' esperienza et la sufficienza con infinito giuditio, et non vi è signore nel colegio c' habbi parlato a più diversi signori et principi et nationi di quello ha fatto lui. È grave et severo accompagnato con dolcezza et affabilità.

Il card. di Pisa, qual' è inquisitore generale, è puoco amato o sia per rispetto dell' ufficio o per natura che sia puoco servitiale. . . .

Altemps è ritirato e solitario si per natura, ma molto più per causa del male [del otio], et è tanto puoco conversabile

[1] For reasons of space this paragraph is shortened.

che non si può fare determinatione del fatto suo. . . . È di autorità col Papa, ma saria ancora molto più si per la natura grata del Papa come per gli amici che tiene, se lui fosse o di più spirito et valore o non fosse offuscato il suo valore dal male del otio e dalla ritiratezza in che vive. . . .

Montalto quale fu frate di San Francesco et generale de frati minori, è al contrario di Tiano, perchè lui sa, che accorto et con giuditio operò et acquistò l' animo di Pio V, che pur lo fece cardinale, con tutto che havesse chi segli opponeva et diceva esservi processi contro di lui di molte querele d'ogni qualità, et offitii venduti mentre era generale, et per questo è opinione che ne ritenga particolar memoria et odio contra Crivello, quale essendo viceprotettore della religione, in loco di Borromeo portò il processo a Pio V, quale non lo volse vedere et disse che erano malignità et persecutióni de frati. È dotto in theologia et astuto. È amico di Farnese et si trattiene unito con Alessandrino. Non è ricco come cardinale, ma come frate, et alla vita che tiene con l' entrate che ha avanza più tosto che altrimente et si accommoda. Con il Papa ha autorità nelle materie teologice et per la causa di Toledo. S. S^{tà} l' ascolta. È opinione che saria facile a guadagnarlo, havendo molto desiderio d' havere, come hanno molti, et essendo facile il poterli persuadere di volerlo aiutare a maggior dignità, alla quale dicono che aspira et vi attende come il più de cardinali. È reputato maligno et che per portarsi inanzi habbi dato contra la sua religione.

Piacenza, qual era di preti reformati Thiettini di San Silvestro che hebero origine da Paolo IV, fu pur creatura di Pio V. È tenuto buono et sant' huomo. Il collegio de cardinali restò mal sodisfatto da lui, quale fu uno delli quattro a confinarlo alla residenza. Ha ancor dimostrato una certa singolarità, la quale non piace, perchè questo tempo che è stato in Roma, ha vivuto molto retirato senza visitar nessuno o puochi, non voler razzi nelle stantie ne padiglione sopra il letto, mangiar sempre in pietra et tanto privatamente et abbietamente che si conveniva più tosto a romitto che a cardinale, le quali cose sebene faceva per bontà et simplicità pare che ancor la dignità comporti di viver secondo quella et non secondo il romittorio. Però sebene non ha particolar nemicità ne offeso alcuno in particolare, tutti in generale sono poco sodisfatti. Seguita Alessandrino. È della scuola di Borromeo et è tutto di Farnese, sebene seguita quella scuola.

Per l' opinione della bontà et santa vita è reputato et stimato dal Papa et da molti altri. È ricco et spende puoco, dispensa in elemosine et in buone opere le sue entrate. Ha lettere et prattica delle cose del mondo havendoli già atteso, hora è tutto volto alla contemplazione. . . .

The French have little influence in the Sacred College, the Spaniards a great deal. La maggior parte del collegio è al contro da loro, essendo che una parte o sono sudditi del Rè Cattolico essendone molti di Milanesi e Napolitani et li altri la maggior parte sono gratificati, premiati, et obligati a S. M^{tà} con pensioni et altri honori et utili. On the French side only Este and Santa Croce. Quelli che non sono di animo Spagnuolo et obligati a quel Rè, fanno professione di ecclesiastici et di neutrali et di attendere al servito di questa corte.

IV. [The envoys.] The Emperor has none since the death of Arcos. The French representative, Fèrals, è riguardato da N. Sig^{re} più che amato, havendo in certe parti non solo vivezza, ma del terribile et troppo ardente. Quello di Spagna qual è D. Giovan di Zuniga fratello del Comendator maggiore di Castilia, è tutto al contrario di quello di Francia, destro et quieto, et quanto alla sua persona amato dal Papa, ma quanto agli accidenti, che occorreno a tutte l' hore, rispetto alle cose che avengono, ha cause difficili,quali le va trapassando et scaramuzzando, et cerca facilitarle et dove può mostra buona volontà di contender con piacere et sodisfar al Papa, et perciò ha credito et autorità con et S. S^{tà} et con molti signori del collegio rispetto agli interessi et disegni che tutti hanno col suo Rè.

Quello di Venetia è il clarissimo messer Paolo Tiepolo, quale c' è stato altra volta, stimato et reputato da tutta la corte per una buona testa et valent 'huomo. È in buona gratia del Papa, con tutto che la pace fatta da suoi signori col Turco il facesse star un puoco retirato in quel principio, ma con la sua destrezza ha superato ogni difficoltà et ha fatto conoscer la necessità che li causò da Spagnuoli il farla. È modesto, et contra la natura de Venetiani è cortegiano et liberale, et riesce eccellentemente et sodisfà molto, et mostra prudenza grande in questi travagli et frangenti a sapersi reger et conservarsi la gratia del Papa et della corte. The envoy from Savoy deserves praise, that from the Grand Duke of Tuscany is a favourite of the Pope.

Di Roma li 20 di febraio 1574.

10. Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1574, July 9, Rome.

. . . Lunedì mattina in concistoro S. S^{tà} senza saputa d'alcuno et senza haver comunicata la sua voluntà con persona di questo mondo et n'anco col cardinale di Como suo secretario, come sa Vostra Eccellenza, ne con ambasciatori de principi, per non essere importunata, all'improviso creò cardinale il s^{r} Guastavillano suo nipote di sorella, il quale non sapendo di dovere essere fatto cardinale, quella mattina venne in concistorio con la cappa et beretta la laico, il che vedendo il s^{r} card. Morone come desideroso che Vostra Eccellenza restasse consolata nella persona del s^{r} Priore di Barletta,[2] supplicò molto instantemente S. S^{ta} che restasse servita accompagnare tale creatione con qualche signore nobile et con qualche persona benemerita, volendo poi inferire al detto s^{r} Priore, quando S S^{tà} se ne fosse contentata. Ma S. S^{tà} stette salda con dire che hora non era tempo di pensare a maggiore creatione . . . (the whole in cypher.)

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

11. Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1575, April 2, Rome.

. . . Li pellegrini sono tutti spesati et albergati d'elemosine dal-l'hospitale della S^{ma} Trinità con così bell'ordine et con tanta carità che rende maraviglia a ciascuno, con vedersi li signori principali di Roma servirli et lavarli li piedi, et dicono che sono maggiori l'elemosine che la spesa.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

12. Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua.[4]

1576, March 3, 4, Rome.

March 3: Entry of the bride of Giacomo Boncompagni in rainy weather. Cardinal Sforza gave a fine banquet for her. On the following morning the bride went to the Pope. The Pope and Cardinals made her costly gifts.

March 4: The bride went this evening to her husband in as splendid a coach as can be imagined, dressed so richly and

[1] See *supra*, p. 32, and the *relazione di Odescalchi del 13 febbraio 1573, Gonzaga Archives Mantua and Herre, Papstwahlen, 261.
[2] Vincenzo Gonzaga
[3] See *supra*, p. 213.
[4] See *supra*, p. 34.

with so many jewels as to excite the envy of all of her rank. Our Lord the Pope went at the same time to the Seven Churches.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

13. MEMORIAL FOR GREGORY XIII. ON THE FIRST ORATORIANS.[1]
1578, January.

[Nomina priorum sacerdotum Congregationis Oratorii sub invocatione S. Philippi Nerei.][2]

1. Sacerdoti della Congregatione dell'Oratorio da V. S^tà eretta.

Il Padre Ms. Filippo Neri Fiorentino, preposto.

Mons. Alfonso Visconti.

Ms. Gio. Francesco Bordini, dottore, confessa e predica.

Ms. Biagio Messia Spagnuolo, theologo, confessa e predica.

Ms. Alessandro Fideli, dottore, confessa.

Ms. Cesare Barone, dottore, confessa e predica.

Ms. Angelo Velli, confessa et ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Antonio Talpa, dottore, confessa et ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Germanico Fideli, litterato, ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Nicolò Giglio, Franzese, molto dotto, confessa il monasterio di Torre di Specchi.

Ms. Camillo Severino, dottore, predica.

Ms. Thommaso Bozzio, dottore, ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Julio Savioli, nobile Padovano, litterato, confessore et ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Pietro Baffoli, dottore.

Ms. Pompeo Pateri.

Don Alvero di Lugo, Spagnuolo all'heremitorio, confessa, assente.

Ms. Pietro Parracchione, confessore.

Ms. Francesco Soto Spagnuolo, cantore di cappella, legge e governa l'Oratorio.

Francesco Maria Tarugi, ragiona all' Oratorio.

Ms. Carlo Novarese, nobile et homo di lettere et [di] molta edificatione.

Assente Ms. Giovanni Antonio Lucci, dottore, confessa.

Assente Ms. Luigi Ponte, nobile Padoano, confessa.

Ms. Leonardo Pagoli theologo, confessa.

In minor' gradi.

[1] See *supra*, p. 172, 180.
[2] This heading is in a later hand (circa 1622).

Il sig^{r} Fabbritio Mezzabarba, diacono.

Il sig^{r} Paulo Camillo Sfondrato, convittore.

Ms. Tiberio Ricciardelli, giovine nobile, studia.

Ms. Antonio Gallonio Romano, giovine litterato, legge filosofia.

Ms. Gio. Battista Novarese, clerico, fa il corso della filosofia.

Ms. Gaudentio Novarese, diacono.

Ms. Gio. Maria da Camerino, clerico, studente.

Ms. Francesco Spuntone Bolognese, clerico, fa il corso de la filosofia.

Ms. Antonio Sala Bolognese, ha il governo di tutta la casa.

Francesco et Piero Bozzi d' Agubbio, giovinetti studenti.

Paulo cherico, Lionardo cherico, Francesco servitore, Pietro speditore, Pietro cuoco.

2. Esercitii che fa la Congregatione per utilità del prossimo.

È XX anni che ogni giorno doppo desinare due hore si ragiona all'Oratorio et a questi tempi incomincia a XIX hore et mezza et dura fin alle XXI½. Ragionano quattro persone mezz' hora per uno et si finisce con cantare un mottetto o laude devota et si conclude con far dir sempre tre Pater nostri et tre Ave Marie, pregando [per] V. S^{tà} et pel profitto spirituale et per altri casi occorrenti.

Ogni sera tutto l'anno si fa all' Ave Maria un hora d' oratione, la metà mentale, l' altra metà vocale, dicendo le letanie et facendo altre orationi per V. S^{tà} et per i prelati di s^{ta} chiesa et per la conversione de peccatori ; et tre volte la settimana si fa la disciplina.

Sono in casa adesso dieci confessori, due altri sono assenti. Questi lavorano ne la vigna, ogniuno secondo il suo talento.

Tutti i sacerdoti di casa dicono quotidianamente messa, quandro son sani. Vengono di fuori tant' altri sacerdoti che il giorno de le feste son meglio di XXX messe.

Si predica il giorno delle feste doppo il vespro.

Et doppo la predica vanno i padri di casa in strada Giulia ad una chiesa dello Spirito Santo de la Compagnia de' Napolitani, ove si raccolgono meglio di tre mila persone et ivi, per esser luogo commodo, s' alletta il populo con musiche devote et con fare recitare a'fanciulli alcune cose d' edificatione, composte da i padri di casa. Et poi si conclude con fare due ragionamenti di cose compuntive et affettive. Ove, per gratia di Dio,

s' è fatto et fa notabil, frutto. Et vi vengono ad odire quelli del Collegio Germanico con molta lor' edificatione.

Ogni giorno di festa si va a servire alli spedali con notabil' numero di persone et molti vanno ogni giorno.

S' ha cura di visitar' infermi, aiutare chi muore a ben morire.

Molti insegnano in varie chiese la dottrina christiana, et altri aiutano la Compagnia di Santo Apostolo in soccorrere i pover vergognosi et in altre opere pie, ciascuno secondo il talento et vocation sua.

[Orig. Arm. 17, caps. 4, n. 6. Papal Secret Archives.]

14. ORAZIO SCOZIA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[1]

1579, January 17, Rome.

. . . Gode hoggi la corte di Roma la superiorità d'un principe nel quale concorrono tutte le parti che si possono desiderare in un ottimo Papa, attendendo egli con ogni pensiero a quelle cose che convengono al suo carico con animo quieto et moderato indefessamente et perpetuamente et con la suprema intelligenza legale et longa pratica di essa corte, moderando, provedendo et risolvendo tutte sorte de negotii con tanta facilità che ciascuna che ne ha bisogno riceve in essi comoda et pronta ispeditione, vigilando principalmente per la giustitia, con usar però molta equità et humanità, secondo i casi et le persone et in particolare verso i corteggiani di Roma, i quali per lo più conosce partitamente et nominatamente, amando et facendo grandissima stima dei prencipi et portando molto rispetto al collegio dei cardinali et a ciascun cardinale separatamente, gratificando anco et soccorrendo secondo l'occorrenze molti di loro, altri per merito de medesimi et benignità de lui, altri per la dignità del grado, per necessità et importunità loro più che per altro, servando sempre un medesmo tenore di vita esemplare, così per quello che tocca all'una come all'altra sorte di vita sua, largo et patiente nelle audienze et benigno nelle risposte, benchè non facile a conceder le gratie che gli sono domandate, et più tosto parco che altrimente in ogni sorte di spesa fuor che nelle elemosine et soventioni de luoghi pii et maritar vergini, tanto nobili quanto povere, in che a proportione è larghissimo. Secreto tanto che pochissimi sono quelli che partecipano de pensieri et secreti suoi et levatone Morone, Altemps et Como et sig^r^ Giacomo et in alcune cose Madruzzo,

[1] See *supra*, p. 33, 48, 51, 221, 222.

non si può dire che conferisca et se allarghi con altri, se non in quanto habbi a trattar con loro secondo i carichi che hanno ha però in molto rispetto Farnese et Savello et fa molto conto di Sermoneta, Sforza, Este, Orsino et Urbino, ama teneramente il sig^{r} Giacomo, ma con misura tale che l'amore cede al debito, all'honore, alla gloria et buona fama d'un Papa, a quale pare che egli indirizzi tutte le sue attioni, saldo tanto nelle risolutioni che si ha come per impossibile rimoverlo o spuntarlo a conceder gratia negata. Sano et di robusta complessione, et che può, come egli stesso spera, passarsene molti giorni inanzi, et sibene in cardinalato et d'altro tempo fu tenuto ch' egli havesse più del Francese che d' altro et che l' animo suo inclinasse molto a quella natione, nondimeno riposando hoggi la summa delle cose della christianità principalmente su la grandezza, forza et bontà del Rè cattolico, si vede che è rivolto coi pensieri a Spagna più che altrove, conservando però il suo luogo all' Imperatore, a Francia et a tutti gli altri prencipi, i quali come ho detto stima grandemente et agratia volentieri in tutto quello che può. Che egli sia Bolognese et di honesta famiglia et di età di 77 anni et venuto al pontificato quasi per tutti i gradi della corte, ognuno lo sa, et del molto che ci fosse da dirne di più da chi non havesse ad uscir di un sommario breve come sarà questo, tanto basterà haver detto. Dei due nepoti cardinali S. Sisto et Guastavillano, il primo è offitioso et ardente capo della Consulta sopra i negotii dello stato temporale ecclesiastico, il secondo della medesma Consulta assai più rimesso et quieto, et levatone il loro carico et l' haver una volta al giorno sopra esso a trattare con S. S^{tà}, non si ingeriscono in molto altro, non gli dando ne anco S. B^{ne} autorità più che tanto et passando tra loro stessi, et tra loro et il sig^{r} Giacomo, il quale è di molto spirito, poco buona intelligenza, si vuole che questa discordanza habbi in più attioni tenuto alle volte sospeso il Papa et in particolare in quella della promotione non concordando nei sogetti, et volendo l' uno quello che non voglia l' altro, oltre che sia persuaso il sig^{r} Giacomo che a lui non metta a conto col seguito di creature promosse far grandi S. Sisto et Guastavillano, poichè i cardinali creati hanno più occasione di gratificare et servire a cardinali nepoti de Papi che a qual si voglia parente laico che resti per stretto che sia ; con Guastavillano discorda però manco che con S. Sisto, con tutto ciò nella promotion passata tra il sig^{r} Giacomo portati Riario

et Besanzone, et in sua gratia si può dire che gli habbi promossi S. S^tà. Ma venendo hora al collegio de cardinali dirò che essi sono in numero 63.[1] . . . Le fationi generali et principali sono la Francese et la Spagnuola, le particolari sono Farnesiana, Borromea, Estense, Medicea et Alessandrina, benchè in quella di Borromeo si è pari autorità a lui Altemps, per haver più adherenze et attendervi, et perchè Borromeo non è per far calo sopra soggetti più d' una che d' una altra fatione che siano proposti, pure che a lui paia che meritano per bontà di vita, a che egli haverà mira sempre più che ad altro. Prima che parlar delle fationi più inanzi, dirò che i papabili di questo tempo sono molti, perchè infiniti pretendono, et sono ; Morone, Trento, Farnese, Savello, Perugia, S. Giorgio, Varmiense, Sirleto, Cornaro, Napoli, S. Croce, Tiano, Lomellino, Giustiniano, Albano, Montalto[2] . . . Montalto pretende haver Alessandrino col seguito, contrarii Francesi et l' esser frate come è detto di sopra . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

15. Giovanni Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1579, August 7, Rome.

" . . . N. S. ha data la Penitentiaria, che il detto cardinale Varmiense teneva, al cardinale S. Sisto et S. Sig^ria che è devotissima sara quella che durerà le fatiche per incam¡nar bene. Il detto cardinale è morto veramente un devoto et sant' huomo et letteratissimo, il quale ha scritto tanto bene contra gli heretici moderni, ond'egli è stato di molto utile et beneficio alle cose della fede Catholica, si come consta ad ogn' uno per l' acquisto delle tante anime ch' egli ha fatto nel regno di Polonia, onde si bene era vecchissimo è stata nondimeno per li sudetti rispetti la perdita molto grande . . ."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

16. Extracts from the "Diarium" of "Franciscus Mucantius."[4]

1574.

July 21 : " Ill. card. Acquaviva, cum dies circiter 20 graviter

[1] Here follow names of the Cardinals according to date of creation.
[2] Here follows an estimate of the parties in the Sacred College and their prospects in a conclave.
[3] See *supra*, p. 228.
[4] See *supra*, p. 40, 41, 48, 218, 225, 228.

aegrotasset, reddidit spiritum Altissimo adhuc iuvenis aetati fere 30; fuit sepultus absque pompa in ecclesia Lateranensi nocte adventanti. Vix credi potest, quanto cum moerore totius urbis et universorum ordinum decesserit, tantam sibi benevolentiam et gratiam ab omnibus comparaverat, morum suavitate ac vitae innocentia." More follows in his praise.

1577.

July 23: Death of Cardinal "Pisa, maior inquisitor, vir doctrina et experimento rerum celebris et vitae integritate universae curiae gratus."

November 3: Death of Cardinal "Innocenzo del Monte: vir habitus fuit in tota eius vita modici iudicii et prudentiae et plus aequo voluptatibus deditus."

1579.

April 10: Entry of Paul Uchanski, ambassador of King Stephen Báthory of Poland. He repaired with his suite to the "palatium Farnesianum, rari ac sumptuosissimi artificii opus, cui aequale aut simile in urbe aut orbe haud facile reperiri posse crediderim, licet adhue imperfectum sit, sed brevi, ut creditur, impenso et liberalitate rev. dom. Alex. card. Farnesii perficiendum."

Summer: "Hac aestate diversis diebus S. D. N. visitavit singula collegia a se instituta, nempe Germanorum, Graecorum, Neophitorum et Anglicorum ac collegium Romanum Soc. Iseu, quem eorundem collegiorum alumni pulcherrimis et eruditis orationibus collaudarunt, demonstrantes utilitatem et fructum qui ex tam piis operibus et institutis sperari poterit, eique gratias immortales egerunt."

1580.

May: Transactis iam octo integris annis quibus ecclesiae catholicae praefuit S. D. N. Gregorius Papa XIII. eiusque gubernacula summa vigilantia et prudentia felicissime rexit, sacrarum celebritatum caeterarumque publicarum actionum usque adeo religiosus observator fuit, ut vix semel aut iterum per hosce octo annos missam aut vesperas vel matutinas horas solemnes, quibus quotannis statis temporibus summi pontifices interesse vel sacra operari solent, quas vulgo capellas vocant, praetermiserit, consistoria, signaturas, s. inquisitionis

consultationes singulis hebdomadis, nonnumquam pluries in hebdomada habuerit, visitationes ecclesiarum et piorum locorum saepius per annum aliaque complura caritatis opera continuo exercuerit, quae enumerari vix possent, ultra perpetuam in dies singulos innumerabilium supplicationum, querelarum seu petitionum in scriptis oblatarum revisionem et expeditionem, ut latius superiori volumine explicavimus, ad quae omnia peragenda quamvis fuerit plenus annorum nempe qui hodie annum agat 79, tamen optimam eius mentem D. O. M. adiuvit, ei[1] vires opportunas ac corporis robur et firmitatem subministrando, quod paucis vel fortasse nullis ante pontificibus contigisse memoratur.

December 1: Ante lucem migravit ex hac vita Ioannes cardinalis episcopus Ostiensis, s. collegii decanus Moronus plurimis gravissimisque legationibus functus, praecipue in Tridentino concilio, de republica christiana optime meritus, vir summi iudicii et prudentiae, a summis pontificibus, regibus et principibus in summa existimatione et veneratione habitus, cunctis gratus et amabilis, integerrimae vitae, in arduis magni consilii, in pauperes ac pia loca beneficentissimus, nullo suae vitae tempore otiosus, quamquam non satis firma valetudine; biduo antequam decederet, petiit Christum Deum piissimis verbis allocutus, cuius crucifixi imaginem manibus gerebat, eidem ecclesiam catholicam, summum pontificem, omnes ecclesiae ordines et christifideles et fidei unitatemcommendavit, protestatus se in eadem unitate catholica semper vixisse ac mori velle, quod si umquam secus opinati essent, eisdem parcebat ipsumque Deum rogabat, ut illis ignosceret.[2]

1581

Hoc anno permisit S^mus^ ad exhilarundum populum paucis quibusdam diebus, hoc est a secunda feria post sexagesimam, personatos per urbem incedere et bravia consueta velocius currentibus elargiri, excerptis tamen diebus dominicus et festivis ac sexta feria et sabbato prout a tempore Papae Pii V nimiam priorem libertatem restringendo introductum fuit; [an autem] huiusmodi ludi et bacchanalia permitti debeant in civitatibus ac praesertim in urbe Romana cum aliqua moderatione, alias fortasse occasio disserendi dabitur.

[1] *MS.*, et.
[2] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 168.

February 13: "Fuit etiam his diebus decretum de mandato S^mi, quod mendicantes omnes reducantur ad monasterium s. Sixti, ubi paulo ante fuerant moniales, et cura huiusmodi data fuit confratribus et praepositis hospitalis s. Trinitatis convalescentium, quod fuit necessarium et optimum decretum saepe alias propositum et tentatum sed numquam ad executionem demandatum, ex quo malitiae et ignaviae multorum occurreret et vere indigentibus plenius et opportunius provideret pro cuisque necessitate, et auferretur importuna corum postulatio per ecclesias cum divinorum officiorum et populi devotionis turbatione."[1]

[Cod. 12547, XII., 35-36, Papal Secret Archives; Nat. Libr., Paris, XII., 35-36.]

17. Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1581, January 7, Rome.

"N. S^re sta assai bene et marti di mattina fu banchettato dal s. card. de Medici nella vigna che S. S. Ill^ma comprò de Montepulciano, che hoggi dì è la più bella et ha il più ricco et commodo palazzo, che si trovi in Roma."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua].

18. Avviso di roma of 16 May, 1582.[3]

Le statue ritrovate presso Suburra nella vigna di quel servitore del s. Giov. Giorgio Cesarini, sono 31 antichissime et di gran valuta, smisurata bellezza, tra quali 2 di parragone che superano tutte le altre.

[Orig. Urb. 1050, p. 159 -160. Vatican Library.]

19. Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[4]

1582, July 28, Rome.

. . . È uscito fuori appresso al calendario novo il decreto racconciato, che è una bella cosa, et S. S^tà sta presta de far un libro delle nove constituzioni de Pontefici da Bonifacio VIII in qua et chiamarlo il Settimo, come quello si chiamò

[1] The ordinance was postponed until February 28, 1581.
[2] See *supra*, p. 221.
[3] See *supra*, p. 220.
[4] See *supra*, p. 280.

il VI, che sarà molto necessario, et si tagliaranno molti stravaganti superflui o che non sono in uso. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

20. Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1582, September 9, Rome.

. . . Oltre il sudetto donativo fatto in questa settimana alli padri del Giesù che importa 116^{m} ducati, S. B^{ne} ha donato 2^{m} ducati in oro alli padri Theatini de S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo per finir la loro fabrica, che fu giovedì che S. S^{tà} andò a messa in detto luogo, et vedendo la soddetta fabrica imperfetta dimandò, perchè non seguitavano a finirla. Quei padri risposero che non havevano il modo, et informatosi S. S^{tà} dalli capimaestri che vi andaria per finirla detta fabrica 2^{m} ducati, S. B^{ne} sul partire gli comandò che dopo pranso l'andassero a ritrovare alla vigna di Ferrara, dove S. S^{tà} sta XVI giorni sono, si come fecero, onde subito dal sig^{r} maestro di Camera gli furono dati duoi sacchetti con duoi milla scudi d'oro.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

21. Avviso di Roma of 14 December, 1583.[2]

On Monday sudden promotion of 19 Cardinals, when the Cardinals had already risen to depart, mentre in Banchi si facevano scomesse in diversi modi et si davano denari a furia, che non solo prima di Natale non si sariano fatti cardinali, ma ne ancho per tutto l' anno 84, et che in Palazzo si teneva per hora la promotione smarrita, oltre che i cardinali grandi erano dell' istessa opinione et più degl' altri increduli i nepoti del Papa. Follows the list, with names, recommendations, etc. Bolognetto con qualche maraviglia di quelli, che sanno i disgusti, ch' egli ha dato al Papa nel suo primo carico, ma non già di quelli che sanno, che gli ù Bolognese. Et di questi soggetti fu che dir' assai di Vandommo et di Vilna, per esser stati figlii di perfidissimi et sceleratissimi padri, et il simile di Lancelotto per esser nato di circoncisa et Israelitica razza. Il card. Farnese procurava, che il Papa (per servar' almeno in questa parte l' ordine consueto se non in altro) aspettasse

[1] See *supra*, p. 122.
[2] See *supra*, p. 230, 232.

i voti degl' altri cardinali ch' erano in Curia et non in concistoro, come quello d' Este, di Savello, d' Altemps et d' altri, ma non fu essaudito, et è da credere, che molti di quelli ill^mi che s' accostaro alla sedia di S. B., facessero ogni sforzo, per compiacere se medesimi, ma non si sanno le loro pratiche. È ben rimasto stupefatto ogni' uno, che in una promotione cosi numerosa et presta mons. di Nazaret, governatore di Bologna et signore di tanta prudenza, meriti et integrità, non habbia havuto luogo fra questi, et cosi mons. S. Giorgio creatura del Papa tanto da lei stimata et per le cause che si sanno, se però è vero, che i disordini passati et le bravate occulte d' alcuni habbiano spinto il Papa a darla fuori con tante lancie rosse per opporsi come si dice a gl' arditi et temerità loro verso il loro generale, et parimente si è miravigliato ogn' uno di mons. Sega insieme con tanti invecchiati in questa militia faticosa della corte con prove inreprensibili et del Bianchetti maestro di Camera cosi assiduo assistente servitore di S. B., che siano rimasti nella penna, ma cosi piacque a chi regge il tutto. . . . Et a questo modo i momi et i contemplativi, che con l' occhio mortale vogliono trapassare nel secreto della mente d' altrui, sono stati chiariti da questo soldato vecchio del Pontifice generoso et accorto. The Datary, Facchinetti, Castagna and Lancellotti receive the 1000 scudi of the " cardinali poveri."

[Orig. Urb. 1051 p. 510-511. Vatican Library.]

22. Avviso di Roma of December 17, 1583.[1]

The Pope answered Farnese " che Papa Leone X. intrò in concistoro con pensiero di voler creare 20 solo cardianli, ma che poi perchè vi pose intervallo per havere i voti delli cardinali absenti, fu sforzato farne 31 a loro contemplatione." When Farnese recommended Mons. di Nazaret to him, he said that he had need of him in Bologna, and that he knew very well that there were still many other deserving " soggetti " at the court. When Gambara reminded him of the merits of Bianchetti he said: " che questo pensiero et raccordo s'aspettava a lei et non ad altri."

[Orig. Urb. 1051, p. 512, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 230.

23. Avviso di Roma of 24 December, 1583.[1]

" S'intende, chel Papa disse dopo il giorno della promotione, che all'hora fosse laudato Dio, poichè haveva d'intorno creature da potersene fidare, parole di molta consideratione et da far' credere, che possa esser' vero quello, che con le precedenti avisai, cioè che erunt novissimi primi et primi novissimi."

" I Francesi dicono, che il re non ha voluto Vendôme a causa dell'attrito con la sua famiglia e che se questo cardinale vorrà essere da bene, potrà, mirabilmente giovar a cattolici, ma se anche sarà cattivo, guai a noi in quel regno di Francia. I Francesi avrebbero voluto volentieri Foix e Lenoncourt."

" Mercoldi il card. Este fu per oltre due ore presso del papa, deciso, di lamentarsi su la forma della pròmozione, se il Papa avesse cominciato ; ma egli non lo fece."

[Orig. Urb. 1051, p. 523. Vatican Library.]

24. Avviso di Roma of 14 November, 1584.[2]

Farnese asked the Pope that the 40,000 scudi which were left to him by Pius IV. might be given to the Marchese di Marignano. The Pope said to him that he must send him the book from the chancery, according to which Pius IV. only gave it to him *mortis causa*, a thing which his successor could revoke ; he had the brief brought by Ces. Gloriero, " chierico di camera," according to which this was given also *inter vivos*. Gloriero begged for pardon, and alleged that the Cardinal had caused him to do this, to which the Pope very angrily replied : " Voi servivate il Papa et non i cardinali. Hor poichè v'è bastato l'animo d'alterar tanto la mente d'un simil testatore, con pregiuditio cosi notabile di questa Sede, il medesimo faresti, a noi ancora, et per non vogliamo più servirci dell' opera vostra." His patrons vainly intervened on his behalf.

" Parlando S. B. col card. di Como sopra la morte di detto Borromeo, mostrò quanto amava con supreme laudi quel signore, et quanto a lei sia pesata questa migratione, et fece chiamare a se mons. Spetiano, et a lui comandò, che s'informasse et poi referisse alla S. S. di tutte quell' opere buone, che haveva principiate ad honor di Dio, beneficio del prossimo

[1] See *supra*, p. 232.
[2] See *supra*, p. 17, 18, 20, 48, 54, 233.

et ad utile della chiesa in Miłano, perchè vuole S. S. adempire a sue spese i santi pensieri di quell' huomo."

[Orig. Urb. 1052 p. 452–453. Vatican Library.]

25. Incomplete and Unpublished Biographies of Gregory XIII.

I. Fantuzzi (Scritt. Bolognesi IV. 283) makes mention of a Biography of Gregory XIII., written by Cardinal Guido Ferreri, in the Papal Secret Archives, but gives no exact details as to where it is preserved. Without paying any attention to this notice, Ranke (III., 50*) gives an extract from the second book of Cardinal Ferreri, " Commentaria de rebus Gregorii XIII.", the first and second books of which he found in the Albani Library. Unfortunately that library was destroyed in 1857. I succeeded, however, in finding the first book of the work of Ferreri in Arm. XI., t. 42, p. 299–320, of the Vatican Secret Archives. The introduction, which I here give, explains the origin and purpose of the work :

Guido Ferrerius cardinalis Vercellensis
Lectori salutem.

Bonifacius cardinalis Eporediensis, patruus magnus meus, dum Bononiae legatum gereret, Christophorum Boncompagnium Ugonis, quem hodie sub Gregorii XIII nomine colimus, patrem familiarissime adhibere solitus fuit : quod singularem illius bonitatem, moderationem, placidissimos mores mirifice probaret. Petro Francisco autem cardinali patruo meo magna cum Ugone ipso necessitudo intercessit, ex quo una in comitatu fuerunt Caroli Caraffae cardinalis ad Gallorum et Hispanorum reges legati : quod quidem mei erga Ugonem amoris atque observantiae initium fuit. Evenit deinde, summo Dei erga me beneficio, ut ipsius collega essem in referendi ad utramque Signaturam munere, in Concilio Tridentino nonnullorum laborum particeps, in examinandis supplicibus libellis, qui cardinali Borromeo porrigebantur, socius, episcopatum utrique gereremus, ac postremo eadem nominatione, quod maximum et sanctissimum vinculum est, a Pio IV in sacrum senatum legeremur. Quamobrem cum hominis interius inspiicendi multas ac praeclaras haberem occasiones, singularem ipsius virtutem ac sapientiam ita semper amavi, suspexi, colui, ut eius pontificatu nihil aut mihi aut reipublicae optabilius

contingere posse existimarim. Quo quidem perpetuo meo de summa illius virtute iudicio multisque praeterea erga me beneficiis adductus faciendum putavi, ut eius pontificatum memoriae posterorum prodendum susciperem. Nam et amori, qui foras se promere gestiebat, mos gerendus erat, et ita mecum cogitabam habitura insequentia tempora optimi Pontificis imaginem, quam intueri magna cum ultilitate nec sine voluptate possent. Scripsi igitur amans: sed nihil in rebus gestis narrandis amori datum facile ex rebus ipsis intelliges, meque, ut spero et opto, de hoc meo labore amabis. Vale.

Then comes the following table of contents:

Capita libri [primi].

Brevis descriptio vitae	Cap. I.
De pietate	Cap. II.
Quomodo se erga cardinales gerat	Cap. III.
De studio conservandae propagandaeque religionis	Cap. IV.
De anno Iubilaei	Cap. V.
De sacro foedere	Cap. VI.
De sancto Inquisitionis officio	Cap. VII.
De morum disciplina	Cap. VIII.
De studio pacis	Cap. IX.
Honores et praemia ab ipso donata	Cap. X.
Conservatio et amplificatio patrimonii ecclesiastici	Cap. XI.
Sumptus inutiles sublati, magnificentia et liberalitas	Cap. XII.
Gravitas, facilitas, humanitas, sermo et studia	Cap. XIII.
Officium in hospites	Cap. XIV.
Dilectio omnium ad eum	Cap. XV.
Statura et valetudo	Cap. XVI.

The work of Cardinal Ferreri was never published, because it was only fragmentary, as may be seen from a passage on the building of St. Peter's. Although Ferreri was an avowed admirer of Gregory XIII., he does not in any way exaggerate. Thus he describes the concourse of people who flocked to the Jubilee of 1575 as splendid, but whereas other chroniclers can never make the number of the pilgrims too great, the 170,000 given by Ferreri is quite a fair estimate. The efforts of the Pope on behalf of the league against the Turks are described in detail, and Ferreri grieves exceedingly over its failure, but

is of opinion (p. 315) that even Pius V. would not have been able to hold the alliance together.

II. A life of Gregory XIII. in Cod. Barb. 4749 (Vatican Library) only goes as far as the year 1574. The manuscript is the original one of an unknown author, who has inserted many corrections. This "Vita" gives careful details of his life before he became Pope. The chapter on the pontificate is quite unimportant, and concludes with the breaking up of the league against the Turks, and the appointment of a new Cardinal Penitentiary in the person of Aldobrandini. The origin of Giacomo Boncompagni is evaded by the remark: "suo strettissimo di sangue."

III. The Vatican Library contains, in Cod. Barb. 2675, p. lxv *seq.* yet a third "Vita Gregorii XIII." written by Paulus Bombinus. But this work, which is written in Latin, suddenly comes to an end at p. lxxxv. It only goes as far as Boncompagni's legation to Spain. The author, who was a relative of Cardinal Parisi, the patron of Boncompagni, is well informed, and gives some valuable information as to his life before he became Pope, with exact details, e.g. the names of all the teachers of Gregory XIII. His information as to the professorial work of Boncompagni seems to be far from trustworthy. It is characteristic that nothing is said of his loss of favour under Julius III. Bombinus also omits the circumstance that Boncompagni gave up teaching on account of his want of voice, though he gives other general reasons. For Bombinus *cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1511 *seq.*

26. THE ANNALS OF GREGORY XIII. WRITTEN BY MAFFEI.

Among the biographers of Gregory XIII.,[1] undoubtedly the most important, and the one most made use of by posterity, is the Jesuit, Giampietro Maffei. Maffei[2] was born in 1535 at Bergamo, and in 1565 he gave up the splendid career which lay before him as secretary of the Republic of Genoa

[1] Among these the only work of importance is by CIAPPI, which did not appear until 1591 (new edition, Bologna, 1592, and one in Rome, 1596, with pictures of the buildings of Gregory XIII.). In addition, the Vita Gregorii XIII. by A. Cicarella (printed in Platina's work) must be mentioned. The works of M. TABERNA, Draco Gregorianus, Romae, 1643, and BOMPLANI, Hist. P. Greg. XIII., Dillingae, 1685, are worthless. The Vita di Gregorio XIII., which Catena intended to write (see, his letters, 289) seems never to have been done.

[2] See SERASSI, Opera om'nia I.P.M., Bergami, 1747; I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, II., 49 *seq.*; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 367: RENAZZI, II., 227 *seq.*; Sommervogel, V., 293 *seqq.*

in order to enter the Society of Jesus. As professor of eloquence at the Roman College he devoted his attention a great deal to the history of the Jesuit missions in eastern Asia. Cardinal Henry of Portugal even obtained his transfer to Lisbon, in order that he might write, with the help of better materials, a history of the Portuguese conquests and also of the missions so closely connected with them. From 1572 to 1581 Maffei worked in Portugal upon his "Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI (Rome 1588)," which, together with his life of St. Ignatius, published for the first time in 1585, met with a wide circulation.[1] Having returned in 1581 to Italy, and later on being summoned to Rome by Clement VIII, Maffei devoted himself to the history of the Popes, writing a life of Gregory XIII. in Italian, intending afterwards to deal with his two successors. Only three books of this series, which was written in Latin, were finished when Maffei died at Tivoli on October 20th, 1603. Even the Annals of Gregory XIII. were not yet ready for the press. The manuscript, which had been substantially altered and corrected,[2] was in the hands of the learned secretary of Giacomo Boncompagni, Paolo Teggia (died 1620),[3] who, in spite of many requests, did not publish it. This was done for the first time in 1742, and was dedicated to the learned Benedict XIV. The editor, Charles Cocquelines, gives in the preface an account of the changes that had been made in the work, as well as of the different manuscripts, of which he takes that in the Barberini Library as the basis of his edition. A short Appendix (II. 431–480) together with a passage taken from the "Compendio delle attioni e vita di Gregorio XIII." by Ciappi, published in Rome in 1591, gives us certain information drawn from the Boncompagni Archives.[4] This, however, as well as the remarks in the Introduction (I. p. xxii), only give a very insufficient idea of the material in the Boncompagni Archives

[1] For the life of Ignatius, see Vol. XII. of this work, p. 1, n. 1. For Maffei, as stylist and historian, see BENTIVOGLI, Memorie, Amsterdam, 1648, 154 *seq.*, 174 *seq.* (this should be compared with Strada), and FEUTER, Gesch. der neuere Historiographie, Munich, 1911, 284.

[2] This is clear from the different copies in the Boncompagni archives, from the handwriting of which it is possible to follow out the development of the annals.

[3] *Cf.* I. NICH ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., 156 *seq.*

[4] To Maffei's sources also belong the Commentaria de rebus Gregorii XIII. (*cf. supra*, n. 25) written by Cardinal Guido Ferreri. A Ms. by G. Vossius, made use of by Maffei. "Opera quae sub auspiciis Gregorii XIII. Romae vel alibi prodierunt, is in the Pietro Pieri collection in Rome, which was sold in 1908.

of which Maffei made use for his Annals. Cocquelines and Maffei himself, however, have not for the most part, made sufficient use of these authorities of the first importance, and even where they do make use of them, the historian who has them at his disposal, will rely in the first instance on these original sources and not upon those who have made use of them.[1]

Although Maffei's work has, with the opening of the Boncompagni Archives, and the publication of the reports of the German nunciatures, become one of the secondary authorities, he must nevertheless be given the great merit of having been the first to compile a full biography of Gregory XIII., which, even though it is not altogether impartial, is nevertheless balanced, correct in substance, always reliable and written in good style.[2] This, following the lead of Ranke (III., 57*) is also recognized by Kartunnen (p. 11), who also strongly brings out that Maffei has given but an unsatisfactory account of the domestic and foreign policy of the Pope.[3] Maffei's disciple, Bentivogli, had already expressed the wish for a better political outlook in the work of his master.[4] The chronological method adopted by Maffei is unfortunate, as it often necessarily breaks the continuity, and does not permit the formation of a connected estimate.

27. The family archives of the Boncompagni in Rome, and their importance for the Pontificate of Gregory XIII.

Of the many archives and private libraries in Rome,[5] the collection of manuscripts of the Boncompagni-Piombino is

[1] Sometimes Maffei makes use of the *acta* in the Boncompagni archives verbally, e.g. I., 82, the remark of Salviati concerning the Capuchins, which however he does not quote.

[2] Casual mistakes are to be found I, 3, concerning the family; I, 5, concerning their coming to Rome in 1538 instead of 1539; I, 374, a mistake concerning the deaths of four Cardinals; II, 82 *seq.*, wrong date (see Theiner, III, 696). I, 24, gives the full truth as to the birth of Giacomo Boncompagni, which others avoid doing.

[3] Karttunen, *loc. cit.* says: "L'ouvre n'en constitue pas moins la source principale et indispensable pour quiconque veut étudier le pontificat de Grégoire XIII. J'ajouterai qu'au cours de mes études sur ce pontificat j'ai été à meme de constater que cet ouvrage souvent assez sévèrement critiqué au point de vue de l'exactitude des renseignments (see Stieve, IV, 86, n. 1), est infiniment plus digne de foi qu'on ne le croit généralement (*ibid.*). Karttunen also calls attention to the chronological notes of Maffei, which are very exact, and the original of which is to be found in Cod. Borghese, III, 129 G., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* Bentivogli, Memorie, 155.

[5] *Cf.* L. Pastor, Le Biblioteche private e specialmente quelle delle famiglie principesche di Roma, Roma, 1906.

certainly the least known. No doubt this has been partly caused by the erroneous idea, shared by a scholar of the calibre of Kehr,[1] that these archives were sold. But that was not the case. The Boncompagni archives are carefully preserved in the family palace in the Via della Scrofa,[2] and have a detailed index: "Bibliothecae Boncompagno-Ludovisae manuscriptorum codicum Elenchus Anno 1757," compiled by Carolus Sommascha. It is clear from the introduction to this index that the entire collection was already made in the time of Gregory XIII., and was added to by Sigonius. Dominicus Jordanus and Justus Fontaninus occupied themselves with cataloguing the printed works. C. Sommascha was the first to arrange the manuscripts, which to some extent he had rebound. He also collected the manuscripts of the secret archives of the family, together with 200 already existing codices, the number of which he brought up to 448. Besides the valuable autograph letters,[3] the importance of the archives consists above all in the manuscripts concerning the pontificate of Gregory XIII., which, however, after the time of Maffei, were not made use of by anyone for the history of that Pope.[4] For that reason I am under the deepest obligation of gratitude to the Prince of Piombino, who has died in the meantime, who in 1902 with the greatest generosity placed at my disposal all the treasures of his archives.

The collection of archives of the Boncompagni family forms, now that the Borghese, Barberini and Chigi collections have come into the possession of the Vatican, and that of the Corsini into that of the Italian government, the most important collection of the kind still in private hands. For Gregory XIII. they contain essential additional matter to the plentiful material in the Papal Secret Archives. Besides numerous collections of letters and monographs, of special importance is a collection of materials for the history of Gregory XIII. added in the time of Sixtus V. by the Duke of Sora, Giacomo

[1] See *Allg. Zeitung*, 1901, n. 185.

[2] Cod. B. 1, E. 107, F. 12 and 27 are shown as missing in the catalogue.

[3] E.g. of Bembo, Sigonio, Card. A. Valiero, M. A. Muretus, Hieron. Cardanus, Gaspar Scioppius, Franc. Mucantius, C. Baronius, Fab. Albergatus, Matth. Senarego, Card. Toletus, and many members of the Boncampagni family. No manuscript is earlier than the XIIIth century.

[4] For other purposes there have been working in the Archives since 1887 my friend A. Pieper, who died prematurely, P. Tacchi-Venturi, P. Pierling, F. Güterbock (see *N. Archiv f. altere deutsche Gesch.*, XXV., 1899, 39 *seq.*), A. Heidenhain, some scholars from Poland, Brom for the Low Countries (see *Archivalia*, III, 265 *seq.*) and lastly the young prince Francesco Boncompagni-Ludovisi on the Japanese mission to Gregory XIII,

Boncompagni, who died in 1612, and which Maffei used as the basis of his biography.[1] This was formed by asking the principal fellow-workers of the dead Pope for notes as to their recollections. In order to facilitate their work definite questions were put before them. Thus in Cod. D. 7 there is preserved a letter from Giacomo Boncompagni to A. Musotti, dated Milan, January 1590, in which it is stated that the writer for a long time (buon pezzo) has wished to have written a biography of Gregory XIII.; that he has now found an eminently qualified person for that purpose, for whose benefit he is trying to collect information from all quarters, and especially from those persons who were the ministers and most intimate friends of that Pope. For this purpose he sends Musotti 51 questions.[2] Musotti's reply is to be found in the same manuscript; it is so detailed and valuable as to call for separate treatment (see *infra* App. no. 29).

Further material of the same kind is to be found in a series of other manuscripts in the Boncompagni archives, especially in Cod. D. 5, 6 and 8. Cod. D. 8 is directly described as "Memorie diverse raccolte per la compilazione degli annali ms. intrapresi dal sig, Giacomo seniore Boncompagni, duca di Sora." This manuscript contains a report of the conclave, a "Compendio della vita di Gregorio XIII. con molte postille orig. fra quali varie del sig. Fabio Albergati," and other documents, especially poems and orations, as for example "Oratione prima di Ferrante Caraffa marchese di Santo Lucido alla S^{tà} di P. Gregorio XIII. dopo i successi della vittoria per conservatione et accrescimento della s. lega e per l'espeditione della s. crociata (scritta al l° di November 1573)." The funeral oration by Cardinal Guastavillani is also to be found here (see *supra* p. 22, n. 7). Materials of a similar kind are to be found in Cod. D. 6; e.g. many opinions on the disturbances in Malta (see *supra* p. 116), the report of the journey of the Cardinal of S. Sisto, F. Boncompagni (see *supra* p. 522, n. 2), the "Abiuratio archi-episcopi Toletani" of April 14, 1576, a series of documents concerning France, as well as the letter of justification from Alençon to Gregory XIII., dated Blois, 5 November, 1575 (see *supra* p. 524), and especially the report

[1] Cod. D.28 contains "Lettere spettanti alla compilazione degli Annali di Gregorio XIII," A letter that belongs here, in MAFFEI, 1, xvi.

[2] In this he also asks concerning the mistakes of Gregory XIII. From the order in which these questions are placed we get the explanation of the order in which Galli, Musotti, etc. wrote their notes.

of Cardinal Orsini (pp. 131-319) on his mission in France (see *supra* p. 517, n. 1). Cod. D. 29 contains " Istanze e suppliche da diversi sovrani d'Europa per la reintegrazione dell ordine degli Umiliati 1572–73." Cod. D. 9 contains documents concerning the Pope's anxiety about damage by floods in the Papal States, and among the latter many monographs of Scipione di Castro.[1] The letter of Gregory XIII. concerning the granting of property at Bologna to Giacomo Boncompagni and his heirs is to be found in Cod. D. 1. The same applies to the letter on the coronation of Charles V. (see *supra* p. 17, n. 3). Cod. D. 4. contains the letters of the legation to Spain of Ugo Boncompagni (see *supra* p. 23) and letters of the years 1566–71.

Besides these the most important materials are contained in Cod. D. 5 : " Memorie della vita di Gregorio XIII. raccolte da diversi e originali relazioni di cardinali, nunzii e altri intesi del di lui pontificato." The most important documents are :

1. Notes of Cardinal Galli (see infra App. no. 28).

2. Memorie e osservazioni sulla vita di Gregorio XIII. dal card. di Fiorenza (poi Leone XI). Medici, who knew Gregory XIII. as a Cardinal, gives a report of what he learned during the pontificate. As to the Pope's character, he begins by saying : " Io posso con verità affirmare di non haver mai trattato con huomo alcuno più accorto, più cauto è più temperato, perciochè nei negotii ch'io passai con S.B^ne^ non si alteri mai ne mai offese con parole alcun principe . . ., conservo sempre una somma gravità accompagnata da una mansuetudine incredibile . . . Spediva con celerità incredibile andando sempre al punto del negotio che si trattava." The great love of the Pope for peace, his " costanza " and his " temperanza " are also shown by means of examples. Medici here confirms the account of Musotti (see *infra* App. No. 29) and remarks : " Come inimico dell'otio et de' piaceri non lasciò mai ne intermesse la speditione de negotii, sebene tal volta indisposto occultando quanto più poteva l' indispositione come indefesso ch' era nelle fatighe." Medici cites numerous

[1] Cod. D. 9 also contains from the same author a " Compendio degli stati e governi di Fiandro " and " Mem. orig. dei Cantoni Svizzeri." Many writings of S. de Castro are also to be found in the Boncompagni Archives, e.g. in Cod F. 32 and 33 : " De vita et rebus gestis Andreae Doriae " ; in Cod. D. 10 : " (1) Trattato politico-morale del Principe ; (2) Informatione del generalato d'armi dello stato di Milano a Giacomo Boncompagni ; (3) Avvertimenti dati a Marc' Ant. Colonna quando andò vicerè in Sicilia."

circumstances in defence and explanation of the attitude of Gregory XIII. towards the bandits. The following remark is especially important: "Io posso referire in sua difesa quello che a S. S^{tà} udi ragionare, et questo è che li papi, che sono vecchi, malagevolmente conducono l'imprese loro a buon fine dove si ha da fare con l'arme, perchè poco sono serviti et di male gambe si dalli lor proprii ministri, si ancora dalli principi et signori."

3. The notes of Salviati refer exclusively to the time of his nunciature in France. They have been used *supra* in chapters IX., XIII. For the reference to the massacre of St. Bartholomew see App. n. 31.

4. The notes of Cardinal A. Valiero principally refer to his visitation journeys (see *supra*, 82, n. 1).

5. The "Memorie del card. Mattei" refer to the disagreement between Gregory XIII. and Cardinal Este. Maffei (II., 463 *seq.*) relies upon this in his account; this is the only instance where he expressly quotes a document in Cod. D. 5.

6. The "Considerationi di Ces. Speciani" are so full as to demand special treatment (see *infra*, App. No. 30).

7. The "Memorie del vesc. di Lodi [L. Taverna"] contain especially notes on the character of the Pope, which frequently confirm and amplify Musotti (*cf. supra*, Chap. I.).

8. The "Memorie del vesc. di Bergamo [G. Ragazzoni] nuncio in Francia" contain little of importance; the only point of interest are his remarks on the zeal of Gregory for the visitation of dioceses.

9. The "Memorie di Mons. Dandino" are only of importance for events in France (see *supra* 533).

10. The Notes of A. Musotti (see *infra*, App. No. 29).

11. The "Memorie di Mons. Domenico Grimaldi, arcivescovo di Avignone." The author (*cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 382, 431 *seq.*) principally gives information as to his own work in connexion with the war against the Turks and the defence of Avignon (see *supra* 533).

12. "Sommario delle commissioni date da Gregorio XIII. di s.m. al P. Possevino per conto di pace fra principi et propagatione della fede cattolica in varii regni et provincie." After the many publications of Pierling this only gives anything that is new in certain points (*cf.* Vol. XX. of this work).

As an appendix Possevino gives a collection of dates and of qualifications of Gregory XIII., which are specially noteworthy (see *supra*, p. 53, n. 3, note on Galli) and the memorial to Gregory XIII. which is now published in *Fontes rer. Transilv.*, III., 1 *seqq.*

13. The report of P. Giov. Bruno is of importance for the history of the missions (see Vol. XX. of this work).

14. "Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche" (see Vol. XX. of this work, App. No. 11).

15. Notes of P. Leonardo di Santangelo, rettore di Loreto (see Vol. XX. of this work).

16. "Memorie di Mons. Venantio da Camerino" are of the greatest interest for the earlier life of the Pope, and worthy of all reliance; these have been used fully in Chapter I.

17. "Memorie di Fazolio" with notes as to where further material is to be found; there are also some noteworthy remarks.

18. At the same time there are by way of Appendix the "Varia." Here too original opinions are to be found: e.g. a plan presented to the Pope by Bernardo Bizzardo for a "nuovo ordine di cavalieri." An anonymous plan is addressed to Giacomo Boncompagni for fighting the bandits, and a report of Onorato Gaetani on the "fortezza di Ancona." (Plans for its strengthening and the repairing of the harbour.) The anonymous "Avvertimenti per la fortificatione di Civitavecchia et dell' inconvenienti seguiti" contain schemes for the fortification together with an indication of the errors which are thereby avoided. There follow opinions on the war against the Turks (see *infra*, App. Nos. 31-33), on the question of the Jews (see *supra* pp. 308 *seq.*), a "Discorso sopra le cose di Fiandra," another "sul fatto del marchesato di Saluzzo (*cf.* MAFFEI, II., 34 *seq.*, 98) and on the disturbances at Genoa.

The manuscripts collected by the Duke of Sora, bear witness, not only to his devotion to Gregory XIII., but are a further proof that he was a very cultivated man of great ability.[1]

[1] Torne (p. 119) forms quite a false judgment of the duke. The latter showed favour to scholars (*cf.* LITTA, p. 53) many of whom dedicated their works to him, e.g. C. SIGONIO his masterpiece De regno Italiae (Venice, 1591), and Fabio Albergati his *Trattato di politica, Cod. K. 15, and the *Discorso sul modo di cognoscere la verità e far buona scelta di ministri, Cod. K. 11 Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Also the celebrated collection of engravings of ETIENNE DU PERAC, I vestigi dell' antichità di Roma, (Rome, 1577), is dedicated to the duke.

28. MEMORIE ET OSSERVATIONI SULLA VITA DI GREGORIO XIII. DEL S. CARDINALE DI COMO [GALLI].

The notes of a Papal Secretary of State concerning the period of his own term of office are very rare. Among such may be placed the "Memorie" of Cardinal Galli preserved in Cod. D. 5 of the Boncompagni Archives. Galli certainly had before him a draft of a biography of Gregory XIII., upon which he made his own observations, since he arranged these according to the chapters of his copy. Of great interest is the judgment formed as early as Chapter III. Galli there remarks as follows on the personality of Gregory XIII.: "Fu huomo di sodo e prudente giudicio et d'una constante et perpetua bontà in tutte le sue attioni et abborrente da certi artificii che procedono de la sagacità et astutia ordinaria degli huomini." Concerning Gregory's manner of life, Galli remarks: "Non si sa che havesse altro diletto maggiore che d'attendere a negotii. Dispensava il suo tempo benissimo stando in perpetua attione. La mattina ricitato l'officio divino in camera usciva a la messa, la quale celebrava per se stesso almeno 2 o 3 volte la settimana. Di poi secondo le giornate attendeva alle capelle, consistorii et signature senza lasciarne mai altro che una capella sola in 13 anni. Il resto tempo consumava in audienze dandole gratissimamente, perchè non interrompeva mai quel che parlava, et ne dava molte, perchè con le sue brevi risposte consumava poco tempo con ciascuno." He spent only half an hour over his dinner, and a quarter over his supper "essendo parcissimo del mangiare et bere, senza voler trattenimento di musica ne di buffoni et ciarlatori."

Galli speaks in a specially detailed way of the ecclesiastico-political work of Gregory XIII. The form of his account of the struggles with Philip II. on p. 18 *seq.*, shows how wrong is the view that Galli was the obsequious servant of the Spanish king. In this matter Galli is absolutely on the side of the Pope, as he is in dealing with the controversy with Venice about Aquileia, as to which he remarks that in this matter no agreement was arrived at: "Fu lasso indeciso, ma pero con un perpetuo timore de la Republica, che il Pontefice dovesse procedere ad ultiora contra la Republica, se ben S. S^{tà} per non sturbar la quiete publica d'Italia s'astenne sempre di farlo."

Drawing upon his recollections, Galli says: "Molte volte avenne che i cardinali de li congregationi; quando in concistoro referivano alcuni loro decreti et risolutioni fondate ne le legge et autorità de dottori, esso [il Papa] a l' improviso ricordava loro altre più a proposito et di maggior peso, di che essi rimanevano stupiti non meno che de la memorie che del giudicio."

Galli treats more especially of the great work done by Gregory XIII. in the foundation of colleges (see *supra* 237 *seq*), of his care for the pilgrims during the year of Jubilee, of his relations with the Cardinals, his predilection for the Jesuits (see *supra* 234), and his piety and generosity (see *supra* 48). As far as the matter of money subsidies to the princes is concerned, Galli's information differs from that of Musotti. According to Galli Maximilian II. and Henry III. each received 100,000 scudi, the Archduke Charles 40,000, and Ernest of Bavari more than 120,000 against Gebhard Truchsess. Musotti, on the other hand, allows "al Rè di Francia più di 300,000 scudi all'Imperatore 100,000 all'arciduca Carlo 100,000, all'impresa di Colonia più di 200,000, al sig. D. Giovanni d'Austria 50,000." The latter figures are to be preferred to those of Galli.

Speaking of buildings, Galli describes the Capella Gregoriana as follows: "Questa capella per la quantità, varietà et finezza di diversi marmi et colonne pretiose et per li lavori sottilissimi di mosaico è stimata cosa a nostri tempi molto singolare et che forsi superi di bellezza ogni altro edificio anco degli antichi." He continues: "Ampliò et ornò grandemente il palazzo di S. Pietro in Vaticano et tra le altre cose si fece quell'appartamento che attacca con la loggia di Leone X., con la loggia chiamata Bologna in cima, che da se solo è un grandissimo palazzo, et fini del tutto la Sala regia col suo stupendo pavimento et incrostatura di varii et finissimi marmi et medesimamente la capella Paulina. Ma quel che supera ogni meraviglia è l'haver finito il corridore che da la banda de le stanze papali passa in Belvedere, che fu opera di grandissima et incomparabil spesa, massime per la galaria [*sic*] che vi si è fatta ornata tutta di stucchi et oro et di varie pitture de la topografia di tutta Italia, tutti distinta in quadri di provincia in provincia con le misure molto giuste, che è forse la più bella cosa che hoggidi si veda in questo genere."

Galli is upon his own ground when he speaks of the diplomatic missions, but it could be desired that he had been more explicit in this matter ; he points to the mission of Possevino as the most important, even though its purpose was very incompletely fulfilled. In Sweden, Galli says, Possevino at least saved the king's son to the Church. With regard to Ivan IV. he says : " Ma come l' intentione del Mosco non era in altro che di liberarsi de le guerre, non si puote fare profitto alcuno circa la religione." The unfortunate outcome of the mission of the Cardinal-nephew to Henry III. is not passed over. Galli strongly rebuts the view that Gregory XIII. had concluded a secret alliance with the Guise : " E molto lontano dal vero quel che si presuppone che il Pontefice facesse mai lega secreta che li s^ri^ Ghisardi ne con altri in Francia, et la verità è questa che li s^ri^ Ghisardi mandorno a Roma secretamente il P. Claudio Matthei Iesuita a far intendere a S. S^tà^ la risolutione che essi havevano fatta di pigliar le armi etiam invito rege, per cacciar di Francia tutti gli heretici et rimettere in pie' la purità de la fede cattolica, et che prima che cominciar l'impresa dimandavano l'apostolica benedettione. Il Papa fece consultare da molti theologi quel che in tal caso poteva et doveva fare, et col parere di loro rispose a bocca che se li principi de la lega si movevano principalmente per la religione, S. S^tà^ approbava l'intention loro et li benediva, ne altro fu fatto ne detto in questa materia ne posto cosa alcuna in scritto, et fù nei giorni estremi de la vita del Pontefice."

There only follow some remarks upon the conclave (see *supra* 15) and the statement that the Pope always kept Galli with him, whom he had summoned to assist him, and Contarelli, whereas he changed his other " ministri."

A useful supplement to Musotti is afforded by a detailed description of the manner of life and character of the Pope, which has been made use of *supra*, chapter I.

A special chapter serves as a relation on the conditions in the States of the Church : " Di alcuni difetti come credulità, troppa misericordia et qualche prodigalità et gladiorum impunitas massime dopo la morte del S. Raimondo Orsino." In this Galli says : " E venuto [il Papa] in opinione di molti per troppo credulo et facile, et mite. Ma la verità è che egli era prudentissimo et sagacissimo, et per la gran prudenza sua mostrava molte volte di credere quel che conosceva essere

in contrario, perchè così espediva di fare secondo la qualità de le persone et de li negotii che correvano, et soleva dire che dove non si poteva provedere, bisognava dissimulare per non far peggio, et quelli che l' accusano di troppo facile et mite, dovrebbono considerare che in un principe ecclesiastico et vicario di Christo, non propriamente signore, ma padre spirituale di tutto il genere humano, è più laudabile inclinar a questa parte che a la sua contraria, oltre che per otto anni continui del suo pontificato nissuno gli attribuì mai questo difetto, perchè non ci erano fuorusciti ne altri malfattori ne lo stato ecclesiastico, ma di poi per la mala qualità de tempi et per la pessima natura d'alcuni si fecero nascere li fuorusciti et li travagli che si videro, et se ben il Pontefice fece ogni sforzo suo et non perdonò a spesa ne a fastidio per estinguerli, non puote pero conseguirlo mai, et cosi per minor male l'andò tolerando con tanto maggior charità verso la quiete publica quanto che sapeva benissimo l'origine et il fomento di tutto il male."

Two other chapters deal with " De la distruttione di Monte Marciano " and on the position in connexion with the disturbances in Portugal ; in the latter case, however, Galli says nothing of his opposition at that time to Gregory XIII. (see *supra* 359). With regard to the league against the Turks, Galli remarks that the Pope, in spite of all disappointments " mai perse la speranza." Galli's remarks on the attitude of Gregory XIII. towards Stephen Báthory are worthy of being quoted in their entirety. He writes : " Dipoi nel secondo interegno non hebbe parte alcuna ne la creatione del Rè Stefano, anzi gli fu contrario, perchè non haveva sicurezza alcuna ch' egli fusse cattolico, et dubitava de la dipendenza per la Transilvania dal Turco, onde commandò al nuntio suo in Polonia, che era il vesc. di Mondovi, hora cardinale, che favorisse più presto Massimiliano imperatore, si come fece, et per cio fu eletto il detto Massimiliano da tutto l' ordine ecclesiastico, del vesc. di Cuiavia in poi et da tutti gli ordini secolari catolici, et se Massimiliano era presto a entrar in Polonia, conseguiva il regno senza alcuna difficultà, ma il suo procrastinare fu causa che Stefano anticipasse et si fermasse nel possesso, con tutto che fusse stato detto da la minore et peggior parte, ma assai importò che egli havesse per fautore il cancelliere persona di grande autorità et la principessa Anna

sorella di Sigismondo Rè di Polonia morto, la quale favori Stefano con animo di maritarsi poi seco, come fece. E ben vero che mostrandosi poi il Rè Stefano nel principio del suo regno inclinato a cattolici et divoto del Pontefice et de la s. Sede, et sforzandosi ne le occorrenze publiche di dar quanto poteva buon saggio di se a li ministri apostolici, et nel resto governandosi con molta prudenza, et scoprendosi in lui molto valore et esperienza, acquistò interamente la gratia del Pontefice, il quale non restò poi di abbracciarlo et haverlo caro et far qualche disegno sopra di lui per qualche segnalato beneficio del christianesimo contra il Turco."

The end of the "Memorie" consists of his account of the death of Gregory XIII., his proceedings against Gebhard Truchsess, and as an appendix, a chapter "Delle cose d'Avignone" and some other addenda.

29. The Notes of Alessandro Musotti on Gregory XIII.

The Bolognese, Alessandro Musotti, who was interrogated by the Duke of Sora, was assuredly better fitted than any to give special information as to the life of Gregory XIII., since, even before his election, he had been in such confidential relations with Gregory XIII. that he could describe himself as "servitore confidentissimo." This close relationship, which found expression immediately after the elevation of Gregory XIII. in the appointment of Musotti as "tesoriere segreto" became embittered in 1573 (see *Avviso di Roma of September 12, 1573, Urb. 1043 p. 303, Vatican Library; *cf.* the *Relatione in the Corsini Library, *supra* p. 9). The reasons for the disgrace of that time are not well known. Later on Musotti once again recovered his former favour; he was quite unexpectedly given the important office of a Major-domo (Maestro di casa) and on December 9th, 1579, became Bishop of Imola. It was thought that he would also receive the purple. In the meantime, however, Gregory XIII. died, so that Musotti retired to his diocese where he laboured until his death (in 1605) in the spirit of the Catholic reform.[1]

The Notes of Musotti which are preserved in Cod. D. 7 of the Boncompagni Archives, are as full as they are important. At the beginning he says: "Questo che segue è quello che io

[1] See Moroni, XXXIV, 103, XLI, 261. Musotti's brother, too, Filippo, was in close relations with the Pope. *Cf.* Torne, 250; Montaigne, II, 48.

posso dire per verità della vita della santa memoria di Papa Gregorio et per propria scienza et per vera relatione havuta da altri."

Musotti first treats in great detail of the life of Gregory XIII. before the time of his papacy, and of the beginning of the pontificate, he then describes exactly his manner of life, the foundation of the various colleges, his wide charitable activity, the buildings, the administration of the States of the Church, the finances (abbondanza) and the precautions against the plague, and then turns to the peace-making work of the Pope. In this connexion he describes in special detail, his intervention in the disturbances at Malta (*supra* p. 116). The relations of Gregory with Poland and Portugal are treated more briefly. Musotti attributes the continuance of brigandage to the attitude of the Grand Duke of Tuscany : " Conoscendo il Pontefice, che erano fomentati da qualche prencipe che haveva caro di travagliarlo, era il granduca di Toscana Francesco, et volendoli levare, bisognava dare principio a una guerra, cosa da lui (come si è detto) abboritissima ; si voltò al rimedio delle orationi et elemosine per placare in questa maniera l'ira giusta del Signore Dio per li peccati de' popoli." When he deals with the attitude of Gregory XIII. towards Piccolomini, Musotti again alludes to the behaviour of the Medici and brings out the Pope's love of peace. He then touches briefly upon the end of the trial of Carranza, the activity of Gregory as the champion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liberties, the mission of Toledo to Louvain, and the reform of the calendar. Musotti also describes the attitude of Gregory towards the Cardinals, and the appointment of the Cardinals whom he preferred. In this connexion he rightly brings out the inspired happiness of his choice, and the absence of all nepotism. The following is of importance : " Non li piaceva nel sacro collegio della cardinali numero di frati e diceva ridendo, che per questo rispetto ancora la Sede Apostolica non li dispensava a mutare habiti, perchè fossero conosciuti fra li altri, et li pontefici non ne facessero molti. Non volse mai in cardinalato protettione di religione di frati, perchè diceva, che bisognava lasciare il governo delli frati alli suoi frati et fra frati, et pero levarne anco pochi dalli claustri per darli altri governi, etc." A number of important episodes are adduced to show the piety of Gregory XIII.

His remarks on his behaviour after the massacre of St. Bartholomew have been quoted (*supra* p. 509). Particulars are then given of the visit of the hereditary prince of Cleves, the reception of the envoys of Russia, the behaviour of Gregory at the death of his nephew (*supra* p. 37) and a detailed description of the Japanese embassy. The death and funeral of the Pope, and some remarks upon the part played by the number 13 in his life, bring the notes to an end.[1]

The Notes of Musotti, who does not conceal his sincere veneration for Gregory XIII., bear the impress of absolute credibility. They contain a large number of characteristic details and expressions of the Pope. Considerations of space only enable me to give here his section on the building works of Gregory XIII. :

" Et per più imitare li santi pontefici, si diede a fabricare altre chiese et cappelle et a resarcire di quelle, che per l'antichità ne havevano bisogno. Fece fare la honorata cappella del Santissimo Sacramento in S. Giovan Laterno, dotandola d'alcuni capellani, che hanno la cura di quel santo servitio. Fece resarcire tutto il Battesimo di Constantino, et coprirlo di piombo, che ruinava a fatto ; fece accommodare il portico di S. Maria Maggiore, che stava a malissime termine ; fece in gran parte la chiesa di S. Gregorio nella chiesa di S. Maria in Navicella, dove stano li preti riformati, et fu poi chiamata S. Maria in Gregorio, ampliata dal cardinale Gio. Donato de Cesis ; fece la chiesa de Capucini di Roma con la piazza inanzi, et li aiutò molto a fare ancora la loro chiesa et monasterio, che hanno a Frascati, perchè amava molto questa religione, et ne haveva paterna cura. Mentre stava alla villa, se li faceva le spese di tutto punto, et quando si partiva, se li lasciava, provisione grossissima per molti giorni ; per quelli di Roma haveva commandato, che per sempre li fosse dato quanto pane et vino volessero dell'istesso, che lui magnava et beveva, se bene loro modestissimi non ne pigliavano se non per li infermi. Fabricò a Monteporcio, luogo dell'ill^mo^ card. Altemps, una chiesa sotto il titolo di S. Gregorio et li diede entrata honesta, per mantenere un rettore per beneficio di quelle anime; che per la distanza et incomodità del luogo molte volte, anco le feste, stavano senza la messa et

[1] Hitherto all that has been published has been the point concerning the Japanese envoys, in Francesco Boncompagni-Ludovisi, app. 10-11.

molti morivano senza li santissimi sacramenti. Fece in S. Cosma et Damiano una cappella, facendo accommodare tutta la chiesa, dove furono trovati li corpi di Papa Felice Secondo, et di S. Marco et Marcelliano fratelli, et di Tranquilio loro padre, et di S. Abbondio et Abbondantio martiri, i quali dui furono con licenza del Pontefice trasportati con incredibile solennità, pompa et decoro alla chiesa del Iesu fabricata dall'ill^mo Alessandro card. Farnese tanto nobilmente, come si vede in piazza Altieri, et ivi furono riposti et da quelli padri tenuti con grande honore, veneratione et devotione. Diede non poco aiuto alla fabrica della chiesa della Madonna de' Monti, che nel suo tempo cominciò a fare tante gratie et miracoli in quel luoco, della quale ne era molto devoto, et la visitava spesso, come fu sempre tutto il tempo di vita sua devotissimo della beata Vergine, et tutte le sue prosperità le riconosceva in gran parte dalla intercessione di questa santissima vergine e madre. Fece anco fare la chiesa delle monache Capuccine a Monte Cavallo, et mentre stava là, se li faceva la spesa, et di poi sempre continuava elemosina. Diede molto aiuto alla fabrica delle convertite nella strada del Corso et erano soccorse di ordinaria et straordinaria elemosina. Aiutò anche notabilmente la fabrica delli padri Theatini di S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, a' quali haveva sempre portata particolare affettione, et quando era privato prelato, li dava ordinaria elemosina di un scudo ogni venerdi, quale volse si continuasse di dare anco in pontificato per sua particolare devotione, se bene li accrebbe altra provisione maggiore. Fece soffittare il portico di S. Pietro, che era tutto ruinato. Fabricò la cappella, anzi gran chiesa Gregoriana in S. Pietro di spesa più di centomilla scudi, dotandola di certo numero di capellani, che ogni giorno sono obligati celebrare in detta cappella, dedicandola in honore di quella sempre gloriosa imagine la santissima Madonna del Soccorso, della quale per essere tanto celebre non si dirà altro, perchè quanto si dicesse, si direbbe molto poco in lode di non mai abbastanza laudata vergine e madre, come non si dirà del maraviglioso edificio della detta cappella ornata non di pietre et colonne, ma di gioie et colossi con stucchi et mosaici et organo richissimi et nobilissimi a tale, che lingua non basta per laudare tanta opera. Non tacendo però, che per maggior dote della detta cappella vi fece transportare un'altra pretiosissima gioia il corpò di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno. . . .

Aiutò largamente diversi altri monasterii, chiese et monache et in Roma et fuori di Roma et in particolare le monache del Corpo di Christo di Bologna celebre per tutto il mondo, quello di S. Matteo et altri pure in Bologna, soccorrendo anco di bona somma la fabrica della catedrale di S. Pietro di Bologna, donandoli paramenti, croci et candelieri d'argento ornatissimi; mandò alla santissima casa di Loreto paramenti et donativi, comprò alli padri della Trinità del Monte il terreno per fabricar la scala, et se fosse vissuto l'haverebbe fatta.

Fabricò la Sapienza a' PP. Iesuiti, fabrica veramente stupenda et per la grandezza et magnificenza sua, ma molto più per la infinita utilità che porta a tutto il mondo, perchè vi si leggono tutte le scienze da quei padri, con tanto concorso da tutte le parti del mondo continuato et augmentato maggiormente doppo la morte del Pontefice, segno manifesto, che il sig^re Dio ha particolare cura di queste sante opere per beneficio della christianitade. . . .

Non lasciò cosa a fare questo S. Pontefice a beneficio del stato ecclesiastico, non perdonando ne a spesa, ne a fatica; ridusse la fortezza di Ancona forte principalissimo del stato ecclesiastico in così bella et inespugnabile forma, provedendola di molti pezzi artiglieria et altre monitioni con notabile spesa.

Fece spianare tutte le strade della Marca sino alla s. Casa di Loreto, facendo farvi diversi ponti, acciò vi potessero andare le carozze, come fanno, opera utile et necessaria et d'infinita commodità.

Fece ancora fare il ponte sopra la Paglia, dove spese più di 20 mila scudi, opera veramente necessariissima, d'infinita commodità et sicurezza per li passeggeri, che erano trattenuti dalle pioggie, et molti ogn'anno ne pericolavano con perdita della vita e forse dell'anima.

Et fece anco fare il ponte Santa Maria a Roma di tanto ornamento et commodità alla città, opera degna di tanto prencipe, come non è meno degna, commoda et utile la fabrica fatta delli granari alle Termi, dove si conservano li grani dell'abbondanza a beneficio grandissimo del popolo.

Diede anco principio alla bonificatione della valle di Ravenna, riducendola a tale stato, che facilmente si conduceva al fine, et vi spese più di 40 mila scudi, opera che sarebbe molto salubre alla città per il miglioramento dell'aere et utile a tutta la provincia per la gran quantità de grani che vi si

coglierebbono, oltre il bran beneficio delle tratte alla rev. Camera Apostolica.

Vedendo anco, che molti vasselli, che conducevano vittovaglia da Napoli a Roma, per la difficultà di aboccare nel Fiumicino si somergevano et molti erano presi da Turchi, fece fabricare una torre, dalla quale si scuoprono li vasselli che vengono, et se li porgono aiuti et li salvano, facendo inoltre con parere di valenti ingegnieri fare una palafittata in mare per fare un porto sicuro per detti vasselli, et vi spese più di 40 mila scudi, et se bene prevenuto dalla morte non puote finire si utile et necessaria spesa, era però in tale termine, che per tanto notabile beneficio a poveri marinari et commodo alla città di Roma, la quale era da lui peculiarmente amata, et sempre faceva qualche cosa per maggior ornato et commodità di quella, come si vede anco per le nobili fontane fatte in Piazza Navona, della Rotonda, del Popolo, la nobile strada da S. Maria Maggiore a S. Giov. Laterano ; fece scollare l'acque de monti sotto la Madonna de monti, che prima causavano di gran ruine, et riducendo quelli luoghi habitabili, che prima erano inhabitabili e palludosi. Che dirò delle tante et così nobili fabriche fatte nel palazzo di S. Pietro al Vaticano, di tanti nobili appartamenti aggiuntivi, della vaga et ricca loggia, della Bologna, di quella de Venti, della superba et richissima Galeria : non è lingua bastante per esprimere queste magnificenze e grandezze bisogna che l'occhio le veda per maggiormente stupire. Fece l'honorato pavimento et incrostatura della Cappella Paolina et sala del Rè facendo finire di dipengere l'una et l'altra da valent'huomini et primi pittori di quel tempo, Giorgio Vasaro Aretino, Federico Zuchero Urbinate, Lorenzo Sabadini Bolognese, et ne quattro angoli del pavimento della detta Sala Regia vi sono quattro imprese veramente convenienti a un tanto prencipe, l'una del drago rinvolto con le estremità della coda in bocca, il moto a quo et ad quem, l'altra un tempio con un drago in cima, il moto vigilare, la terza è un drago intiero, il moto che dice foelix praesagium, la quarta ù un drago sopra un piè di stallo, il moto che dice non commovebitur. Potrà ciascuno dalla vita di questo Pontefice cavare la interpretatione di questi moti et imprese et come sono verificate compitamente con le sue attioni virtuose et degne.

Ridusse nella honorata maniera che si trova la sala di Constantino per mano di Tomaso Laureti Ciciliano valente pittore ; insomma, se si volessero raccontare tutte le honorate fabriche, bisognarebbe scrivere un volume da se ; voglio finirla con l'ultima fabrica fatta a Monte Cavallo al giardino del card^le^ d'Este, dove fabricò un superbissimo palazzo per commodità delli pontefici suoi successori ne tempi estivi, et bene sapeva che lui per la sua decrepita non haveva da goderlo, fu come lui disse prima, che lo principiasse.

Ma diceva ancora, che bisognava operare sempre et vivere, come se ogni hora si havesse da morire, et come se si fosse per vivere sempre, et che il temere la morte era una perpetua morte, la quale non si doveva temere se non per bene vivere."

30. Considerationi sopra la vita di Gregorio XIII. del vescovo di Cremona [Cesare Speciani].[1]

The " Considerationi " of Speciani is one of the most important documents in Cod. D. 5 of the Boncompagni Archives, and together with the notes of Musotti is one of the best sources from which may be gathered direct impressions as to the character and personality of the great Pope, such as could be formed only by one who was close by his side. Speciani limits his notes to those matters concerning which he speaks from his personal knowledge ; for everything else he refers to various other authorities. He several times expressly says that he had questioned others who had themselves taken part in the matter referred to.

After Speciani has brought out the great prudence of Gregory XIII. (" in Spagna appresso gl'huomini più grandi et insigni di prudenza egli è chiamato il savio governatore per eccellenza ") he goes on to speak of his natural character :

Egli era huomo di pochissime parole et talmente parco et circospetto nel parlare che non diceva mai se non quello che era necessario et con parole più brevi et significanti che poteva in maniera che delle risposte sue da chi non era più che avertito

[1] For C. Speciani, the former worthy agent of Charles Borromeo in Rome, secretary of the Congregation of Bishops, and afterwards Bishop of Novara and Cremona, where he ruled in accordance with the ideas of the Catholic reform, see, besides Moroni, VII, 147 ; XVIII, 182 ; XLVIII, 135 ; and Steffens-Reinhardt, Nuniaturberichte aus der Schweiz. Introd. to Vols. I and II (*passim*), the Vita di Msg. Ces. Speciani, Bergamo 1786, which is based upon good authorities but has become very scarce. Speciani is spoken of as nuncio in Spain 1586-1589, and in Germany 1592-1597 ; he did not attain to the purple (see Bentivogli, Memorie 131 *seq.*). He died at Spoleto in 1607,

non era inteso qualche volte la mente sua. The treatment of his Cardinals. Era oltretanto acuto nell' intendere come tardo nel parlare, perchè uno non haveva cosi presto cominciato ad aprir la bocca, ch' esso intendeva il fine dove caminava, et gli faceva tali interrogatorii ch' el esponente, se non era più che acuto et prattico, restava confuso, et di qui era che li referendarii in segnatura et l' istessi cardinali non l' arrischiavono di proporre alcune cause delle quali et d' ogni circonstanza essi non fossero bene informati per poter rispondere resolutamente alli quesiti che il Papa soleva fare per il fine che si pretendeva. . . .

Se S. S^{tà} fu in alcuna cosa un poco rimesso nel governo del suo dominio temporale, veramente questo procedeva, perchè tutto era rivolto con li pensieri et con le forze sue nelle cose esterne che concernevano il bene commune delle provincie et massime di quelle che erano infestate d' heresie ovvero di guerre, alli quali è noto a tutti i soccorsi ch' egli diede. . . .

Estimò in tutto il pontificato assai per la sua integrità il card. Contarello, huomo anche di gran valore et fedele. Si volse del Carniglia in molte cose di riforma et d' altri sacerdoti, con li quali conferiva cose che non soleva dire ad altri, et si domesticò assai col card. Borromeo, ad istanza del quale faceva molte cose et gli credeva portandogli anche un rispetto incredibile per non dire riverenza, et soffriva che il cardinale gli dicesse tutto quello che voleva sopra le cose publiche et private di S. S^{tà} medesima.

But Speciani is not silent as to the mistakes of Gregory XIII., on that subject he says :

Essendosi detto molto delle virtù di questo buon pontefice, sarà conveniente cosa dire dei suoi defetti, sebene non erano molti, perchè ove è gran virtù, difficilmente ponno stare difetti d' importanza.

Egli fu un poco rustico nel trattare, di che alcuni principi si lamentavano non complendo esso con certa creanza, che si suole usare tra principi grandi, et so io che bisognò fare qualche scusa, la quale era facilmente accettata, sapendosi nel resto la bontà et buona intentione del Papa. Era parimente sospettoso alle volte, dubitandosi d' esser ingannato da quelli che trattavano seco, etiam che fossero persona da bene, et questo avveniva per esser' egli stato lungamente giudice et provato la malitia dei procuratori et altri negotianti, che ingannavano

il più delle volte per ottenere quello che desideravano dalli giudici, se non lo ponno havere per via retta.

Se gl' oppone ancora la troppa facilità di perdonare ai tristi, il che credo che non si doveria attribuire a male parte, perchè le viscere del principe et massime ecclesiastico devono essere tenerissime, et per questo li s. canoni così severamente prohibiscono che li chierici non s'intromettino in modo alcuno in queste materie come cose che repugnano alla mitezza che conviene che sia nelle persone ecclesiastiche. È ben vero che queste materie non si doveriano referire al Papa, ma ad altri deputati da lui sopra la giustitia, la quale è necessaria che si faccia, chi vuole tener la republica quieta, altrimente nascono di quei disordini et tumulti che si viddero al tempo di questo pontefice in Roma, ove conviene che la giustitia sia essecutiva et più diligente che altrove per reprimere li malfattori, li quali hanno sempre grandissima et prossima speranza del perdono, se non dal presente pontefice almeno dal futuro per le spesse mutationi che si veggono, et da qua vennero le disgratie grandi che furono in tutto lo stato ecclesiastico de latrocinii et fuorusciti, sebene alle volte questi casi pare che venghino più dalla mala dispositione de tempi o delle persone che da negligenza de superiori, poichè si vede, che anche ove la giustizia è rigorosa, a certi tempi compaiono incursioni di banditi che fanno mali incredibili, li quali forse anche permette il Signore pe giusta punitione de popoli, li quali per il più sono poco amici della giustitia et di quelli che hanno cura di farla, cercando mezzi con diligenze iniqui di ricoprire li malfattori et impedire che la giustitia non possa fare espeditamente ciò che conviene."

At the end of his account Speciani collects certain sayings of Gregory XIII. I give two of these: "Che a quelli che parlavano molto non si dovevano fidare negotii grandi, perchè per il più vagliono poco"—"Che il principe deve esser secreto nelle cose sue et haver ministri simili a lui in questo."

31. The French Nuncio A. M. Salviati on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.[1]

Quando Gregorio venne al pontificato, essendo in essere la lega del Papa, del Rè di Spagna e de Venetiani contra il

[1] See *supra*, p. 329, 331, 494 ,547,

Turco, applicò intieramente il pensiero a procurare tutte quelle cose che potessero essere opportune, acciochè detta lega durasse et prosperasse, et sebene la quantità del denaro, ch'egli poteva spendere, non era a tanto negotio di più consideratione che tanto, nondimeno con tanta generosita d'animo si risolse di non perdonare ad alcuna sorte di spesa, et essendo detta lega principalmente fondata nelle forze del Rè catholico et de Venetiani et anco nelle resolutioni che potevano nascere dalla corte di Francia con tutti gli ambasciatori di detti principi, fece ogni offitio possible perchè il negotio passasse intieramente bene.

Et perchè a Venetia era nuntio Msgr. Giov. Ant. Facchinetti, vesc. di Nicastro, il quale sin da principio haveva trattato questo negotio, non gli pareva espediente di mandare nuovi ministri, ma indrizzare a lui tutti gli ordini opportuni a detto fatto. Ma in Spagna mandò Nicolo Ormanetto, vescovo di Padua, persona molto reputata per essere sempre vissa con molto esempio et attesta alla riforma della chiesa et anco versata ne negotii, acciochè egli con la sua prudenza mantenesse il zelo, col quale il Rè di Spagna attendeva a detto negotio, et facesse che più speditamente fossero dati et eseguiti gli ordini che da quella M^tà havevano a dependere ; et in Francia destinò Ant. Maria Salviati vescovo che fu di S. Papulo, il quale pareva molto a proposito per negotiare in quella corte, essendovi conosciuto per due viaggi che vi haveva fatto di commissione di Pio V s. m. in quei medesimi giorni ; ne par da tacere che ancorchè questi tre nuntii fussero stati adoperati et intrinseci dell' antecessore, non gli hebbe per diffidenti, come molte volte avviene, anzi gli accarezzò et si servi d'essi, non havendo altro pensiero che del ben publico della christianità et esaltatione di s. chiesa. Et se bene communemente si diceva che 'l Papa ricercava il Rè di Francia d' entrare in detta lega et l' instruttioni n' erano piene, nondimeno egli conosceva benissimo, quanto il negotio fosse difficile per non dire impossibile, et che le conditioni ch' havrebbono volute i Francesi, non potevano essere accordate dal Cattolico, i quali nello stringere il negotio havrebbono domandato lo stato di Milano per il secondogenito di Francia et cose simili, et pero il pontefice, ch' era savio, pensava di conseguire che almeno i Francesi con qualche diversione non impedissero il Cattolico necessitandolo ad impiegar le sue sforze in difendere

i stati proprii et consequentemente a sminuirle della lega, poichè all' hora si trattava che le sforze Francesi andassero a dar soccorso a ribelli del Cattolico nella Fiandra, i quali havevano ridotti quei paesi in gravissimi pericoli, et se bene si trattava il negotio sotto nome degli Ugunotti et che l' Amiraglio et altri capi d' Ugunotti vi calassino, nondimeno si vedeva che quella non era impresa correspondente alle forze loro, et che si mirava che le forze del Rè di Francia vi si havessino ad inviare. Et questo negotio a benefitio della lega ancorchè si trattasse vivamente dal pontefice, et chel nuntio Salviati non lasciasse che fare per obedire al suo principe et impedire che i Francesi cio non facessino, nondimeno se Dio con la sua bontà non provedeva con nuovo accidente, le cose erano a mal termine, perchè sebene i pareri de grandi di Francia et de consiglieri. del Rè di Francia erano diversi, et che mossi da diversi interessi alcuni persuadessero et altri dissuadessero l' impresa di Fiandra, nondimeno è cosa certa che il Rè Carlo gustava sommamente il raggionamente di tal negotio, et che a quello era grandemente inclinato. Ma Dio provedde che quando s' era su la conclusione essendo l' Amiraglio capo de Ugunotti in Parigi et uscendo una mattina dal palazzo regio per tornare a desinare, gli fu da una fenestra tirata un' archibugiata che gli portò via alcuni diti della man destra et passò il braccio sinistro, et qesto fu a XXII d' Agosto 1572, la quale ferita ancorchè fosse mortale, nondimeno havendo di più il detto Amiraglio usato parole molto insolenti et il medesimo fatto i suoi seguaci, fu persuaso il Rè d' assicurarsi da casi suoi con farli morire, di che havutone consigli con alcuni pochi la sera del 23 dopo cena la matina de 24 di buon hora comandò le guardie et fu ammazzato l' Amiraglio con molti capi principali di quella setta, il che roppe il negotio di Fiandra, et se bene molti hanno voluto et forse scritto che tale uccisione succedesse per negotio havuto di lunga mano, nondimeno il pontefice et prima et dopo il fatto seppe chiaramente che la deliberatione nacque all' hora, anzi che l' archibugiata fu tirata all' Amiraglio senza saputa del Rè et per opera di quelli ch' erano di maggior autorità nella corte, i quali vedendo quanto detto Amiraglio con i ragionamenti delle cose di Fiandre et di altre simili imprese andasse pigliando l' animo del Rè, dubitorno che egli non fusse per potere acquistare tanto di credito et di autorità presso di lui, che

fosse per essere il primo della corte con pregiuditio della loro grandezza, et pero se ne vollono assicurare, come fecero.

[Copy Cod. D.5. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.[1]]

32. Charles Borromeo and the plague at Milan in 1576.

The courage and the heroic sacrifice on behalf of the Milanese shown by Charles Borromeo during the terrible plague of 1576 are described in detail by his biographers, Bascapè (lib. 4, p. 80–180), Giussano (lib. 4, p. 248–316) and Sylvain (II. 130–175). *Cf.* also Lossen in Hist. Tascenbuch 5, Folge IV (1874) 247–270, and Corradi in Rendiconti del R. Inst. Lombardo di scienze e lettere, 2e Serie XV (1888). See also Gemelli, A proposito di alcune accuse contro S. Carlo Borromeo. Ricerche epidemiologiche, in La Scuola Catt., 4e Serie XVIII (1910) 165–224. Further literature ibid. 170 seq. in Arch. stor. Lomb. IV (1887) 124 seq., and in Sticker, Abhandl. aus der Seuchengeschichte und Seuchenlehre, I, 1: Die Pest, Giessen 1908, 108 *seqq.*, 423 *seq.*

33. Unpublished writings on the war against the Turks.

Of the many documents which have reference to Gregory XIII. in connexion with the Turkish question, few have been published:[2] most of them are still preserved in manuscript.

Several works bearing on this question are preserved in the Boncompagni Archives in Rome, in Cod. D. 5, n. 20. I may make mention of: 1. The original report of Onorato Gaetani and Giacomo Boncompagni, Duke of Sora (undated) on the "fortezza di Ancona" and its restoration, which was thought to be necessary on account of the danger from the Turks. There then follows, together with the work of "Scipione di Castro," plans for the formation of the harbour. 2. "Avvertimenti per la fortificatione di Civitavecchia delli inconvenienti

[1] From the notes of Salviati we also get the following point: "Per conservatione della Sede Ap. et estirpatione dell'heresie del regno di Franois hebbe Gregorio per bene che i Cappucini vi s'introducessero, acciochè essendo essi Italiani et venendosi puo dir da Roma et edificando con l'esempio della vita, si togliesse gran commodità agli heretici di subornare i populi, i quali sotto pretesto di zelo dell'honor di Dio et con anteporre alcuni mancamenti degli ecclesiastici seminano dogmi falsi et sovertino quelli che non sanno pu' che tanto." (*Cf. supra*, p. 548).

[2] Very rare is the monograph of Domenico Mora: "Parere del capitano Domenico Mora di Bologna sopra l'ordine di guerreggiare la potenza del Turco et quello che in cio egli giudica necessario di fare per superarlo. Al illustmo et eccelmo Sig. Castellano di S. Angiolo il S. Giacomo Boncompagni." In Bologna per Alessandro Benacci, 1572. For the work of Fr. Gondola, see the account of the publisher, Voinovich in Archiv f. osterr. Gesch. II C. 638 *seq.* *Cf.* Pometti, Per la storia d. Marina Ital. Rome 1898, 75 A. 8.

seguiti, o. D. (technical plans, how Civitavecchia may be well fortified, and how certain mistakes therein should be avoided); 3. An anonymous opinion on the war against the Turks, o. D.; 4. "Discorso come si potrebbe combatte l'armata nemica nel porto di Modone (with drawings), o.J. Cod. F. 39 of the Boncompagni Archives further contains a "Discorso a Gregorio XIII. perchè i Veneziani col Rè cattolico si opponghino alla potenza Ottomana."

The Papal Secret Archives contain, in Arm. 18, caps. 6, n. 3, the memorial addressed to the Pope by a "cav. Marco Samuel d'Antivari" on the war against the Turks, o.D.; further, in Arm. 11, t. 91, p. 96 *seq.*, a "Discorso sopra la guerra difensiva d'Italia per mare et terra, da Pietro Rossi, 1575," dedicated to Gregory XIII.

Undated, but written previously to this "discorso" is the "Orazione di Ferrante Caraffa a Gregorio XIII per l'espeditione della Crociata" in Cod. XIII. F. 54 of the National Library, Naples, and in Cod. D. 8 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. It is a plan for the following up of the victory near Lepanto which was presented to the Pope almost immediately after his election.[1]

In the Royal Library, Stockholm, I found: "*Relatione d'un ambasciatore di S. S^{tà} intorno alle cose Turchesche," Rome 1574, December 1. The author, who was living at Ragusa by the Pope's command, relates what he had learned there, so that they might take precautions in Rome in time. There is a description of the military power of the Sultan. "Padre santo, è necessario che si la Italia non vuol perir et succombere alla possanza di tanto inimico, non aspetti ch'il Turcho come un fulgore le venghi sopra, perchè la rovina sarà irreparabile, ma è bene che i suoi principi le prevedevano senza ingannarsi." The example of the Greeks ought to strike fear. A league which would command more than 300 ships could do a great deal against the Turks; the Pope, Venice and Spain should take part in it. The want of good faith of the Turks, who constantly violate treaties of peace, and Venice with her conclusion of peace will gradually fall into ruin. But even if Venice should be unwilling, the hope of a league need not be abandoned. Italy can supply 100

[1] A *poem to Gregory XIII. on the war against the Turks, 7192, p. 246, Vatican Library.

galleys and Spain 200. The whole world, and especially the Italians, fix their hopes upon the Pope.

34. Reports of the Pontifical visitors of the dioceses of Italy.[1]

The Papal Secret Archives contain in the section "S. Congregazione del Concilio" a number of reports, hitherto unnoticed by anyone, from the pontifical visitors of the dioceses of Italy, which contain very valuable matter for the ecclesiastical history of Italy. The full use of this material must be left to local research. The following list which has been drawn up with the courteous assistance of A. Mercati must serve as sufficient proof of the zeal and care and persistence with which Gregory XIII. sought to enforce the reform decrees ot Trent by means of the visitation of dioceses:

1573: Bologna (A. Marchesini visited the city and delegated Giulio de Canis for the mountain districts, and Annibale Malvezzi for the plains), 3 vols.; Faenza (Marchesini); Ravenna (G. Raggazoni, Bishop of Famagosta); Ragusa (Sormani, Bishop of Montefeltro); Farfa (G. B. Maremonti); Camerino (Salvatore Pacini, Maremonti); Jesi (S. Pacini, Bishop of Chiusi); Orvieto (Alf. Binarini, Bishop of Rieti);[2] Bagnorea (Alf. Binarini, by means of Lor. de Grassis, O. Pr.); Assisi (P. Camaiani, Bishop of Ascoli);[3] Bertinoro (G. Ragazzoni, who also visited Ravenna and Cervia).

1574: Ronciglione, Capranica and Sutri (Binarini); Bracciano (Binarini, by means of Luca Ant. Pucci); Toscanella (Binarini); Gubbio (Ragazzoni, who also visited Urbino); Castro and Canino (Binarini); Bondeno and Carpi (Maremonti); Tivoli (Binarini), who was also to visit Aquila;[4] Cagli (Ragazzoni).

1575: Pescia (G. B. Castelli, Bishop of Rimini), 2 vols.; Malta (Pietro Dusina); Modena (A. Marchesani, Bishop of Città di Castello, who was also to visit Reggio); Mantua (A. Peruzzi, Bishop of Cesarea and his delegate[5]), 2 vols.;

[1] See *supra*, pp. 74, 75, 76, 80.

[2] Other *acta in the episcopal archives, Orvieto.

[3] For the visitation of P. Camaiani at Foligno, *cf.* also Jacobilli, *Croniche di Foligno, ms. in the possession of Faloci Pulignani at Foligno.

[4] For the visitation of Binarini at Ferrara, see the *report of Giulio Masetti of June 16, July 3, August 11, December 8 and 22, 1574, State Archives, Modena.

[5] *Cf.* the *Brief to the Duke of Mantua of September 20, 1575. Orig. in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the monasteries in Florence (Alf. Binarini, Bishop of Camerino).

1576: Grosseto (Bossi, Bishop of Perugia, who also visited Siena and Massa); Pienza (Bossi); Montalcino (Bossi); Siena (Castelli); Milan (Ragazzoni, Bishop of Famagosta); Tortona (Ragazzoni, as Bishop of Bergamo); Volterra (Castelli), 2 vols.; Pavia (Peruzzi and his delegate), 3 vols.

1578: Ferentino (Domenico Petrucci).

1579: Istria (Ag. Valiero, Bishop of Verona); Dalmatia (Ag. Valiero); Budua (Ag. Valiero); Piacenza (Castelli, who was also visitor for Parma, 3 vols.; Crema (Castelli).

1580: Benevento (de Lunel, 2 vols.; Carlo Trecarlini and Lucio Corvi, delegate of Lunel); Brescia (Carlo Borromeo); Choggia (Valiero); Borgo S. Donnino (Bossi, as Bishop of Novara).

1581: Bagnara (Ott. Pasqua, Bishop of Gerace); S. Francesco delle Vigne at Venice (Alb. Bolognetti, Bishop of Massa); Alatri, Ferentino and Anagni (Ann. de Grassis, Bishop of Faenza).

1582: Mondovì (Scarampi, Bishop of Campagna and Satriano); Brugnato (Bossi); Crema (Ragazzoni, Bishop of Bergamo).

1583: Viterbo (Vinc. Cultelli, Bishop of Catania); Montepulciano (Ag. Peruzzi, Bishop of Sarsina); Borgo S. Sepolcro (Ag. Peruzzi); Cortona (Ag. Peruzzi).

1584: Treviso and Feltre (de Nores, Bishop of Parenzo); Belluno (de Nores); Lodi (Bossi); Casale (C. de Montilio, Bishop of Viterbo); Sarzana (Giov. de Angelis as delegate).

1585: Noli (N. Mascardi, Bishop of Mariana).[1]

35. Activity in visitation by the Italian Bishops.

Side by side with the apostolic visitors, many of the bishops of Italy sought to introduce into their dioceses the advantages of the Tridentine reform by means of visitations and synods. The archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, at the Vatican, only contain some of these acta, e.g. the visitation of Archbishop Lelio Brancacci of Taranto, which was made in 1576. The greater part of acta of the visitations are contained in the episcopal archives.[2] I have in particular seen those

[1] Also decrees, s.a. of the visitor Mascardi for Savona and Albenga.
[2] Such as for 1578 in the Archiepiscopal Archives at Urbino.

which are to be found in the episcopal archives of Ravenna; these are contained in two volumes.

The first volume contains [in addition to the acta of the visitations of 1545 (visitation of the city and diocese made by the vicar-general); 1550 (also by the vicar-general); 1557–59 (visitation of the city by the vicar-general); 1566 (visitation of the city by Archbishop Giulio Feltre della Rovere); 1567 (the diocese); 1571 (visitation of the city and diocese, first by Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, and then by his suffragans)] for the time of Gregory XIII., first the acta of the visitation of the city and diocese made after April, 1573, by "Hieronymus Ragazzonus, episc. Famagustanus, in quibusdam prov. Romandiolae civitatibus, episc. Famagustanus ,in quibusdam prov. Romaniolae civitatibus visitator apost., reformator et corrector" (*cf. supra* Ap. 34). Ragazzoni depended for this upon a brief of Gregory XIII. of April 2, 1573. He especially watched over the observance of the duty of residence, and of the duties of individual priests in their offices.

The second volume of the acta of the visitation concerns the visitations made "dal. ill. Cristoforo Boncompagni." Boncompagni began his work on May 20, 1579, with his own cathedral. The questions put by him go into great detail. The visitation, in which were also included the religious orders, lasted through the whole summer until October 9th, 1579. On April 8th, 1580, there begin the protocols of the visitation by the vicar-general. He too took his duties very seriously. In the case of priests, their conduct and their duty of residence were inquired into with equal care, as well as their administration of the sacraments and their giving of religious instruction; in the case of the laity, the number who fulfilled the Paschal precept, communions, and above all, public sinners. For 1582 there exist the acta of the "Visitatio facta ab archiepiscopo Boncompagni" which extended to the territories of Ravenna and Ferrara, and for the year 1583 the acta of the "Visitatio cathedralis et aliarum ecclesiarum civitatis Ravennae" by the vicar-general.

At Ravenna there was also a great synodal activity. Archbishop Giulio Feltre della Rovere held a diocesan synod in 1567 and 1571, in 1569 a provincial synod, while Cristoforo Boncompagni held a diocesan synod in 1580, 1583, 1593 and

1599, and a provincial synod in 1582 (see Synodus dioc. Ravennat. A. 1790, Romae 1791, xxvi). The acta of the second diocesan synod of 1583 are preserved in the episcopal archives; they include a multitude of excellent decrees on reform.

36. Francisco Mendoza to the Emperor Maximilian II.[1]

1574, January 16, Rome.

"Cavando los atros dias en una vigna suya el cavalier Sorrentino a descubierto no se que cantidad de statuas entre las quales ay dos faunos con dos satiros a los pies de la statura de un hombre que dizen todos que es la mas linda cosa de Roma, y un Apollo aunque la cabeça comida un poco, pero alcuerpo lindissimo. . . ."

[Orig. *Romana*, State Archives, Vienna.]

37. Memorial to Gregory XIII. on the Congregations.

"Modo da sostenere il peso della gravezza de negozii del pontificato facilmente, gia proposto a Pio V sa. mem. et esseguito in gran parte da S. Santità con molta laude sua e satisfattion del Collegio."

(Mutai la forma in maggior brevità non scemando la materia).

"Perchè si trattano diversi negotii in Camera di V. S^{tà} et le sogliono impedire le audientie de molti signori et prelati et persone private, si era pensato, per allegerire questa gran somma di facende e di audientie, di proporre che Ella potrebbe restar servita, se in tutti i negotii della corte deputasse tante congregationi de cardinali, quante fossero le qualità de negotii et l'importanza loro, et fra essi vi fosse il capo principale, il quale havesse poi cura di riferire alla S^{tà} Vostra nel giorno che gli fosse assignato per l'audientia sua; e questo medesimo ordine si potrebbe osservare anche nelle altre congregationi speciali et distinguendo le qualità de negotii."

1. Dico che all'offitio della S^{ta} Inquisitione si potrebbero deputare 4 o 6 cardinali, con ordine che havesse poi a rifferire alla S^{tà} Vostra l'Inquisitor Maggiore il tal dì.

2. Alla Signatura di gratia altrettanti o quanti paresser a lei.

[1] See *supra*, p. 220.

3. Alla Signatura di giustizia quattro almeno.
4. Alla Signatura secreta.
5. Alli negotii de principi ossia alla Lega quel numero che le paresse.
6. Alle cose pecuniarie.
7. Alle cose dell'annona.
8. Alli negotii di reforma, tra quali vi fossero ancora quelle delle visite de vescovi.
9. Al Concilio.
10. All'occorrenze de frati, monache et vescovi absenti.
11. Per le cose dello stato ecclesiastico e per le querele de tribunali di Roma deputare una consulta.
12. Alla Dateria ancora si era pensato di deputare qualche congregazione per maggior scarico suo.

Et in queste X congregationi facilmente s'impiegarebbono tutti i cardinali, a' quali si darebbe satisfattione et i meno esperti verrebbero a guadagnare con la compagnia de più pratici. Alle quali congregationi ancora si potrebbero commettere altri negotii occorrenti, secondo la qualità loro alla giornata, ad referendum.

E per ordinare ancora tutte le audienzie, potrebbe deputare i giorni per gli offitiali della corte et per gli ambasciatori, per prelati et cardinali, i quali però si haverebbero a contentare di ragione della audienzie de concistorii, overo due volte il mese di havere audienzie private."

[Copy: Var. polit., 82, p. 446. Papal Secret Archives.]

38. List of Cardinals of the Inquisition, 1566–1621.[1]

Nel principio del pontificato del b. Pio V erano otto li sig^ri cardinali della congregatione del S. Officio, cioè l'ill^mi e rev^m signori:

Giovan Michele card. Saraceno [† 1568].
Giovanni Battista Cicada card. S. Clemente [† 1570.]
[Giovan Suavio] card. Reomano [† 1566].
F. Clemente [D]Olera Minore Oss^te card. Araceli [† 1568.]
Carlo card. di S. Martino ai Monti Borromeo [† 1584.]
Ludovico Simonetta vesc^o di Pesaro card. del titolo di S. Ciriaco [† 1568].
Vitellozzo card. de SS. Sergio e Bacco Vitelli [† 1568].

[1] See *supra*, p. 297.

Francesco card. di S. Luca Alciato [† 1580].

Dal Pontificato poi del b. Pio V fino a tutto il ponteficato di Paolo V sono li seguenti:

Bernardino Scoto card. arcivescovo di Trani [† 1568].

Angelo Nicolino card. arcivescovo di Pisa [† 1567].[1]

Francesco card. Paceco [† 1579].

Giovan Francesco card. Gambara [† 1587].

[Gianpaolo] card. ab Ecclesia [† 1575.]

Lodovico vescovo di Trento card. Madruccio [† 1600].

Giulio Antonio Santorio arc^vo card. di S. Severina [† 1602].

Giacopo vescovo di Sabina card. Savelli [† 1587].

Giovan Antonio Facchinetti card. de SS. Quattro Coronati [later Pòpe Innocent IX., † 1591].

Giovan Batt. Castagna card. di S. Marcello [later, Pope Urban VII., † 1590].

Pietro del titolo di S. Prisca card. Deza [† 1600].

F. Girolamo del titolo di S. Tomaso in Parione card. d' Ascoli [Bernerio, † 1611].

F. Costanzo del tit° di S. Pietro al Monte d' Oro card. Sarnano [Boccofuoci, † 1595].

Domenico del tit° di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna card. Pinello [† 1611].

Paolo Camillo del tit° di S. Cecilia card. Sfondrato [† 1618].

Francesco del tit° di S. Maria Traspontina card. Toledo [† 1596].

Camillo del tit° di S. Eusebio card. Borghese [later, Pope Paul V., † 1621].

Pompeo del tito di S. Maria in Aquiro card. Arigone [† 1616].

Lucio del tit° di S. Quirico e Julita card. Sasso [† 1604].

Francesco del tit° di S. Croce in Gerusalemme card. de Avila [Guzman, † 1606].

P. Roberto del tit° di S. Maria in Via card. Bellarmino [† 1621].

F. Anna Decars del tit° di S. Susanna card. de Giury [† 1612].

Ferdinando del tit° di S. Eusebio card. Taverna [1619].

F. Anselmo Marzato del tit° di S. Pietro in Monte aureo card. de Monopoli [† 1607].

Innocentio vescovo di Camerino card. del Bufalo [† 1610].

[1] Omission of Scipione Rebiba; see vol. XVII. of this work, p. 292, 327.

Lorenzo del titº di S. Lorenzo in Paneperna card. Bianchetti [† 1612].

Pietro del titolo di S. Nicolò in Carcere card. Aldobrandino [† 1621].

Antonio arcivº di Burgos card. Zappata [† 1635].

[Giovanni Garzia del titº de S.S Quattro Coronati card. Mellino [† 1629].

Fabritio del titº di S. Agostino card. Verallo [† 1624].

Francesco del titº di S. Calisto card. Roccafocaù [† 1645].

F. Agostino del titº S. Maria d' Araceli card. Galamino [† 1639].

F. Felice del titº di S. Girolamo de Schiavoni card. Centini [† 1641].

Giovanni del titº di S. Clemente card. Bonsi [† 1621].

Gasparo del titº di S. Croce in Gerusalemme card. Borgia [† 1645].

Pietro del titº di S. Tomaso in Parione card. Campori [† 1643].

Scipione del titº di S. Susanna card. Cobellutio [† 1627].

F. Desiderio del titº di S. Clemente card. Scaglia [† 1639].

[On the verso in another hand :] Cardinali del S. Offitio da Pio V a Paolo V inclusive.

[Copy, Ottob. 2498 p. 262. Vatican Library.]

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